# IMPROVING STAFFING AND SECURITY IN NORTH CAROLINA PRISONS

A REVIEW OF NATIONWIDE PRISON MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

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**Caitlin Saunders, Joel Rosch, Susan Katzenelson, Michelle Li, & Sydney Curtis**
Sanford School of Public Policy
Duke University
201 Science Drive
Durham, NC 27708

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Governor's Crime Commission has completed a national review of best practices in prison management at the request of NC Department of Public Safety Secretary, Erik A. Hooks. This report focuses on five main topics identified by the Secretary: hiring practices for correctional officers, training of prison employees, staffing at facilities, security procedures to interdict contraband, and measures to detect and address staff misconduct. During the course of the research, unforeseen events occurred within North Carolina prisons, including the tragic murder of four correctional staff at Pasquotank Correctional Institute during an escape attempt, and the loss and resignation of executive staff in the Division of Adult Correction and Juvenile Justice. The topics researched in this report have direct relevance to these events. Based on research findings, the Commission provides nine recommendations for urgent action to improve safety and security in North Carolina prisons.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

**Invest in Personnel**

(1) *Strengthen leadership* by hiring new executive staff in the Division of Adult Correction and Juvenile Justice (DACJJ), developing a clear mission for the division, and improving standards for all management levels through mandatory training.
(2) *Incentivize career commitment* by coupling professional development opportunities with appropriate compensation, and having supervisors create individual professional development plans for each new hire.
(3) *Prioritize employee wellness* by re-establishing an executive wellness committee, tracking improvements in staff wellness relative to a baseline, and designing wellness programming based on assessment results.
(4) *Bring all hands on deck to recruit new staff* by forming recruitment committees at each prison, offering referral bonuses and other incentives, and creating a professionally-produced recruitment video. Track the results of recruitment tactics to identify those that result in highest long-term yield.

**Establish Cohesive Organizational Culture**

(5) *Support organizational learning* by utilizing more communication tools such as email, message screens, and hotlines, formalize operations feedback committees at each facility, establish an agency mechanism for sharing feedback following an incident, and establishing consistent policy for prison management walk-arounds.
(6) *Modernize training* by continuing to require completion of correctional officer basic training prior to starting work, extending the training period for new hires, updating basic training to reflect the needs of modern facilities and inmate characteristics, and increasing flexibility in job assignments.

**Improve Facility Safety**

(7) *Modify oversight and intelligence gathering* by creating an oversight body separate from corrections, further strengthening intelligence gathering capacity, and fostering better coordination between corrections investigators and local law enforcement.
(8) *Enhance perimeter security* by installing additional tools to detect and block contraband being thrown over fences, and tightening security procedures at facility entrances.
(9) *Launch a year-long cell phone interdiction initiative* that combines cost-effective cellphone detection technologies with increased random and targeted searches. Track results and cost savings, and partner with other states to monitor and advocate for federal policy solutions.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

Research methods included interviews with a variety of states and corrections organizations, an academic literature review, and conversations with corrections professionals, law enforcement, and community stakeholders in North Carolina. Research affirmed that North Carolina stands out nationally in its efforts to reduce the state prison inmate population through the Justice Reinvestment Act. Research also confirmed that similar to North Carolina, most state prison systems face recruitment and retention problems, staff misconduct, and issues with cell phones, drugs and other contraband.

Several strategies to address common issues were shared by North Carolina and other states. These include one-day mass hiring events, increased use of social media for recruitment and communication with staff and the community, similar candidate screening standards, and comparable contraband detection technologies. However, some key findings emerged from the literature and interviews that informed the final recommendations. Research findings are summarized below.

**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

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| <ul><li>Using a cross-section of existing employees is an effective recruitment strategy.</li><li>Evaluating recruitment tactics in terms of long-term yield allows recruitment resources to be targeted for long-term success.</li><li>Public perception of the organization has a large impact on recruitment. Thus, branding should be honest, attractive, and consistent across all platforms (website, social media, videos, print, etc.).</li><li>Recruitment incentives are helpful in difficult-to-staff facilities and geographic areas. Incentives mentioned by other states included housing assistance, tuition reimbursements, and employee referral bonuses.</li><li>College degrees are not necessary, and may even diminish job satisfaction for C.O.'s. However, some states find that assigning value to increased training and education when considering promotions leads to more professionalized staff.</li><li>A written exam is a component of candidate screening in many states, which North Carolina does not currently require prior to basic training.</li></ul> | **Hiring Practices for Correctional Officers** |

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| <ul><li>Staff training focused on a human service approach balances the treatment and custody functions of correctional workers and improves overall prison climate.</li><li>Other states have shifted training focus to communication techniques, identifying and addressing mental health needs, threat assessment, calling for assistance, and de-escalation techniques. They find that these skills better align with the daily activities of a correctional officer, and reduce the need to use force.</li><li>Training should include emphasis on the dangers of using transactional (reward and exchange) power, which lead to corruption.</li><li>Basic training length in other states ranges from 3 to 8 weeks, and some states have much longer onsite training periods.</li><li>Better coordination between human resources and the training office helps plan for adequate training capacity and allows training to be prioritized for prisons with highest staff vacancies.</li></ul> | **Training of Prison Employees** |

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| • Corrections staff have lower life expectancy, and higher rates of suicide, depression, and divorce than other law enforcement. Correction officer wellness is an increasingly important topic to monitor and address.<br>• The most cutting-edge wellness programs incorporate regular assessments, management training for identifying signs of burnout and stress, and the space and programming for staff to decompress, such as mindfulness training or social events.<br>• The number of women in corrections (at both male and female facilities) continues to increase, but is not yet proportionally represented in leadership.<br>• Intrinsic incentives, like the work environment, are better predictors of staff turnover than salary levels. Setting clear goals and fair policies, including staff in decision-making, maintaining open communication and transparency, and providing adequate support and respect are essential for improving staff retention.<br>• Most states provide all prison staff with email addresses. Other communication channels include live social media Q&A with corrections administrators, large screens in prison staff areas to broadcast updates and announcements, call-in hotlines for recorded updates, and required staff meetings.<br>• Involving staff in developing operational improvements and training content empowers staff and improves organizational commitment.<br>• Collecting data on why staff leave and where they're going helps an agency identify necessary retention improvements.<br>• Overtime is expensive and leads to burnout and misconduct, yet staff in several states have grown dependent on it for the additional income it provides. | **Staffing at Facilities** |

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| • Advanced contraband detection technologies are not effective without adequate staff and training.<br>• Technology alone is never 100% effective at detecting contraband, and should be combined with other deterrence strategies such as random searches, drug testing, facility design, and canine units.<br>• The most stringent search policy identified included: random cell and living area searches monthly; common area search daily; quarterly unannounced entire facility searches by a special response team; random staff shake-downs twice a year; and quarterly vehicle searches with canine units.<br>• Higher staff rank and rotation improves facility entry security.<br>• Several states are actively engaged in federal cellular communications policy advocacy to ease the financial and regulatory burden on state prisons. | **Security Procedures to Interdict Contraband** |

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| • For enhanced candidate screening criteria to be effective, channels for reporting staff misconduct must also be improved.<br>• Most misconduct referrals come from management teams, thus well-trained managers are essential.<br>• Strategies that lower expected gains and raise potential penalties deter staff from smuggling contraband.<br>• Proactive intelligence gathering can predict dangerous situations or misconduct.<br>• Adding executive staff focused solely on overall prison system safety, such as an Inspector General or Chief Interdiction Officer, can improve the effectiveness of contraband interdiction and misconduct deterrence, and mend public confidence.<br>• Regular warden walk-arounds and compliance inspections reduce opportunities for inappropriate interactions between staff and inmates.<br>• Well-trained management improves trust and loyalty among staff so employees won't look to inmates as willing sympathizers. | **Measures to Detect and Address Staff Misconduct** |

## CONCLUSION & NEXT STEPS

The remainder of this report provides in-depth background, methodology, research findings and discussion of recommendations. Though the scope of this report is limited by the topics and timeline requested, additional research should look into the potential costs and operational feasibility of each recommendation. Additional feedback from staff at all levels of the agency, combined with findings of an internal review being conducted by the National Institute of Corrections, will provide additional insight into prioritization of the recommendations included here. A common theme throughout the research was the importance of capturing and analyzing data. Implementation of these recommendations should be carefully tracked and evaluated to establish whether the desired outcome is achieved, and if not, to provide evidence for additional policy adjustments.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, North Carolina has made some positive changes to its prison system. Two stand out. First, the 2011 Justice Reinvestment Act has resulted in an estimated $560 million saved in reduced corrections spending and averted costs. Investment in additional post-release supervision and parole officers, electronic monitoring, and cognitive behavioral and substance abuse treatment has resulted in a 9.6 percent reduction in the prison population, and a 67 percent drop in prison admissions. Eleven of North Carolina's state prisons have now closed. Fifty-five remain.[1] Second, North Carolina's prisons are currently undergoing a comprehensive re-missioning initiative. Specific missions will be identified for each prison based on evaluation of staffing, facilities, and local resources. When missions are properly matched with diagnostic assessment of each inmate's risks and needs, inmates can be distributed more strategically. Ultimately, re-missioning will result in improved inmate outcomes, while also reducing program redundancies, increasing efficiencies, and generating additional cost savings. Both of these initiatives are consistent with what is recognized nationally as the very best practices in corrections management. However, it will take a number of years before the benefits become apparent to the public.

Despite reducing the inmate population and corrections spending, the past few years have also given rise to public concern for other critical issues facing North Carolina's prisons. North Carolina's structured sentencing laws, passed in 1993, combined with the Justice Reinvestment Act, shared a goal of ensuring that prison time is reserved for only the most serious offenders. These policies have been successful at reducing the number of offenders with misdemeanors and probation revocation in state prisons. However, this means that the inmate population that remains is a less-diluted pool of more serious offenders. Simultaneously, a decline in the adult mental health system in NC during the same time period has resulted in more individuals with Severe and Persistent Mental Illness (SPMI) that end up in prison. Overall, the difficult task of managing this changing inmate population and protecting the safety of both staff and inmates requires more personnel with more advanced training.

For some time, North Carolina has also faced both recruitment challenges and high staff turnover. Earlier this year, a study conducted by East Carolina University, for the North Carolina Criminal Justice Education and Training Standards Commission, found that 56 percent of adult institutional corrections officers thought about quitting their job in the previous six months and 39 percent currently desired to quit their job.[2] This summer, The Charlotte Observer published a series of investigative articles detailing cases of staff misconduct and inappropriate relations with offenders, correctional officer safety concerns, and prevalence of cell phones and other contraband.

The urgency of the situation in North Carolina's prisons led North Carolina Department of Public Safety Secretary Erik Hooks to request from the North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission:

> *"…a comprehensive study of prison management across the country to identify best practices for improving safety and security in prisons. The study should examine the following:*
> *(1) Hiring practices for correctional officers, including screening of candidates,*
> *(2) Training of correctional officers and all prison staff*
> *(3) Staffing at the facilities,*
> *(4) Security procedures to interdict contraband,*
> *(5) Measures to detect and address staff misconduct, and*
> *(6) Any other matters the commission deems necessary and relevant to the study…"*

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[1] The Council of State Governments Justice Center. (2016) "North Carolina." Retrieved from https://csgjusticecenter.org/jr/nc/
[2] Bonner, H.S. (2017). North Carolina Department of Public Safety Division of Adult Correction and Juvenile Justice Adult Institutional Corrections Recruitment and Retention Evaluation (update). Retrieved from http://www.ncdoj.gov/getdoc/2703f296 ddde41eeaf3e-a3b36f3f9847/NCDOJ-Recruitment-and-Retention-Final-Report_Adult.aspx

The full letter is included in *Appendix A – Request for Study of Prison Security.*

Since the beginning of this research in July, the Department of Public Safety's Division of Adult Correction and Juvenile Justice (DACJJ) has experienced additional tragedy and upheaval. In October, an escape attempt by four inmates at the Pasquotank Correctional Institute resulted in the death of four correctional employees. With the murder of another correctional officer by an inmate at Bertie Correctional Institution in April, this year has now been the deadliest in the history of the North Carolina prison system. These events further emphasize the need for aggressive action and needed reform. In addition, the DACJJ mourned the September loss of Deputy Secretary Gwen Norville, who served the department for over three decades, and had oversight responsibilities that included the Office of Staff Development and Training, Women's Services, and Correction Enterprises. Finally, Chief Deputy Secretary of the DACJJ, David Guice, stepped down at the end of October, following a long career in corrections that included the successful implementation of the Justice Reinvestment Act and vast improvements in community corrections.

This report focuses specifically on reviewing and recommending key management improvements related to the topics requested. Looking outward to other states, it provides a summary of how similar states are coping with common problems, and which strategies they have found to be most effective. Recommendations based on these findings are intended to supplement other efforts underway by the Governor's Office, the North Carolina Department of Public Safety, and a review of Correction Enterprises operations by the National Institute of Corrections.

## II. METHODOLOGY

To examine the questions posed by Secretary Hooks, the Sanford research team first conducted a thorough review of academic literature, corrections organizations and government agency websites, and recent news media to gather all relevant research and existing recommendations. In general, criminal justice literature tends to focus more on the effect of prisons on inmate outcomes and crime reduction, and the effectiveness of prison programs and services. However, a substantial amount of existing information related to corrections organizational theory and management is summarized in the literature review, below.

The next phase of research involved talking to national organizations including The American Correctional Association (ACA), the Association of State Administrators (ASCA), and the Vera Institute of Justice to identify nationwide themes and common issues. These conversations provided tips on which management subjects certain states and corrections professionals had expertise, as well as which states were overall leaders in prison management. Simultaneously, states were compared according to common characteristics to determine which states were most similar to North Carolina. The factors compared include state population, number of prisons, prison capacity, incarceration rate, total inmate population, population density (urban/rural), correctional officer salary, and participation in justice reinvestment initiatives. These two methods combined narrowed down a list of states to pursue for interviews. Out of 12 states contacted, seven states agreed to participate in a research interview: Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Oregon, Michigan, and Georgia. These states provide a mix of geographic regions, subject matter expertise, unionized versus right-to-work, and corrections budgets.

Research interviews covered a specific set of main questions and subtopics (See *Appendix B – Interview Questions)*. This list was sent to interview subjects ahead of time. Michigan opted to provide responses in writing. The remaining states participated in in-depth phone interviews. During phone interviews, the questions served as a general roadmap and were used to guide conversation, without overly influencing the recommendations and preferred practices that states chose to voluntarily emphasize. Interviews lasted approximately one to two hours.

In addition to interviews with administrators from other states, the research team and a subcommittee of Crime Commissioners engaged with criminal justice experts in North Carolina including sheriffs, police chiefs, former inmates, non-profit managers, prison wardens, and other corrections professionals. The research team and Commission subcommittee also enlisted feedback from the NC Conference of District Attorneys and the NC Criminal Justice Education and Training Standards Commission. These conversations added additional perspectives grounded in North Carolina.

In accordance with IRB protocol, interview subject identities remain confidential. Report authors may be contacted for requested access to the research audit trail.

The topics covered by prison management literature reflect historical challenges faced by prisons all over the country, that are also persistent in North Carolina: recruitment and retention of staff, effective training, staff misconduct, and strategies and technologies to limit contraband moving in and out of prisons. Though practically impossible to eliminate these issues entirely, the literature provides evidence and recommendations on steps to mitigate these problems.

## HIRING & SCREENING OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

A Center for Innovative Public Policies report by Stinchcomb et al. offers an extensive resource on hiring. Although this report focuses on jails, its lessons are also applicable to state prisons. It outlines national corrections workforce trends of concern: the aging of the current workforce, the inevitable "brain drain" that will occur upon their retirement, and the shrinking population of qualified workers. The report offers recruitment strategy suggestions for adapting to these trends, based on the results of a 2008 national survey. Survey results showed that while 67 percent of employees found out about a job opening through word-of-mouth from a personal contact or employee of the agency, only 49 percent of administrators felt that informal recruiting was an effective strategy. This suggests that involving current officers and staff in recruitment is likely to improve turnout and applications. One proposed method is to create "recruitment planning groups" with a cross-generational mix of line-level employees, supervisors, and administrators to discuss necessary employee competencies and targeted recruitment strategies.

This example also highlights a disconnect between the observations of administrators and employees.  Better data capture can help administrators more accurately determine which recruitment strategies work. To improve recruitment efficiency and reduce costs, it is important to focus on yield, which examines how long people stay. Yield can be used to evaluate the effectiveness of each step in a candidate screening process. For example, if a polygraph test is required, yet ends up disqualifying very few candidates, it may not be an effective filtering tool. Recruitment strategies that yield more long-term employees are more effective than strategies that may result in more initial applicants, but fewer new hires that stay.[3]

The report highly recommends building a positive public perception of the organization as an employer, as potential candidates are less likely to apply if they view the organization in a negative light. Reaching out to younger generations via schools and maintaining a strong Internet presence could increase the volume of applications. The authors suggest that prisons maintain an up-to-date website that is easily accessible and contains information about hiring and application processes. The report also highlights some creative recruitment initiatives implemented by agencies employing law enforcement officers, emergency first responders, and teachers such as moving expenses, housing assistance, educational loan forgiveness, expedited hiring, and employee referral bonuses.[4]

Though a high volume of applicants is needed to maintain crucial staffing levels, effective screening tools are necessary for ensuring candidate job satisfaction, and eliminating candidates who are likely to engage in misconduct. Jurik et al. examined whether "professionalization," the requirement of higher educational standards, improves the job experience for correctional officers. They find that a higher level of education actually lowers job

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[3] Stinchcomb, J., McCampbell, S., & Leip, L. (2009). The Future is Now: Recruiting, Retaining, and Developing the 21st Century Jail Workforce. Center for Innovative Public Policies. Retrieved from http://cipp.org/futureisnow.html

[4] *Ibid.*

satisfaction, as the officers may expect or feel prepared for more rigorous or intellectual work than they end up performing.[5]

Kane and White sought to identify correlates of police misconduct by looking at a sample of officers who had been separated for cause from the NYPD over a span of 21 years. Higher levels of misconduct were correlated with young age, prior criminal history, documented problems in other jobs, and low education levels.[6] The author states that "standards such as no criminal record, no employment disciplinary problems, and certain educational attainment should not only be established, but should also be enforced." The author also advocates for background checks that must be completed before an officer is placed in the line of duty. Although Kane and White focused on police, their findings are applicable to other branches of law enforcement, including corrections.

A white paper by Carle et al. for the National Institute of Corrections emphasizes contacting previous employers of corrections job candidates to obtain information about previous job conduct. The authors acknowledge that former employers are not required to provide this information, which can be a barrier. Because of this, informal means of investigation, like examining a candidate's Facebook page, are suggested.[7]

## STAFF TRAINING & RETENTION

Prisons have conflicting priorities. The highest priority, of course, is to protect public safety by making sure that inmates don't escape. However, society's expectations for what prisons should do with inmates have changed over time. Prisons are called on to balance the conflicting goals of punishment, deterrence, and rehabilitation. As protectors of public safety, prison staff take on a variety of roles with competing priorities. They must maintain order, administer inmate programming, and provide medical and mental health care. Their job as a law enforcement professional is to interact with individuals who are housed in a facility against their will, every hour of every shift. Corrections is one of the most intense and undervalued areas of public safety work. Denhof and Spinaris studied Michigan Corrections Organization members, and found that rates of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, depression, and suicide risk were substantially elevated for correctional officers relative to the general public and other public safety professions.[8]

The literature is clear that job satisfaction, burnout and turnover of corrections staff are inextricably linked. Job satisfaction is a "subjective, individual-level feeling reflecting whether a person's needs are or are not being met by a particular job."[9] Burnout is a psychological syndrome, characterized by exhaustion, cynicism, and detachment, which arises due to an inability to cope with chronic stressors one faces at a job.[10] Corrections staff who are unsatisfied with their job and work environment experience higher levels of burnout. This higher burnout leads to higher turnover, which in turn reduces job satisfaction of remaining employees. Thus, the three form a negative cycle that harms workplace morale.

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[5] Jurik, N. C., Halemba, G. J., Musheno, M. C., & Boyle, B. V. (1987). Educational Attainment, Job Satisfaction, and the Professionalization of Correctional Officers. *Work and Occupations*, *14*(1), 106–125. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888487014001006

[6] Kane, R. J., & White, M. D. (2009). Bad cops. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *8*(4), 737–769. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2009.00591.x

[7] Carle, S. (2009). Labor and Employment Law: Tools for Prevention, Investigation and Discipline of Staff Sexual Misconduct in Custodial Settings. The National Institute of Corrections. Retrieved from https://nicic.gov/library/024078

[8] Denhof, M.D., Spinaris, C.G. (2016) Prevalence of Trauma-related Health Conditions in Correctional Officers: A Profile of Michigan Corrections Organization Members. Desert Waters Correctional Outreach. Retrieved from http://desertwaters.com/?page_id=746

[9] Lambert, E. G., Hogan, N. L., & Barton, S. M. (2002). Satisfied Correctional Staff: A Review of the Literature on the Correlates of Correctional Staff Job Satisfaction. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *29*(2), 115–143. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854802029002001

[10] Finney, C., Stergiopoulos, E., Hensel, J., Bonato, S., & Dewa, C. S. (2013). Organizational stressors associated with job stress and burnout in correctional officers: a systematic review. *BMC Public Health*, *13*, 82. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-13-82

As previously discussed, correctional facilities are inherently high-stress environments, thus burnout can occur easily in staff. Finney et al. provides a review of five categories of stressors associated with burnout in corrections staff:

- Stressors that are intrinsic to the job refers to the heavy workload and complexity of tasks that correctional officers face.
- Role within the organization refers to either role ambiguity (when one's duties are unclear) or role conflict (when one faces conflicting demands).
- Career development includes promotion, job security, and ambition.
- Relationships at work describes the interactions that occur between an employee and their subordinates, co-workers, and supervisors.
- Finally, organization structure and climate includes decision-making latitude and organizational politics.

Finney et al. found that burnout is most strongly tied to stressors related to "organizational structure and climate," which generally refers to organizational politics and decision-making ability of employees. Some specific shortcomings in organizational structure and climate that contribute to burnout include unclear goals and policies, lack of decision-making ability, and lack of support.[11]

Multiple studies suggest enhancement of decision-making ability, and a positively-viewed work environment as the main areas for improving job satisfaction and preventing burnout. Hepburn finds that at four prisons in Connecticut, Minnesota, Illinois, and Missouri, officers felt that their level of influence was too low, and that inmates sometimes had more decision-making ability about operations within the prison than they did.[12]

Lambert et al. review the correlates of correctional staff job satisfaction. They find that input into decision-making and participation in the workplace are both found to have a strong positive impact on job satisfaction. A positively-viewed work environment is also very likely to lead to higher job satisfaction.[13] In addition, making an employee an integral, productive and respected member of a team, and emphasizing open communication were the most salient in reducing employee role stress.[14] These are similar to the findings of Leip and Stinchcomb, who find that job satisfaction is much higher when employees report a positive organizational climate characterized by inclusion in decision-making processes and respectful treatment by the administration.[15]

Perceptions of fairness and equity in officer discipline are also important to the organizational climate. Taxman finds that officers who felt that organizational justice was not present were more likely to hold negative attitudes and engage in negative actions.[16]

Do salary and benefits drive staff turnover? A literature review conducted in 2001 (when the annual turnover rate hovered between 12 and 25 percent, nationally) suggested that the most competent workers faced the highest risk of quitting, in favor of more lucrative employment elsewhere.[17] However, Farkas surveyed prison staff in a

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[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Hepburn, J. R. (1987). The prison control structure and its effects on work attitudes: The perceptions and attitudes of prison guards. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *15*(1), 49–64. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2352(87)90077-8

[13] *Supra* Note 9

[14] Lambert, E.G.; Nancy L. Hogan; Kasey A. Tucker, Problems at Work: Exploring the Correlates of Role Stress among Correctional Staff, 89 Prison J. 460, 481 (2009)

[15] Leip, L. A., & Stinchcomb, J. B. (2013). Should I Stay or Should I Go?: Job Satisfaction and Turnover Intent of Jail Staff Throughout the United States. *Criminal Justice Review*, *38*(2), 226–241. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/0734016813478822

[16] Taxman, F. S., & Gordon, J. A. (2009). Do Fairness and Equity Matter?: An Examination of Organizational Justice Among Correctional Officers in Adult Prisons. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *36*(7), 695–711. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854809335039

[17] Lambert, E. G. (2001). To stay or quit: A review of the literature on correctional staff turnover. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, *26*(1), 61. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02886857

Midwestern state and finds that while pay was reported by staff to be one of the best aspects of the job, it did not seem to impact the chances of turnover.[18] Similarly, Jurik and Winn find that a negative perception of working conditions is the strongest predictor of turnover.[19] Most recently, studies by both Lambert et al. and Leip and Stinchcomb find that extrinsic incentives, like salary and benefits, are much weaker predictors of burnout and job satisfaction than intrinsic incentives, like an enjoyable work environment and having good rapport with supervisors and co-workers.[20,21] Jurik and Winn also report that individual and identity factors, like race, gender, or age, do not predict turnover at a significant level.[22] This supports Lambert's suggestion that to reduce turnover, correctional administrators should pay more attention to work environment than to personal characteristics when trying to raise job satisfaction and organizational commitment of staff.[23] While salary and benefits may be a more significant factor in states with relatively low pay, the literature suggests that overall, work environment plays an equal, if not more significant role in staff turnover.

Possibly more important than recruitment data, it is important to capture data related to retention. Stinchcomb et al. also suggest identifying the most likely career stage at which employees leave, and understanding why they are leaving and where they are going.[24] Employees leave due to both voluntary and involuntary turnover. However, 60 percent or more of correctional staff turnover is voluntary, which is more harmful to the organization. Lambert et al. find that job stress remained consistent for correctional staff across all career stages. However, turnover intent is highest during the initial stage of employment as new hires are considering whether to commit to a career with the organization, and decreases in later career stages as it becomes too costly to leave. This is consistent with other career-stage literature, and is also observed in the field of policing.[25] An understanding of when and why staff leave is essential in deciding where retention resources should be invested. When retention strategies are introduced, continual data capture and evaluation identifies which are effective, and enables an agency to adapt over time to labor market changes.

## INTERDICTING CONTRABAND

Prison contraband includes any material that is prohibited within the prison because of the potential to affect safety, security, or order of the institution. The designation of items as contraband varies nationally, but generally includes weapons, narcotics, currency, telephones, and other electronic devices. Prevalence of contraband is difficult to track, as the amount reported is only the amount that is discovered. Unless it's detected at the perimeter, the pathway for entry into the prison is difficult to determine.

Strategies for managing contraband don't always lead to increased contraband finds, though they may still be effective. For example, Prendergast et al. evaluated the California Department of Corrections (CDOC) Drug Reduction Strategy Project in 2004. CDOC implemented strategies for drug reduction in two phases: random urine testing of 150 inmates per week, followed by continued random urine testing supplemented with canine teams and drug detection equipment. The two phases were compared, and while the second phase didn't result in an increase in drug finds, it did lead to further reductions in inmate substance use.[26] This example demonstrates that

[18] Farkas, M. A. (1999). Correctional officer attitudes toward inmates and working with inmates in a "get tough" era. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *27*(6), 495–506. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352(99)00020-3

[19] Jurik, N. C., & Winn, R. (1987). Describing Correctional-Security Dropouts and Rejects: An Individual or Organizational Profile? *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *14*(1), 5–25. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854887014001002

[20] *Supra* Note 9

[21] *Supra* Note 15

[22] *Supra* Note 19

[23] Lambert, E.G. (2004) The Impact of Job Characteristics on Correctional Staff Members, 84 Prison J. 208, 227.

[24] *Supra* Note 3

[25] Lambert, E.G., Hogan, N.L., Griffin M.L., (2017). Research Note: A Career-Stage Analysis of Correctional Staff Outcomes, 97 Prison J. 411, 430

[26] Prendergast, M.L., Campos M., Farabee, D., Evans, W.K., Martinez, J. (2004). Reducing Substance Use in Prison: The California Department of

while detection and confiscation are desired, implementing general deterrence strategies such as drug testing and random searches in addition to investing in contraband screening technologies is most effective.

In a 2016 review of the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP), the U.S. Office of the Inspector General (OIG) provided recommendations for improved security procedures for interdicting contraband that are also applicable to state prisons. The recommendations include more reliable contraband data collection, policies specifying the frequency for random searches, a requirement that only trained and supervised staff work in the front lobby, and restricting the size of personal containers allowed for staff to bring into the prison. In addition, the report states that contraband detection technologies are often, "ineffectual without clear guidance and staff trained properly to operate these technologies."[27]

## CONTRABAND SCREENING TECHNOLOGIES

A 2014 report by Huffman and Ericson provides an overview of contraband screening technologies on the market. It covers different types of imaging technologies, including Transmission X-ray devices and Backscatter X-ray devices. Both use X-ray, yet Backscatter devices expose the subject to less ionizing radiation, whereas Transmission devices offer the benefit of imaging the interior of the body.[28] Another technology, Millimeter Wave (MMW) technology, uses high frequency electromagnetic radio waves to detect metallic and non-metallic contraband beneath clothing. However, it is unable to detect contraband hidden in body cavities. A National Institute of Justice report reviews the capability of ten technologies to detect contraband. The report confirms that Transmission X-ray devices are the only ones with the ability to detect contraband hidden underneath clothing and within body cavities, in addition to detecting non-metallic and metallic contraband. The other technologies were able to detect metallic and non-metallic contraband, however only underneath clothing and not inside body cavities.[29]

The National Criminal Justice Technology Research, Test, and Evaluation Center issued a report in 2017 providing a much more comprehensive market survey of different types of contraband interdiction products. The report includes information provided by 33 commercial vendors and 103 different products, detailing weight and size, detection capabilities, amount of time required for inspection, alarm mechanism, and power requirements. It sorts the devices into three broad categories: person-borne, vehicle-born, and environmental detectors.[30] No judgments are made concerning the quality of these products. However, it provides a comprehensive overview of contraband detection devices.

There are also several promising technologies currently being developed and tested that require further research. One example is radio frequency identification (RFID) tags. RFID consists of a tag fitted with a programmable chip that can be monitored for unique identity and location.[31] It has been offered as a tool to track the precise location of both inmates and staff in threat locations. An RFID system could also aid contraband detection by enabling the tracking of inmates suspected of being contraband carriers. The RAND Corporation released a study in 2010 documenting the current use of RFID in U.S. correctional facilities. They monitored a District of Columbia Department of Corrections facility as an active RFID system was installed. A key lesson from the case study is that

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Corrections Drug Reduction Strategy Project, 84 Prison J. 265, 280.

[27] Office of the Inspector General. (2016). Review of the Federal Bureau of Prisons' Contraband Interdiction Efforts. U.S. Department of Justice Evaluation and Inspections Division. Retrieved from https://permanent.access.gpo.gov/gpo69858/e1605.pdf

[28] Huffman, C., Ericson L. (2014). *Body Cavity Screening for Criminal Justice: Market Survey.* National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/246710.pdf

[29] National Institute of Justice (2017). A Market Survey on Contraband Detection Technologies. NIJ. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/250685.pdf

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*

staff require training on implementation of the technology, management of the system, and analysis of the data.[32] As further evaluation is needed to determine a cost-effective method for implementation, it remains a technology that few correctional facilities have implemented.

## CELLPHONE SCREENING TECHNOLOGIES

### MANAGED ACCESS SYSTEMS

One of the newest and most widely-discussed contraband detection technologies are Managed Access Systems (MAS) for controlling the use and prevalence of cell phones in prisons. MAS intercepts calls in order to prevent inmates from accessing carrier networks. The signal is not blocked by a jamming signal, but is instead re-routed and prevented from reaching other network stations. These systems do permit 9-1-1 calls as well as communication from known authorized devices.

MAS interferes with radio waves, and therefore its use is illegal under the Federal Communications Act without an Federal Communications Commission (FCC) waiver. The FCC has regulatory authority over non-federal use of the radio spectrum.[33] Under current rules, correctional facilities or third parties at a correctional facility must petition the agency for approval each time MAS is tested or implemented.[34] The FCC has granted special temporary authorizations and experimental special temporary authorizations such as spectrum leases to allow MAS testing. A spectrum lease is designed to help remove regulatory barriers and increase access to the radio frequency spectrum. Congress, state governments, and prisons have lobbied both the FCC and the U.S. Justice Department to re-evaluate strategies for preventing contraband cellular devices in prisons. This year, fifty members of Congress write to the FCC characterizing contraband cellphones as, "an issue of critical importance."[35] The Chairman of the FCC has indicated a willingness to work on this issue, writing in a letter to Congress, "I share your concerns about the proliferation of contraband wireless devices in prisons, and the potentially devastating implications for public safety."[36]

Several studies conducted on MAS in state prisons have discussed potential operational challenges. First, the system must effectively block communications for the correctional facility, while also not exceeding the authorized area of coverage. If competing signal strength is stronger than that of the MAS, illegal calls may bypass MAS and get through. However, if the coverage is too strong, users in surrounding areas may also have their communication blocked.

Second, installing supporting infrastructure is critical to effective deployment of MAS, and updating existing structures can be particularly challenging. In addition, the system must also be installed to be sabotage-proof. In

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[32] Hickman, L.J., Davis, L.M., Wells, E., and Eisman, M. (2010). Tracking inmates and locating staff with active radio-frequency identification (RFID): Early lessons learned in one U facility. US Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/230781.pdf

[33] Radio Spectrum Allocation. Federal Communications Commission. Retrieved from https://www.fcc.gov/engineering-technology/policy-and-rules-division/general/radio-spectrum-allocation

[34] Federal Communications Commission. (2017). Promoting Technological Solutions to Combat Contraband Wireless Device Use in Correctional Facilities. Retrieved from https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2017-05-18/pdf/2017-09886.pdf

[35] Jones, Y. Memphis Authorities Fight to Clamp Down on Smuggled Cellphones Behind Bars. USA Today. Retrieved from http://www.commercialappeal.com/story/news/crime/2017/10/29/memphis-authorities-fight-clamp-down-smuggled-cellphones-behind-bars/773096001/

[36] Kinnard, M. (2017). FCC Chair to work with Congress on Prison Cellphone Issues. Associated Press. Retrieved from http://www.theitem.com/stories/fcc-chair-to-work-with-congress-on-prison-cellphone-issues,297847

Mississippi, inmates attempted to cut exposed cables, as well as drive a field tractor into MAS infrastructure in order to disrupt the system.[37]

MAS must be routinely managed and updated, such as updating approved, "white-listed" phone numbers. In addition, technology upgrades by cellular carriers can significantly reduce system effectiveness, resulting in coverage holes where calls are able to get through. Given the rapidly developing nature of cellular technology, this remains a large challenge. MAS and supporting infrastructure may be vulnerable to inclement weather conditions, with strong winds affecting antennas and coverage. Because MAS does not include a self-monitoring feature, it will not self-adjust signal strength or notify an operator of failure.

In addition, MAS remains quite a costly system to implement. In Baltimore, the state of Maryland agreed to pay Tecore approximately $2 million to install MAS for a 60-day trial evaluation at a single site and enter into a 3-year service contract upon completion of the trial period.[38]

There are some key takeaways about actions necessary for successful implementation of MAS. (1) Good working relationships with cellular carriers are essential due to their role in providing coverage, as well their ability to permanently disable a device once proven to be contraband. In addition, they play a crucial role in 9-1-1 call management. (2) MAS does appear to detect and terminate a large number of cell phone transmissions. A comprehensive study of MAS at Metropolitan Transition Center (MTC) in Maryland found that the rate of contraband inmate cell phones has fallen, and a study of Parchman Prison in Mississippi found that the number of monthly detected call attempts decreased by 79 percent.[39,40] (3) It is important that MAS is one part of a system designed to prevent contraband cell phones, and not seen as a magic solution. The study of MTC found that other policies unrelated to technology also influenced the drop in contraband devices such as increased mandatory penalties for those caught as well as rotating correctional officers between check points to decrease smuggling by staff. Other policies that can be implemented alongside MAS include more rigorous physical searches, and formally sanctioning, physically separating, and monitoring inmates found regularly in possession of a cell phone.

## CONTINUOUS WAVE BEACON TECHNOLOGY

Another emerging technology for cell phone interdiction is Continuous Wave Beacon technology. Continuous Wave Beacon (CW beacon) technology is comprised of two major components. First, it requires that software is installed into the firmware of *all* cell phones. Second, beacons are installed in specific areas of prisons where cell phones are prohibited. The beacon emits a specialized signal, and when cell phones with the firmware recognize the signal, an alarm is sounded that shuts down all cellphone functionality. If moved without authorization, an alert of attempted tampering is sent. CW beacon technology companies argue that all other systems including managed access and jamming are neither viable nor comprehensive solutions to contraband cellular devices. Proponents also argue that the cost is much less relative to other technologies, and requires no on-site staff monitoring, no involvement of third-party carrier companies, and no FCC oversight. It also is compatible with cellular upgrades, particularly 5G. While corrections groups such as the American Correctional Association and the Association of State Correctional Administrators are in support of CW beacon, wireless companies such as AT&T, T-

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[37] Grommon, E., Carter, J., Frantz, F., & Harris, P. (2015). A Case Study of Mississippi State Penitentiary's Managed Access Technology. Rome, NY: Engility Corporation

[38] Frantz, F., & Harris, P. (2015). Analysis of Managed Access Technology in an Urban Deployment: Baltimore City Jail Complex. Rome, NY: Engility Corporation

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Supra* Note 37

Mobile, and CenturyLink are opposed, citing cybersecurity vulnerabilities, technology neutrality, and implementation barriers.[41] There are also concerns about civil liberties and privacy.

## HANDHELD CELLPHONE DETECTION TECHNOLOGIES

In addition to MAS and CW beacon, there are also handheld cell phone detection devices available. The National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center (NLECTC) developed an evaluation of handheld cell phone detection devices in 2015. Two vendors provided a total of four products for testing. These products use one of three technologies: Radio Frequency Detection (RFD), Ferromagnetic Detection (FMD), or Non-Linear Junction Detection (NLJD). Each device was subject to tests including baseline testing, an individual cell search, and foot patrol around an inmate-housing unit.[42] Both smart phones and "burner" phones were target contraband. The devices were evaluated on the ability to detect the presence of the phone whether turned on or off, the range of detection, and the time required to detect the device. After the evaluation, testers were asked which product they would purchase. The results are summarized below:[43]

| Product | Technology | Percent Selected |
|---|---|---|
| BVS PocketHound | RFD | 83% |
| BVS WolfHound Pro | RFD | 17% |
| BVS MantaRay | FMD | 0% |
| REI Orion 2.4 | NLJD | 0% |

One of the limitations of these products noted is the propensity for false alarms. In addition, if the phone is powered off, these products require a range of as little as 0-8 inches for detection. These are trade-offs that affect the efficacy of these detection products. However, just as with MAS, this study points out that a multi-layered approach that includes policies, procedures, and staff training that complement technology continues to be the recommended best practice for combatting contraband cell phones.

## PREVENTING STAFF MISCONDUCT

As discussed earlier, one way to avoid staff misconduct is improved candidate screening during the hiring process. In addition, misconduct often occurs when high vacancy leads to existing staff burnout, resulting in poor job performance and failure to adhere to policy. Thus, improvements in recruitment and retention are also essential in managing staff misconduct.

Prevention of more egregious forms of staff misconduct requires establishing appropriate and functional staff-inmate relationships, and implementing strategies to deter corruption. According to the literature, successful relationships rely on consistency and fairness, exhibit empathy without formation of a personal relationship, and avoid the use of rewards and favors to establish and maintain power. In other words, while friendly relationships are preferable, any type of social, economic or sexual entanglements are to be avoided at all cost. Most officers prefer greater social distance and are aware that close relationships can put them in compromising positions. Improved employee screening and monitoring can deter misconduct, but should be implemented in tandem with improved channels for reporting misconduct.

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[41] Hendel, J. (2017). Prison Official Want FCC Chief to Buck Wireless Industry to Fight Contraband Prison Phones. OzmintFirm. Retrieved from http://ozmint.com/prison-officials-want-fcc-chief-to-buck-wireless-industry-to-fight-contraband-prison-phones/

[42] Shaffer, J. and Russo J. (2015). Test and Evaluation of Hand-held Cell Phone Detection Devices. NLECTC.

[43] *Supra* Note 29

## ESTABLISHING EFFECTIVE STAFF-INMATE RELATIONSHIPS

Franke et al. finds that the key to promoting appropriate relationships between prisoners and staff is having "standards and expectations of fair and humane treatment." Any instance of staff misconduct reduces the legitimacy of the institution. Frank et al. surveyed inmates in prisons and correctional "boot camps." Prison inmates were more likely to agree with statements like "I was worried about my safety here," due to variability of treatment. Offenders at correctional "boot camps" were more likely to agree with the statement, "the staff here helped me change for the better," because of equitable and fair treatment.[44]

Liebling also finds that personal closeness between prisoners and staff was not preferred by either party and led to a lower level of respect. Officers who were most respected were those who used appropriate discretion with their power. Relationships that were respectful, boundaried, and vigilant were more sound and beneficial.[45] Kelly confirms this with his finding that older officers and officers with more career experience are more likely to take a rehabilitative approach and use less of their power for punitive purposes, while younger officers are more likely to take a punitive approach.[46] Crewe also finds that inmates are more distrusting of younger and inexperienced officers, and find friendly inmate-officer relationships disingenuous.[47]

Earlier research by Johnson and Price promotes a human services approach to establish a more resilient prison environment. A human services approach expands the correctional officer's role to balance treatment and custody, rather than dividing the organization and staff along these functional lines. This can be accomplished through training correctional workers to defuse violent situations with conflict management skills, instead of circumventing, withstanding, or ignoring them. A human service approach reduces the stress and suffering of inmates, and improves the overall prison climate. The seven ecological dimensions along which this is accomplished include: "privacy (from irritants such as noise and crowding), safety (from attack), structure (stability and consistency), support (services that facilitate self-improvement), emotional feedback (being loved, appreciated and cared for), activity (occupying one's time with events), and freedom (from circumscription of one's autonomy)." Johnson and Price clarify that providing human service does not mean staff must get involved in inmates' personal lives and hardships. Rather, it simply requires that authority must be used in combination with genuine empathy to, "help, comfort, console, shelter, or protect, and never solely to restrain or suffocate." The human service ideal includes even simple acts such as custodial routines by line staff that that enhance inmate safety and structure.[48]

Simultaneously, it is important for correctional officers to understand the power dynamics that can tip a productive staff-inmate relationship into a corrupt one, and the difference between empathy and personal closeness. Liebling examines relationships and power dynamics between staff and inmates through the lens of policing tactics. The author identifies six types of power (coercive power, reward power, legitimate power, exchange power, expert power, and respect power) that are prevalent in policing and applied them to prison practice. He argues that reward power and exchange power were the most likely to lead to corruption, as these

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[44] Franke, D., Bierie, D., & Mackenzie, D. L. (2010). Legitimacy in corrections. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *9*(1), 89–117. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2010.00613.x

[45] Liebling, A. (2000). Prison Officers, Policing and the Use of Discretion. *Theoretical Criminology*, *4*(3), 333–357. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480600004003005

[46] Kelly, D. (2014). Punish or Reform? Predicting Prison Staff Punitiveness. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 53(1), 49–68. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1111/hojo.12045

[47] Crewe, B. (2011). Soft power in prison: Implications for staff–prisoner relationships, liberty and legitimacy. *European Journal of Criminology*, *8*(6), 455–468. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/1477370811413805

[48] Johnson, R., & Price, S. (1981). The Complete Correctional Officer: Human Service and the Human Environment of Prison. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *8*(3), 343–373. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/009385488100800307

types of reciprocity-based power can lead to officers being put in compromising situations. Reward power refers to the ability to distribute privileges or prized positions, and exchange power refers to the ability to provide informal rewards.[49]

Shapira and Navon observe these inmate power-grabs in Israeli prisons. Erving Goffman's theory of "total social control" argues that prisons have no social mobility between staff and inmates due to great social distance. However, Shapira and Navon find this is inaccurate. Instead, they observed many cases of officers being manipulated by inmates or being involved in contraband schemes. Large amounts of time spent with guards from similar backgrounds in an under-stimulating prison environment allowed prisoners to take advantage of reward and exchange power dynamics and seize power away from officers.[50]

In summary, correctional staff are respected when they demonstrate fairness and consistency in inmate interactions. A human services approach for reducing inmate stress and suffering improves the prison environment overall. However, it is imperative that prison staff understand that using transactional power, and crossing the line from empathetic interaction into personal relationships leads to entanglements and corruption.

## CORRUPTION DETERRENCE STRATEGIES

A variety of strategies can be effective at deterring corruption. A report written for the World Bank identifies corruption as generally occurring when "officials expect to derive net positive benefit from a transaction" and say that "successful anti-corruption programs will lower the expected gains and raise the expected penalties of corrupt behavior." Recommendations include increasing the probability of paying penalties by creating a strict anti-corruption code that outlines uniform penalties. Also, reducing the number of transactions and more strictly controlling transactions, minimizes the potential for corruption.[51] Ivković concludes that misconduct can persist even when hiring standards are increased because of dysfunctional structures that suppress allegations of corruption.[52] Thus, enhanced avenues for reporting misconduct must be implemented concurrently to maximize the effectiveness of increased hiring standards.

Corrections-centric articles often focused on the discretion and freedom given to staff as a key issue. For example, McCarthy argues that "opportunities for corruption arise from the tremendous amounts of discretionary authority allocated by the legislature to correctional officials." He also argues that because inmates are deprived of autonomy, goods, and services, a void exists and corruption of staff can be used as a means of improving their confinement conditions (as discussed in the previous section). McCarthy's suggestions echo those suggested for police corruption—the creation of a strict code, better background checks, and more oversight such as the implementation of internal affairs units.[53]

Sykes, a preeminent sociologist who studied the self-contained social systems within prisons, also focuses on oversight. Consistent with other literature, he argues that even small interactions with inmates can erode the authority of staff, and that corruption occurs when these interactions lead to closeness. Because working

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[49] *Supra* Note 45

[50] Shapira, R., & Navon, D. (1985). Staff-Inmates Cooperation in Israeli Prisons: Toward a Non-Functionalistic Theory of Total Institutions. *International Review of Modern Sociology*, *15*(1/2), 131–146.

[51] Shah, A. H., Jeff. (1999). *Anti-Corruption Policies and Programs: A Framework for Evaluation*. The World Bank. Retrieved from https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/abs/10.1596/1813-9450-2501

[52] Ivković, S. K. (2009). Rotten apples, rotten branches, and rotten orchards. *Criminology & Public Policy*, *8*(4), 777–785. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2009.00593.x

[53] McCarthy, B. J. (1984). Keeping an Eye on the Keeper: Prison Corruption and Its Control. *The Prison Journal*, 64(2), 113–125. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/003288558406400212

conditions of prison staff are often poor, resentment towards management leads staff to find willing sympathizers in the inmates, further increasing the potential for undue familiarity. He argues for increased positive interaction with management to strengthen loyalty amongst staff, while also improving oversight of staff-inmate interactions. One key area for oversight is instances in which officers may hand off their tasks to inmates that they deem to be responsible.[54] Even if only simple rules are bent initially, the exchange of favors between inmates and staff can make staff vulnerable to blackmail and the pressure to commit more serious offenses.

Carle et al. suggest additional deterrents such as thorough training on what is and what is not misconduct, implementation of off-duty conduct rules, as well as random, uniformly enforced searches of employee cars and lockers.[55]

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[54] Sykes, G. M. (1956). The Corruption of Authority and Rehabilitation. *Social Forces*, *34*(3), 257–262. Retrieved from
        https://doi.org/10.2307/2574049
[55] *Supra* Note 7

## IV.     INTERVIEW FINDINGS

Seven states participated in research interviews: Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Oregon, Tennessee, and Michigan. Interview discussions covered a broad range of topics that generally fit into two categories – prison staffing, and prison security. However, these two areas also overlap, as adequate prison staffing greatly contributes to prison safety. Discussions about staffing were focused on recruitment, hiring, training, and retention. In line with Secretary Hooks' specific policy questions, discussions about security focused on interdicting contraband, and detecting and addressing staff misconduct. Research interviews shed additional light on issues raised in the literature.

Interviews revealed many common practices among states. Conversations with each state also tended to gravitate towards specific programs that each state wished to highlight. Interestingly, the emphases differed for each state, indicating that while states share common problems, there is wide variation in both priorities and policy approaches due to situational factors such as leadership, political landscape, and response to specific incidents.

## HIRING & SCREENING OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

### CANDIDATE RECRUITMENT

States interviewed rely on a common set of recruitment locations: community colleges and universities, high school career programs, military bases, churches and other social organizations, career centers, job fairs, and state employment agencies. Job postings are almost always continually advertised on state hiring websites. Ohio lists openings by specific prison. Each prison facility in Georgia handles its own advertising and interviews.

Social media and online advertising were the most popular advertising tools. Oregon has a specific position dedicated to social media recruitment on sites such as Facebook and Linkedin, with the ability for candidates to video chat with a recruiter. Tennessee also advertises through local TV, radio, and a career hotline. Michigan was the only state to specifically mention that recruiting was driven by friends and family 65 percent of the time. They proactively use over 100 department members as trained recruiters.

For most states, one-day hiring events held at prisons are a popular strategy in difficult-to-staff areas. These expedited events typically include a hiring team in one location for the day. Events are advertised locally. Potential candidates listen to recruiters discuss open positions. Screening tests, prison tours, interviews, background checks, and paperwork are all completed within the day. These events are used to increase the volume of applicants and the speed of the hiring process, and place new employees into vacant positions as quickly as possible.

For example in Oregon, "job fair days" allow a three month hiring process to be completed in as little as two weeks. According to one interviewee, "To get someone in a rural community, you have to imagine…Young kid in high school in a 20,000-person community, working at a gas station or café. You need him to get online and complete an application, wait three weeks, do an interview, go back online and fill out about 45 minutes of more paperwork. We were losing a lot of people that way. Now we're getting the recruiter in front of that person, and it's been highly successful. At one facility (with one of the top two highest turnover rates) we've held three hiring events. Now for the first time, we're currently down to zero vacancies and for the first week had zero mandatory overtime." This process flexibility in hiring for certain areas has benefitted other states similarly.

Interview results show that recruitment efforts are largely similar for the states interviewed. Michigan's formalized focus on recruitment through friends and family, supported by a large number of existing staff, is a practice that stands out and is supported by the literature.

## BRANDING

There is nationwide consensus that the public perception of the corrections profession is negative, and corrections agencies express frustration at a lack of positive media coverage regarding initiatives and progress. This has an overall negative impact on the ability to recruit enthusiastic, qualified candidates. In response, many corrections agencies are finding ways to modernize their communications strategies and engage more with the public.

Social media has become the most popular avenue for corrections agencies to engage with employees, the public, and policy stakeholders. Corrections agencies view social media as a useful tool for providing a more comprehensive narrative, sharing positives such as employee promotions, as well as disseminating rapid emergency response information.

Corrections agencies are also finding other ways to creatively change how they are perceived. Many corrections agencies have focused on revamping their websites to make them more user-friendly. Ohio has engaged in branding to maintain consistency in all communications. While Oregon doesn't yet have a branding plan, branding is one of their strategic initiatives over the next two years, and their Communications Director sits on the executive team. Georgia proactively invites the media to witness internal practices, such as major shakedowns, to show the public how public safety is being protected within the prisons. Michigan Department of Corrections produces a podcast that "shares some great interviews with staff who are making a difference each day." Most impressive was Pennsylvania's use of prison facilities to host TEDx events – day-long public lecture series related to incarceration's impact on society. In addition, they spread a positive perspective internally with an employee engagement team that focuses on recognizing staff and their efforts.

In addition to the states interviewed, the Sanford research team reviewed websites nationally for examples of branding that stood out. Two of the most impressive were New York City and Wyoming. Visual examples and further description can be found in *Appendix C – Branding Examples.* What stood out about these were inspiring slogans, and highly professional images and videos featuring testimonials from a diverse array of current staff. In addition, social media feeds were incorporated into the main recruitment webpage, and hashtags were used to integrate branding across all social media platforms.

## CANDIDATE SCREENING

Candidate screening requirements varied from state to state but typically included some form of written educational or technical exam in addition to an oral interview process. Ohio specified that three-person panel interviews must include a security leader (typically chief of security) and a personnel chief.

Criminal background checks are universal, though criminal history requirements vary. In Oregon, a separate state agency, the Department of Public Safety Standards and Training (DPSST), certifies each public safety employee in the state following training. DPSST maintains a list of mandatory and discretionary disqualifiers. DPSST makes the final decision on whether a candidate's record precludes employment. However, the Oregon Department of Corrections follows DPSST standards closely up-front to avoid investing in training a candidate that risks being denied certification.

Medical exams conducted by a physician are common, as well as drug screenings. Some states require a physical fitness test, though Ohio and Oregon do not. Most states interviewed do not utilize psychological screenings, and Oregon discontinued use of psychological screenings after they found it was redundant with findings of the required medical exam. No state interviewed requires a financial screening, though Oregon requests voluntary disclosure, and Georgia requires it for employees in the intelligence unit (along with a polygraph). Georgia recently began using an integrity test, monitored by human resources.

College degrees are not typically a requirement for prison employees at any level. However, in Ohio a degree earns extra points in screening criteria for career advancement, and is preferred for deputy wardens and above. Michigan does require a bachelor's degree for prison administrators.

## STAFF TRAINING

### TRAINING LOGISTICS

There is a lot of variation in how correctional officers and prison staff are trained from state to state. For example, Ohio's entire correctional officer training lasts six weeks, while Pennsylvania's lasts for one year. Trainings include some combination of a facility orientation, multiple weeks spent in basic training (most often at an overnight training facility), followed by on-the-job training.  The stated length of basic trainings ranged from three weeks to eight weeks.  Although Pennsylvania's basic training only lasts five weeks, employees remain in training status (with oversight and supervision by training staff at the facilities) for the remainder of the year. Some states specify how long on-the-job training lasts, such as Ohio's two-week on-the-job training. Others, like Georgia, allow each facility to develop their own on-the-job training logistics, based on the needs of that specific facility. The purpose of basic training, in Ohio's view, is to teach staff the general fundamentals to adequately prepare them to work in all facility security levels. Subsequent on-the-job training is where officers learn the more nuanced skills and ethos of their assigned facility.

In all states, training instructors were staff of the corrections department. Some states have permanent training staff, some use correctional officers on assignment as trainers, and some use both. In Pennsylvania, rather than permanent training staff, correctional officers (level II, also called "training sergeants") can serve on "detached duty assignment" indefinitely as trainers. In addition, non-correctional officer staff are also used as trainers, since 51 percent of those coming through basic training are non-uniform staff. Alternatively, Ohio uses full-time dedicated training staff, supplemented by guest instructors brought in from prison facilities. Georgia also uses full-time trainers. Michigan uses both trainers from facilities and from the academy who are proficient in delivering the entire 320-hour training, or have specialized expertise. For on-the-job training, correctional officers at each individual facility are used.

The number of beds at training facilities is the main constraint when ensuring adequate training, rapid enough to keep prisons fully staffed. Pennsylvania streamlined their recruitment and training processes to better manage the extreme highs and lows in training flux. First, the Director of Training position was restructured to report directly to the Secretary. The training staff then worked together with human resources staff to better coordinate recruitment and training. Prior to each training, each prison reported their vacancy rate. The number of training seats available were then allocated to each facility based on their relative vacancy rate. This created a fair, systematic, way of maintaining a steady training pipeline, and allowed the training team to classify and prioritize needs, including doctors, dentists, case workers, etc. Ultimately, this helped reduce vacancy statewide from eight percent to now between two and three percent. The next phase is an upcoming pilot to essentially double the

training frequency, while reducing class size by half, analogous to, "offering more frequent flights to a destination on smaller planes." The goal is to maintain a steady flow of basic training while also freeing up resources for other higher-level training.

## TRAINING CONTENT

Association of Correctional Administrators (ACA) accreditation was mentioned multiple times as the guiding standard for training content and training facilities. In all states interviewed, training content covers the standard topics, such as custody and security, appropriate use of force, emergency response, communication, etc. However, some states expressed a recent shift in training philosophy and priorities. Several examples follow.

The Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction (ODOC) has a new training emphasis on threat assessment, calling for assistance, and de-escalation techniques. They no longer focus on "use of force" numbers, and are instead focusing on incident outcomes. ODOC believes that focusing on the numbers sends a message to staff that they aren't allowed to use force, or that they are using force inappropriately. New policy states, "whenever safe and possible to do so, staff *shall* call for assistance." A reluctance to call for assistance results in escalation, while more staff presence requires less force.

By focusing on coaching threat assessment, encouraging staff to call for help, and ensuring staff understand that staff safety provides the reasoning behind the new policy, the amount of force used will naturally be reduced. In other words, "When emphasis is on staff safety, then the numbers take care of themselves." Outcomes can be further improved by talking to individual staff about what they could have done differently following each situation. Perhaps most importantly, this new philosophy challenges the "old-school standard of each correctional officer handling their own business." Instead, this approach enhances comradery and team-building.

Following a lawsuit related to the mental health system, Pennsylvania's training was, "professionalized for the modern correctional officer." The new training focuses on tools for identifying and addressing mental health needs, communication, conflict resolution, and defense tactics. The time spent on firearms training was reduced, and time spent on communication was increased to more accurately reflect what correctional officers spend their time doing.

In Pennsylvania, "It's rare that you are issued a weapon unless you're in a special post like transport." Instead verbal communication, nods, requests, directives, and listening are tools that correctional officers are using constantly. Basic training now includes approximately 24 hours of communication training, integrated with defensive tactics so correctional officers no longer view them separately. The goal of the total curriculum is to provide the "confidence and competence to have a great career."

In addition to up-to-date subject matter, Pennsylvania uses a variety of mediums to conduct training. They employ a web-based training developer and videographer, and own high-end equipment such as a green screen. They aim to create more intellectual, hands-on, interpersonal training content that people will engage with. Most states interviewed had commissions or other agencies within the state that set learning objectives and audit content for correctional law enforcement training. However, Pennsylvania does not, and has flexibility in the frequency and content of updates, with little legislative involvement.

Tennessee also shares a shift in training focus towards crisis intervention and behavioral health certification, which also provides better skills for handling younger offenders. Tennessee's training also aims to provide staff members with the tools to deescalate a situation rather than enter a situation with risk of injury. Similar to Ohio, Tennessee

acknowledged the nature of the prison environment has traditionally fostered a staff and inmate viewpoint of taking care of "our own" and not asking for help. Training is one way to help prevent this mentality and shift the culture.

## CORRECTIONS FACILITY STAFFING

### STAFFING LEVELS

While some states' staff diversity was, on average, reflective of inmate diversity, staff diversity tends to reflect the demographics of the geographic area surrounding each prison. In Ohio and Michigan, urban prisons typically have an overrepresentation of minorities on staff, while rural areas are more reflective of a less diverse population. In most states, the number of female correctional staff has increased over the past few decades, nearing and sometimes exceeding 50 percent. In Indiana, approximately 50 percent of staff are now female, though 20-30 years ago females weren't allowed to work in housing units. Most state interviews did not reveal what the representation of women and minorities are by staff rank, but in Pennsylvania, about 25 percent of management staff are women.

All states interviewed, except for Pennsylvania, were experiencing high staff vacancy. However, states had different perspectives on the underlying causes. All agreed that the problem has gotten worse as the economy has improved, unemployment is low, and competition for labor increases.

Some states experience worse vacancy in rural areas, such as Tennessee, where large employers and new industries have moved into rural areas, or Michigan, where rural areas have a smaller qualified applicant pool. Other states, such as Indiana, experience the highest vacancy in urban areas. Indianapolis' proximity to an Amazon distribution center and the automotive industry diminishes the ability to recruit. (It is worth noting that rural is also interpreted differently in different states; for example "rural" in Indiana is typically still within 30 minutes of a city.) Ohio has experienced high vacancy in both urban and rural areas. Their highest vacancy is in the City of Toledo. Ohio has typically considered recruiting in rural areas to be easier, due to a lack of labor competition. However, growth of the fracking industry has recently affected staffing at several facilities in the rural southeastern portion of the state. In both urban and rural areas of all states, prisons compete for staff with higher paying law enforcement agencies.

Georgia has experienced vacancy in both areas. For example, one facility in metro Atlanta (that houses death row) struggles with staff levels, as well as one right on the rural Tennessee border. Rather than focusing on geography, Georgia noted that vacancy may have more to do with the characteristics of a particular facility. They find that larger facilities with higher security classification are harder to staff. Michigan would agree that special population prisons are more difficult to staff.

Multiple states discussed whether recruitment or retention was the bigger issue. Georgia felt that retention at higher security facilities was more of a problem than recruitment. Similarly, Oregon experiences the highest turnover in larger urban prisons. Oregon and Indiana discussed lowest vacancy in rural areas when generational farming families stay in the profession longer to maintain government benefits. Indiana pointed out that most turnover occurs after the first year, "If new hires stay for at least 5 years, they typically stay." In one example they provided, a high/medium security facility recently hired 15 new staff and now only one remains. Michigan's staff turnover has also increased following a shift from a pension-based retirement to 401K-based retirement. However, recruitment and retention also go hand-in-hand. According to Michigan, "Facilities with low vacancy rates have lower overall turnover, a more stable workforce and an older workforce. They also have a larger applicant pool."

Pennsylvania attributes low vacancy to streamlining their training process, but also high salaries and benefits resulting from union negotiations. As this is not politically an option for many states, other states have been dealing with staff vacancy using a variety of mitigating strategies. Michigan highlighted their use of technology and physical design of facilities to reduce staffing needs. Pennsylvania has also incorporated more open design, better sight lines, and more tech in two new facilities. Reduction in prison population and the closure of several facilities in Michigan has also provided some relief. Georgia and Indiana discussed contracting out some staffing needs, such as medical and food service. In fact, some employees in Indiana will also work for the contractors on their days off to supplement their income. Georgia also has started hiring part-time retired correctional officers for specific tasks.

## STAFF RETENTION

### INCENTIVES

Interviews failed to reveal any consistent recruitment or retention incentives used.

Ohio offers advanced step pay-raises for prison nurses. Employees are also eligible for full tuition reimbursement and an agreement with college for a completely free associates degree, established through collective bargaining.

Tennessee was the only state interviewed that offers financial incentives other than salary. They provide a $600 signing bonus, with the final $400 paid upon training graduation. Correctional officers can also earn $100 for referring candidates that successfully complete training.

Indiana recently increased pay from $14.15 to $16 per hour. Georgia also increased salaries under a previous commissioner. The current salary is slightly better than other salaries available in the state to those with only a high school diploma. Michigan has an employment and benefits package comparable to many private sector jobs within the state, though retention is still an issue when competing with private sector employers. In Oregon, all correctional officers are on the same pay scale so rural officers are making the same but with a lower cost of living (which may be viewed as a rural pay incentive). The only state interviewed to provide housing benefits was Georgia. Georgia provides all wardens with a state house. A limited number of facilities have state housing on the prison grounds, which includes houses, but also open property where staff can live in their own mobile homes for a small monthly fee. This has existed for over two decades and continues to have a waiting list.

Tennessee and Georgia have created specific positions that focus only on retention. In Tennessee, facilities now have their own retention specialists, who are either at the Lieutenant or Captain level. These staff have authority to address common issues new employees face. They assist newcomers with job assignments, address lack of training, and assist employees who are having a hard time dealing with supervision in a housing unit. They also work directly with the warden to develop solutions. Georgia has also hired recruitment and retention lieutenants at difficult-to-staff facilities (large/medium, close security custody with up to 1700 inmates).

### COMMON STAFF COMPLAINTS

During interviews, states were asked about the most common complaints they hear from staff. Staff complaints that came to mind for administrators included poor communication, lack of pay raises, prevalence of drugs, managing inmates with mental illness, resentment of inmate "coddling," and high staff-inmate ratios. However, overtime and lack of time off was by far the staff complaint mentioned most frequently.

Due to high staff vacancy, states increasingly rely on staff overtime, within the limits of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). In Ohio, staff (who work 8 hour shifts) can't "get froze" more than 3 consecutive days. In Georgia, correctional officers are able to accrue FLSA time, which is only paid out with Commissioner approval.

Georgia works 12 hour shifts on a "Panama" schedule (Monday, Tuesday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday one week, and Wednesday Thursday the next), and provide a calendar in advance of which employees are on-call on their days off, in case a shift is left unstaffed.

In Michigan, employees cannot work more that 16 hours in any 24-hour period. Oregon brought up an interesting conundrum in the overtime debate. Although staff complained about lack of ability to take time off, they simultaneously see that staff have a hard time saying no to overtime due to financial need. Although the union is providing pressure to cut back on the use of mandatory overtime, the staff are also resistant to overtime being cut, because they need the money, or at least have a hard time turning it down. Oregon's salary levels are not as high as California and some other union states, but they are much higher than most right-to-work states. Even sergeants, who get first bid at overtime due to seniority will often take it. Incentivizing and requiring staff to work overtime can be bad for officer wellness, and leads to employees falling asleep on the job, or practicing less diligence and falsifying logs. Other states interviewed confirmed that employees often rely on secondary employment, or overtime to supplement correctional officer salaries.

## IMPROVING STAFF COMMUNICATION

Reducing the use of overtime requires improving recruitment and retention. Therefore, states are focusing more on communication, staff empowerment, and officer wellness to improve the working environment and mitigate burnout and turnover.

Improving communication includes both updated communication tools and increased communication frequency. Most states are moving towards the use of email addresses for all staff. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Tennessee, this includes staff access to a computer in each facility. Ohio even has a staff computer lab and library in every facility. Social media is also used to provide updates to staff electronically. In Tennessee, the Assistant Commissioner of Prisons and Assistant Commissioner of Community Corrections host "TDOC talks" where they solicit questions from the field and address them on Twitter and during a Facebook-live broadcast. Other tools mentioned in interviews include TV screens that broadcast real-time updates and announcements near facility entrances as staff arrive for their shift, and a staff call-in number for recorded updates from the past 24 hours. To ensure regular communication, Indiana requires staff meetings once a month, and Tennessee requires roll-calls for 15 minutes every day to share information. Despite the additional cost in overtime, it is an effective way to share consistent information and build team cohesion.

## EMPOWERING STAFF

The states interviewed offered many tactics for empowering staff. In Ohio, every prison facility has a health and safety committee that includes line staff, as well as a labor management committee for all three of the state's collective bargaining units. In addition, any staff member can provide feedback through an online system, which is captured and then considered when the relevant policy comes up for review.

Indiana also has line staff committees that provide operation improvement suggestions. Pennsylvania takes employee feedback a step further through a partnership with NYU's BetaGov. Line staff are organized into subcommittees whose ideas are turned into Randomized Controlled Trials (RCTs). This approach is data-driven and

transparent while also encouraging creativity and proactive leadership. Two current projects include reducing restrictive housing and a staff wellness initiative to acknowledge empathy fatigue and secondary trauma. The Secretary's goal is to, "encourage prison superintendents to be creative and think, be proactive, and roll things up before they become a crisis."

Another area where Pennsylvania staff are proactively taking ownership is in developing training content. Staff used to face discipline for straying from the strict training script. This resulted in training staff being more concerned with compliance than in what employees learned. By engaging prison staff in training development, they are now seeing employees voluntarily staying late, doing research, and collaborating with others.

Tennessee offers many professional development opportunities for correctional officers including a professional management academy in which employees can earn up to 18 hours of bachelor degree credit through a seminar conducted during work time. Most states offer additional training for staff to gain experience and apply for internal promotions.  Most states base promotions on training, education, and experience, rather than seniority, although union states have unique challenges in this area.

## OFFICER WELLNESS

A trending topic in the field of corrections is officer wellness. Studies show that the high-stress work environment of the prison leads to negative health and wellness outcomes for prison staff including PTSD, higher likelihood of depression and suicide, and strain on home and family life. Many states are considering ways to provide additional support and training to staff to improve mental and physical wellness. At the most basic level, corrections agencies may provide counselors for burnout, and crisis intervention teams that are called in after an incident. Substance abuse treatment programs may also be included as part of an employee assistance program. Some states strive to improve the social climate by creating employee activity committees to plan social events like Halloween parties and potlucks. Some states specifically build these initiatives into the organizational structure of the prison system, while others leave it up to individual facilities to organize their own team-building efforts. Dedicated employee appreciation weeks, or appreciation committees are also popular. Pennsylvania emphasized that staff wellness initiatives should include training to help supervisors identify the signs of staff burnout and stress.

Oregon is a leader in staff wellness initiatives. Their program is successful, in part, due to strong top-down support from the Director. They provide mindfulness and resiliency training to prison staff, including basic techniques for reducing heartrate. These techniques are slowly becoming culturally acceptable to their correctional officers.

One facility offers a family night during training when management discuss with officers' families the demands of the job and common stressors, to provide a more accurate understanding of the work environment. The largest institutions have installed "blue rooms" for both inmates and staff to decompress in a room where nature is projected on the walls. Virtual reality goggles are another available tool used similarly.

Statewide, Oregon has also instituted a successful "Healthy Team Healthy You" program that challenges teams of state employees to improve nutrition and fitness.  A major component of the Oregon Department of Corrections' wellness initiative is establishing a baseline. Staff completed a wellness assessment that included not only health, but also measures of emotional, spiritual, and physical well-being. While the initial results were "not wonderful," the assessment achieved a response rate over 50 percent.  It is difficult to measure success, as 90 percent of baseline data is HIPAA protected, so the current focus is on the number and quality of program offerings.

Most surprisingly, wellness programs are being developed and rolled out using existing administrative services budget, with no increased funding. Oregon has also worked with Portland State University and Portland Health Sciences University to study top job stressors. One unexpected finding was that not one staff member mentioned the word "inmate." Instead, employee stress was mainly related to managers, peers, and coworkers. In response, they have worked to improve leadership and management training so that they are no longer, "our own worst enemy."

## INTERDICTING CONTRABAND

### CONTRABAND TRENDS

Drugs are historically the biggest contraband issue for most state prisons. Oregon estimates that 65-70 percent of inmate population is assessed as high-need for addiction. While the presence of drugs is a persistent problem, the types of drugs observed change over time. Reflective of the nationwide opioid crisis, prescription drugs in prisons are on the rise. Most states interviewed are struggling specifically to keep out Suboxone, a prescription medication containing buprenorphine and naloxone, used to treat opioid dependence. It is manufactured as a small strip of film that is ingested by placing under the tongue or inside the cheek. These strips can be easily hidden in mail. Some states, such as Ohio, have updated policies on acceptable mail, such as no longer allowing colored paper, embossed envelopes (in which Suboxone can be hidden in the adhesive of the envelope), or letters folded more than once. Pennsylvania now allows only white envelopes. The other most common confiscated drugs mentioned were marijuana, tobacco, and K2 (synthetic cannabis that does not trigger a positive result for THC in a drug test).

Tobacco is not considered contraband everywhere--Pennsylvania still allows smoking in most facilities. Interestingly, although marijuana is now legal in Oregon, it hasn't made an obvious difference in the amount confiscated within the prisons. Methamphetamine is still commonly seen in some states, such as Georgia, though other states, such as Pennsylvania, have experienced a decline. Pennsylvania has also recently seen a near tripling in in the number of positive random drug tests, mostly for opioids. While still as low as one percent, the increase, "feels like an epidemic to staff."

All states interviewed agreed that cell phones are the other main contraband concern. However, the extent of concern varied. In Tennessee's words, cell phones are, "...the root of all evil in the facilities...inside and outside facilities. If criminal activity occurs in a prison, somehow it has touched a cell phone within a facility." Indiana discussed how cell phones "used to be" a problem and has since been addressed through a robust cellphone interdiction plan (detailed in a subsequent section of this report). A couple of states were less concerned, and continue to focus contraband interdiction efforts mainly on drugs.

### CONTRABAND PATHWAYS

What are the main pathways for contraband to enter prison facilities? While Ohio and Tennessee struggle with contraband thrown over facility fences, Pennsylvania rarely experiences this. Perimeter security is dependent on the size of the facility and the surrounding area. It is more common for facilities with surrounding woods or proximate residential areas to experience contraband being thrown into the facility. It is less common when facilities are surrounded by open space, and at larger facilities where staff would find it before inmates can access the area. Georgia dealt with this problem using the simple and inexpensive fix of erecting tall poles with netting. Another common pathway mentioned was inmate crews that work outside of the facility, somehow access contraband at worksites, and then smuggle it back in. Other pathways include legal mail, visitors, and staff. States

agreed that it's difficult to know for sure which pathway introduces the majority of contraband overall, but both Pennsylvania and Oregon agreed that staff would probably be the least likely pathway. The emergence of drones has been a popular topic in the news. While all states are keeping an eye out for problems and new defense technologies, only a couple of states interviewed consider drones a current, significant threat. Finally, Indiana shared an interesting observation that contraband is, "not a problem in female prison."

## CONTRABAND INTERDICTION TECHNOLOGIES & STRATEGIES

Contraband screening processes for visitors and staff entering prison facilities range from unexpectedly relaxed to quite stringent. One state declined to share what tools they use to detect contraband, therefore this section avoids connecting screening procedures to specific states interviewed, in the interest of prison security. The most stringent facility entry screening required both staff and visitors to walk through metal detectors, be tested for trace drugs using ion scanners, send belongings through x-ray, and pass by Cellsense technology (either hand-held, or standing pole) specifically designed to detect ferrous metals in cell phones. Two states also used full body scanners at the highest security facilities. These scanners can only be operated by staff who have been trained, which can be inconvenient from a staffing perspective. Different brands of full body scanners produce different quality images, and require different levels of training.

The most relaxed entry screening process required that only visitors, not staff, pass through a metal detector, and didn't use cell phone sensing technology at the entrance of any prison facilities. However, in this case, staff belongings are visually inspected.

In addition to technology, one state described using canine teams. In this scenario, visitor, staff, or offenders stand behind either a metal screen, or a portable plexiglass booth. Air is pushed through a fan to concentrate the scent for a canine on the other side. Dogs are skilled at detecting drugs, as well as cell phones.

In addition to screening methods, stricter policies can help keep contraband out of prisons. Pennsylvania maintains an absolute line that no cell phones are allowed inside of prisons, even for administrators and the Secretary. Another policy example is Georgia, where only staff with the rank of Sergeant or higher are allowed to be stationed at facility entrances.

In addition to keeping contraband out at entry points, some states have also employed methods to enhance perimeter security to prevent contraband from being thrown in. As mentioned previously, Georgia installed poles (similar to large light poles) with netting across the top to catch anything thrown over the fence. Ohio is also piloting an infrared motion detection system to alert when people approach the facility from the exterior. This military tool is also used as a handheld version in roving perimeter vehicles.

Once contraband makes its way into the prison, a different set of strategies and technologies are used to detect and confiscate, with some overlap. One widely used technology for detecting cell phones is Cellsense technology (mentioned above for use at facility entrances). Many states use Cellsense handheld devices or permanently-installed poles throughout mass movement areas such as in industrial areas, living areas, and recreational areas. Because the technology detects metal within a cell phone, it is also capable of detecting some metal shanks and other metal contraband. Wolfhound is another handheld device used to detect cell signal. Correctional officers carry it and wait for it to vibrate when signal is detected (though the phone must be turned on and operating). Canine units are also occasionally used, though dogs are most reliable only during targeted searches.

The most widely discussed technology for detecting and managing cell phones within prisons currently is Managed Access Systems (MAS), described in detail in the literature review. However, MAS is not yet widely used due to regulatory barriers and high financial cost. Only one state interviewed uses cell-jamming technology at three facilities.

Most states interviewed expressed healthy skepticism of MAS, based on lackluster results following roll-outs of the technology in California and Mississippi. The speed at which mobile technology changes, coupled with the expense of installing distributed antennae and negotiating contracts with wireless carriers is concerning to most states. MAS for a single prison can cost an estimated one to three million dollars.

A couple of states mentioned plans to put out an RFP for a MAS pilot to test results for themselves. Despite its criticisms, MAS is the only available technology that can detect cell phone signals and numbers, and block the ability to make calls and send messages within the entire facility. South Carolina and Tennessee both consider cell phones an extremely serious security threat to prisons, and have proactively engaged in federal policy discussions with the FCC, wireless trade association (CTIA), and national corrections organizations to push legislative action in developing an affordable solution for controlling mobile communication within state prisons. One state interviewed has not experienced a prevalence of phones large enough to pose a safety concern, and has not invested in any cell phone detection technology.

In addition to technology, other deterrence measures are necessary to control contraband, including inmate drug testing and facility searches. Similar to facility entry screening procedures, some states interviewed were more stringent than others. In the least stringent example, one state conducts regular shake-downs of housing units, with a specific number of cell searches and pat-downs required by correctional officers according to post-orders. For this state, the number and frequency of shake-downs are decided by each facility.

More commonly, states had a statewide policy on search requirements for every facility. In the most stringent example, cell and living area searches occur randomly at least once a month, while common areas within a block or dorm are searched every day. Once a quarter, special response teams conduct unannounced searches of the majority of the facility. Random staff shakedowns occur twice a year per shift at every facility. Another state also required random, quarterly vehicle searches using canine units on every vehicle on the property. This state also searches all employees (including upper management) and visitors upon entry on designated search days. Several states also rely on intelligence units for tips on targeted searches.

Two states shared methods to disincentivize the desire for cell phones. One state found that pay phones were a magnet for violence when security threat groups (i.e. gangs) impose tariffs and usage rules on other inmates, based on group membership. The state is instead considering providing inmates with monitored tablets for making calls and potentially sending messages. This alternative would be safer for inmates to use than the traditional pay phones, and cheaper to inmates than a contraband cell phone. Another state similarly focuses on a low-cost alternative to contraband phones, by keeping payphone rates as low as possible and usage rates high.

Indiana has seen success in cell phone interdiction following the implementation of a system-wide interdiction plan that combines many of the tactics mentioned above. They combine Cellsense technology and cell-phone sniffing dogs, with the services of a private contractor offering "signal intelligence gathering." The contractor, Shawntech, offers a "temporary" version of managed access using mobile equipment. The company searches ten facilities twice year for cell phones at a cost of $250,000. They are able to detect signals and numbers for powered-on devices, as well as numbers dialed and attempted texts. Targeted cell searches are conducted based on Shawntech results, and 50 percent of these searches result in contraband. The interdiction plan also includes four full-time staff (provided by a different contractor) that track pay phone calls and gather intel. Since Indiana's cell

phone interdiction plan has gone into effect, offender pay phone use has gone up 27 percent even though inmate population has been reduced. The pay phone provider, GTL, pays the Indiana Department of Corrections a commission on phone calls, as well as an annual rate for cell phone interdiction, resulting in one to two million dollars in revenue each year. This money goes into a technology fund not controlled by the state's General Assembly and is used to fight both cell phones and narcotics.

## DETECTING AND ADDRESSING STAFF MISCONDUCT

### COMMON STAFF MISCONDUCT

Staff misconduct includes both general performance issues, as well as criminal violations of the law. Non-criminal misconduct is more common and most frequently includes attendance issues such as abusing leave, tardiness, and failure to report, or general performance issues and other violations of policy and protocol. When asked about criminal staff misconduct, all states listed introduction of contraband (typically drugs and cell phones) and improper sexual relations with an offender. To quote Oregon, criminal misconduct occurs due to "relationships formed and favors performed." This statement echoes the dangers of transactional reward and exchange power, as discussed in the literature review. Excessive use of force or assault are rarely reported.

### DETERRENCE EFFORTS

Many strategies are used to deter staff misconduct. Regular, recurring in-service training is used in all states to refresh employees on state policy, and prevent undue familiarity with offenders. Additional leadership development trainings, and specific sexual conduct training were also mentioned.

Pennsylvania expressed difficulty in determining why misconduct was an issue in some facilities more than others, despite hiring outside consultants. As the number of female correctional officers has increased, Ohio formed a Women in Correction organization within the department, that includes a structured female mentoring program that offers professional development guidance, but also helps coach female officers on maintaining appropriate boundaries with inmates.

Other than training, closer monitoring was the other deterrence strategy frequently discussed. Multiple states emphasized the importance of communication with staff every day; for example, daily inspections of the compound by a warden provides the opportunity to talk to the staff and inmate population and observe signs that an inmate is becoming close with an officer.

States also discussed video surveillance. All states use closed-circuit basic video surveillance. Server storage of recorded footage is the most expensive part of system. Of the states interviewed, only Georgia currently uses body cameras, and only for Critical Emergency Response teams who serve as facility first-responders to fights, disruptions, and calls for assistance. Oregon possesses body cameras that are not yet in use, but will likely be rolled out first for transport staff. All other states have discussed using body cameras (Pennsylvania seriously considered testing them in restrictive housing units), but have decided against them for now. Most states felt that the return on investment was unclear, and data storage would be expensive and administratively complicated.

States were asked about whether staff rotation was used as a strategy to prevent undue familiarity. No state interviewed rotates staff at-will. Some states are constrained by collective bargaining agreements, other states discussed the expense of rotating staff, instead preferring to keep staff at the facility where they have received specific on-the-job training. Only two states mentioned rotating staff following facility closure, as an opportunity

for staff to remain employed. While rotation of staff and inmates would reduce familiarity, it would also be very costly and require redundancy in inmate programs and services.

Increased salaries have been suggested by correctional officer associations and others as a way to reduce the temptation for prison staff to smuggle contraband in exchange for money. Oregon speculated that their relatively high salary could be one reason why they haven't experienced as much of a problem with cell phones as other states. Pennsylvania also seemed less concerned about cell phones, and offers excellent salary and benefits. However, as mentioned earlier, most states didn't feel that staff were the main pathway for contraband entering prisons, so while higher salaries may deter staff misconduct, it may not eliminate the majority of contraband.

Beyond the financial incentives, moral and legal considerations also factor into staff behavior. Generally, prosecution for criminal misconduct is a major deterrent. However, Pennsylvania shared that while they have a good track record of charging staff, the conviction record is not as good. Ohio shared that a pound of tobacco in an Ohio prison is worth $1,800 to 2,000. Since it's not a controlled substance, smuggling it into prison may not feel as morally uncomfortable to staff as smuggling in harder drugs. In addition, the crime is only charged as a misdemeanor, making it legally difficult to deter. They have even had cases where an employee was fired, but got their job back through an arbitration process. In Michigan, prosecution depends on what type of contraband was smuggled.

## DETECTING & INVESTIGATING CRIMINAL STAFF MISCONDUCT

Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Georgia, and Oregon all receive tips on staff misconduct from the public, staff, or inmates via advertised hotlines. The Chief Inspector's Office in Ohio is also in the process of activating a new tip line for the staff and general public to report misconduct (inmates already have a hotline for reporting misconduct or abuse). Despite their hotline, not many tips come through that they are able to investigate. Instead, most misconduct referrals come to the Inspector General from the management teams at institutions. State policies in most states also include requirements that staff report any misconduct observed.

Rather than waiting for tips, states also proactively gather intel. Pennsylvania requires regional deputies to inspect each prison quarterly, at least twice unannounced. They have created a comprehensive "Intelligence Management System" that consists of a newly formed analytics department (within the past year) in partnership with intelligence officers. Analysts examine the monthly inmate grievance reports, contraband finds, incidents and fights. Trends over time and within specific facilities are closely monitored to predict emerging issues. Despite the labor cost, Pennsylvania emphasized that, "It's better to throw resources upfront rather than using them later to rebuild."

Tennessee also discussed intelligence gathering at length. Their intel division screens phone calls, social media, mail, and J-pay transactions (an online money transfer tool) looking for signs of staff misconduct. These constant, ongoing monitoring activities are conducted independently of the facilities. Their Office of Internal Compliance security threat group uses a mobile forensics tool called XRY. This software was developed by a company called MSAB, and allows law enforcement to recover evidence, intelligence and information from mobile devices. Other companies, such as Cellebrite, provide similar products.

Once criminal staff misconduct is suspected, an investigation follows. Corrections agencies in the states interviewed have different organizational structures and varying law enforcement authority. In Pennsylvania, the centralized Office of Internal Affairs consists of sworn police officers that have the same authority as state police. They work with the intelligence office at each facility to conduct investigations. The investigative unit of the

Tennessee Department of Corrections also has statewide law enforcement authority, and is able to conduct investigations beyond prison walls. If crime occurs on TDOC property, but the investigation leads across multiple counties, the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation will come in and assist, but won't take over.  Tennessee has an investigator at each prison facility to investigate all allegations. They also recently hired a Chief Interdiction Officer to focus solely on improving safety and security in prisons. This position facilitates interaction between local, state, and federal law enforcement, and the office of investigation and compliance to "connect the dots" and address the original source of contraband out in the community. In Ohio, each institution has a dedicated investigator, though Ohio State Highway patrol has jurisdiction over any investigations into criminal activity. Oregon has five investigators in the Inspector General's office focused specifically on staff misconduct investigations. However, once misconduct is suspected to be criminal, state police are contacted immediately. Based on an intergovernmental agreement, the two agencies work together on investigations, if the crime occurred on facility grounds. Ongoing conversations throughout the investigation determine who is primary and secondary, based upon seriousness. For off-duty staff misconduct, investigative staff work with local law enforcement. Georgia also has institutional investigators assigned to each prison who report to a Special Agent in Charge regionally. Each region has special agents that receive the same training as the Georgia Bureau of Investigation.

In all states, following investigation, cases of criminal staff misconduct are referred to county district attorneys for warrants and prosecution in the county where the crime occurred.

The North Carolina Department of Public Safety (NC DPS) Human Resources Office struggles to fill vacancies fast enough to keep up with employee retention rates. Recent data provided to the News and Observer show that officer vacancy rates have risen in 51 of the 55 prisons since January 2016.[56] Consistent with other states, officer vacancy has increased since the recession, as unemployment has decreased nationally. When essential roles need to be filled, overtime is used. While this leads to staff burnout, some staff have come to rely on the additional income from overtime pay, and often request it, an observation also made in Oregon. Though the exact number is unknown, many staff also have secondary employment, an indication that base salaries are not meeting the financial needs of staff. Overtime is an expensive solution to vacancy; however, it is funded with the money not being spent on salaries. Lapsed salaries are also currently used by NC DPS to supplement the inmate healthcare budget.

It is important to note that staffing needs are difficult to measure, and are calculated using a relief factor. The current relief factor in North Carolina is built on an 8-hour schedule, but needs to be adjusted for positions that are now on a 12-hour schedule. This factor does not currently include the time current staff are unavailable to work while out on leave, or the limits on which posts can be covered by which staff, based on training received. A more accurate relief factor in North Carolina would lead to a better vacancy baseline from which to measure improvements. While national organizations, such as the National Institute of Corrections and American Correctional Association provide general guidance on relief factor formulas, relief factors vary from state to state according to each state's facility layouts, inmate populations, and programs offered, and are thus difficult to compare.

## HIRING & SCREENING OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

A handful of facilities in North Carolina have the most trouble attracting and keeping staff. According to Kenneth Lassiter, NC Director of Prisons, some of the most difficult to staff are the Bertie, Scotland, Polk, Lanesboro, Alexander, Caledonia, Warren, Pasquotank, and Harnett Correctional Institutions.  These facilities are both urban and rural (though mostly rural) and represent all DACJJ regions (Coastal, Central, Triangle, and Mountain) and custody levels (close, medium, and minimum). Each facility is relatively large, with inmate capacity ranging from approximately 800 to 1,800 beds (compared to a statewide range of 200 to 1,850 beds). These facilities are also all in more economically distressed Tier 1 or Tier 2 counties.[57] See *Appendix D – List of NC Prisons* for a list of North Carolina prisons and the characteristics of each. The two most common factors for staffing difficulty seem to be a lack of qualified candidate pool in remote areas, and competition with other industries, including federal and local law enforcement agencies. In addition, North Carolina has a high number of prisons compared to other states, despite having closed 11 facilities. In the future, it may be worth considering additional consolidation in areas with more labor supply.

As vacancies have increased, the Department's shift to more effort on rehabilitation, along with a changing inmate population, have increased demands on staff. Structured sentencing combined with the Justice Reinvestment Act, mean that the prison population now consists of felons who must serve at least their minimum sentence. In addition, mental health treatment access is inadequate in many areas of North Carolina.  As a result, the inmate

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[56] Alexander, A., Gavin, O. (November 7, 2017) "Prison staff shortages, dangers have climbed. 'We need help,' officer says." The News & Observer. Retrieved from: http://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article183240626.html

[57] Economic Tiers are determined annually by the North Carolina Department of Commerce. They represent a county's economic distress, measured on a scale from one (most distressed) to three (least distressed). They are calculated using average unemployment rate, median household income, percentage growth in population, and adjusted property base per capita. Retrieved from: https://www.nccommerce.com/research-publications/incentive-reports/county-tierdesignations?udt_12097_param_orderby=Tier_x0020_Designation&udt_12097_param_direction=ascending

population now has a higher proportion of "high risk" offenders, and inmates suffering with mental illness. To manage a high-risk, high-need population, higher-level officers (such as Correctional Officer III) are needed, requiring more training.

For about two years, DACJJ has been implementing several improvements to increase recruitment, similar to those in other states interviewed. DACJJ hopes that data collection will soon reflect these changes. The North Carolina state government employment website now includes a continuous posting for correctional officer positions. Similar to other states, positions are also advertised through traditional channels such as newspapers, radio, TV, social media, and fliers. NC DPS staff attend hiring and recruiting events at locations such as college campuses, community colleges, and military bases. NC DPS is piloting a high school "cadet" recruitment program in Windsor, NC, that includes a prison tour. One-day mass hiring events are held in difficult-to-staff areas. During these events, candidates with no internet access can also apply.

Like other states, NC DPS has expanded its social media presence. Social media is used to promote a positive image of the Department, and engage the public with Department updates, announcements, images of contraband confiscated, and employee appreciation. The NC Department of Public Safety has a Facebook page with 20,127 followers, and in April of this year also created a separate "North Carolina Department of Public Safety Prisons Recruitment" with 705 followers.

To be considered, candidates must pass a background check, and cannot have a prior felony or domestic violence conviction. Candidates must also be a U.S. citizen, have a high school diploma or GED, be at least 20 years old, and pass the Correctional Officer Physical Abilities Test, or COPAT. The "Beacon" system, used by the State of North Carolina, allows human resources to see prior NC employment history of candidates, and why they left their previous state government job. NC DPS also uses a private vendor, FMRT, for candidate screening of psychological characteristics, social skills, and debt ratio. FMRT's BRAINS™ screening program examines personal history, integrity, keyboarding, and written expressiveness, among other qualities.[58] However, while admission to basic training for law enforcement requires candidates to have, "scored at or above the tenth grade level, or equivalent," of the Reading and English component of the North Carolina Diagnostic Assessment and Placement test, no literacy standard for corrections professionals exists in the NC Administrative Code.[59] While literacy screening standards have been set voluntarily by NC DPS in the past, some staff have expressed concern that literacy levels are declining.

The current timeframe for staff hiring is 65 days. NC DPS is currently reviewing the entire screening process to determine which tools are most effective and where additional efficiencies can be gained in the recruitment and hiring process.

## STAFF TRAINING

A new training logistics model to improve the timing and volume of Basic Correctional Officer training was launched this past July. All new hires spend their first week in orientation, including both C.O.'s and non-C.O.'s such as medical, maintenance, and administrative staff. Following orientation, correctional officers now spend 4 weeks (160 hours) at basic training *before* assignment to a facility. Previously, completion of 160 hours of basic training was only required at some point within the first year of employment. This new logistical plan has allowed DACJJ's Office of Staff Development and Training (OSDT) to reduce the basic training backlog from 800 staff down to 130, since July. However, the new basic training timing has not yet been formalized in policy. It has temporarily required a shift in resources that results in a shortage of training for mid-level managers, and requires adjunct

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[58] http://fmrt.com/brains-assessment/
[59] 12 N.C. Admin Code 09B .0203 (e) *See* http://reports.oah.state.nc.us/ncac/title%2012%20-%20justice/chapter%2009%20-%20criminal%20justice%20education%20and%20training%20standards/subchapter%20b/12%20ncac%2009b%20.0203.html

trainers from community corrections programs to be utilized, negatively affecting caseloads for community corrections officers. Samarcand Training Academy has been in use since the fall of 2015, and is NC DPS's only overnight training facility, with 80-93 beds shared across the agency. OSDT also has four "commuter" daytime training facilities. OSDT does have access to five more facilities shared with other state agencies, however overnight capacity is a major limiting factor for basic training logistics.

Basic training is followed by onboarding training at the facility level. Currently, each prison develops its own onboarding training. However, NC DPS is developing a systematic onboarding procedure to include mentoring by a field training office. This initiative is scheduled for implementation Division-wide on March 1, 2018. Corrections Enterprises also has its own training. All staff receive annual in-service training each year, taught by community colleges. OSDT provides oversight and quality assurance of the in-service material taught each year.

For management, there is "First Steps" training for new supervisors, as well as "Peak Performance" training for mid-level supervisors. After voluntarily attending First Steps and Peak Performance, staff may be nominated to attend the Correctional Leadership Development Program (CLDP). This training is usually attended by facility superintendents or staff in charge of large programs or initiatives. However, all management training is voluntary and not all supervisory prison staff have received management training. Promotional exams are given in June each year, giving staff the opportunity every two years to be promoted to a Sergeant or Lieutenant.

Updates to training content are made by OSDT's curriculum division, and approved by the NC Criminal Justice Education and Training Standards Commission in January each year. OSDT intends to make significant updates to training content in time for Commission approval in January 2019. Because of previous basic training timing, the current basic training content is designed for people that have already spent time in a prison. Training updates are typically designed to fit within the 160-hour training standard. Although other law enforcement standards require more training hours, staff vacancy in corrections creates pushback from supervisors who don't want to lose staff to training for more than 160 hours.

## RETENTION

North Carolina has completed the third and final phase of increasing correctional officer compensation, a total budget increase for correctional officer salaries of $60 million over three years. However, within each of the three C.O. levels, all staff are paid the same. This means veteran staff are now paid the same as new employees within the same C.O. level. This salary compression has negatively affected staff morale.

The consensus within NC DPS is that internal and external perception needs to change so that correction work can be considered "a *noble* profession," and corrections staff are given the respect and recognition they deserve for such a challenging public safety profession. According to Director Lassiter, the main staff complaint is that they feel unappreciated. This aligns with responses to East Carolina University's corrections survey, which found a common perception that the administration was disengaged and unconcerned with morale. Staff concerns also include short staffing, low salary, and being paid monthly. What staff like the most about the job is 12-hour shifts which allow greater concentrations of days off.[60] Email addresses for all correctional officers were originally planned to be rolled out this year. Unfortunately, funding for email was not approved in the budget this fiscal year. However, prisons do have computer kiosks available for staff use.

DACJJ also has a few ongoing wellness pilots. The Wellness Education Committed to Assisting and Reaching our Employees (WECARE) philosophy and initiative was created in 2014 by a temporary NC DPS Employee Wellness and Resilience Committee. Though this committee no longer meets, several staff training spin-offs from the WECARE initiative are offered. OSDT offers a voluntary, two-hour Question, Persuade, and Refer (QPR) suicide prevention program, available to all NC DPS employees. In addition, a grant from the National Institute of

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[60] *Supra* Note 2

Corrections funded a staff wellness assessment by Desert Waters Correctional Outreach. This organization also worked with OSDT staff to develop an 8-hour training called Corrections Fatigue to Fulfillment (CF2F). This training is also voluntary, but it raises staff awareness of the signs and symptoms of corrections fatigue, and strategies for countering its negative effects. OSDT is currently considering adding a 2-hour adaptation of this training to 2019 updates of correctional officer basic training.

## INTERDICTING CONTRABAND

North Carolina prisons use relatively advanced contraband screening technologies compared with other states. Rapid-scan X-ray machines are used at all facilities with over 1,000 inmates: Alexander, Lanesboro, Scotland, Tabor, Maury, Bertie, Central, and Polk Correctional Institutions. Metal detectors are used at all close and medium custody facilities, and at 80 percent of minimum custody facilities. CellSense is already being used in most facility entrances to detect cell phones and other items containing ferrous metals, but will be in all prisons by February 1, 2018. North Carolina is pursuing a Managed Access System, which is a technology designed to manage authorized cell phone use and prevent unauthorized cell phone use in a correctional facility. New emerging technologies that are difficult to screen include apple watches and drones. An inter-agency advisory committee has been recently formed to consider and recommend additional technology. This committee includes representation from Prisons Operations, Adult Correction Special Operations and Intelligence, Legal, State Highway Patrol, and Emergency Management.

On October 16, 2017, NC DPS introduced a new pat-frisk policy for every person entering higher-level-custody facilities, to reduce the potential for contraband brought in by staff and visitors. In addition, NC DPS has recently increased staffing in the intelligence unit. According to Director Lassiter, the highest volume of contraband in North Carolina is thrown over fences, and this method has increased with the introduction of the pat-frisk policy at facility entrances. To address this pathway, NC DPS has increased prison perimeter patrols, and has begun planning and installing additional fencing to increase the distance that contraband would need to be thrown.

## DETECTING & ADDRESSING STAFF MISCONDUCT

Staff misconduct is rarely criminal, and most often occurs when high staff vacancy leads to staff burnout and staff taking shortcuts. In North Carolina, staff discipline is considered on a case-by-case basis using the "Douglas Factors" framework. The Merit Systems Protection Board outlined Douglas Factors in its decision for the case *Curtis Douglas vs. Veterans Administration*. Douglas factors are criteria, including aggravating and mitigating factors, that federal agencies must consider when determining an appropriate penalty for federal employment misconduct. NC DPS uses the Douglas Factors framework to ensure fairness of discipline in corrections. Douglas Factors include criteria such as nature and seriousness of the event, past disciplinary record, length of service, the effect of the offense on ability to perform, and consistency of the penalty with those for similar offenses.[61]

NC DPS has an anonymous hotline and website form for employees or the community to use to report waste, fraud, abuse, and misconduct. However, this hotline is not specific to prisons, but serves all of the Department of Public Safety.

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[61] U.S. Office of Personnel Management. (2017). The Douglas Factors. Retrieved from https://www.opm.gov/policy-data-oversight/employee-relations/reference-materials/douglas-factors.pdf

Staff are not rotated because the prisons are operated using a "unit-management" concept. Large facilities are divided into smaller units, which eases security and improves staff familiarity with operations of a particular unit. Prisoners are also not rotated regularly. Rotating staff and prisoners is costly and would require duplication of services. Instead, NC DPS's re-missioning initiative aims to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of prisons by specific matching of prisoners with a facility to meet their needs.

## ADDITIONAL DATA COMPARISON

Tables 1 and 2 provide additional data comparing North Carolina to the states interviewed for this report. Table 1 demonstrates the size of each state's prison system. North Carolina has the largest number of prisons, but also the lowest state prison incarceration rate. North Carolina has also reduced its prison population the most between 2010 and 2015. According to the Prison Policy Initiative, North Carolina has the 17th lowest rate of overall "correctional control" per capita, which accounts for local jails, juvenile incarceration, civil commitment, and parole and probation. In terms of expenditures, North Carolina's average cost per inmate falls right in the middle.[62]

| State | Number of State Prisons[63] | State Prison Incarceration Rate (per 100,000 people)[64] | Change in Prison Population, 2010-2015[65] | Average Cost per Inmate, 2015[66] | Change in Prison Expenditures, 2010-2015 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Carolina | 55 | 371 | -8% | $30,180.47 | -6% |
| Oregon | 14 | 377 | 5% | $44,020.80 | 2% |
| Michigan | 29 | 437 | -4% | $35,808.95 | -12% |
| Pennsylvania | 24 | 396 | -1% | $42,726.84 | 22% |
| Ohio | 26 | 444 | -1% | $26,509.42 | -13% |
| Georgia | 33 | 521 | -6% | $19,977.12 | -2% |
| Indiana | 17 | 443 | 1% | $18,065.29 | -11% |
| Tennessee | 14 | 438 | 10% | $23,467.94 | 7% |

**Table 1: Comparison Between North Carolina and States Interviewed**

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[62] Prison Policy Initiative. (2016) Correctional Control: Incarceration and supervision by state. Retrieved from:
https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/50statepie.html
[63] Source: Individual state corrections websites
[64] Prison Policy Initiative. (2016) Correctional Control: Incarceration and supervision by state. Retrieved from:
https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/50statepie.html
[65] Mai, C., Subramanian, R. (2017). The Price of Prisons: Examining State Spending Trends, 2010-2016. Vera Institute of Justice. Retrieved from
https://www.vera.org/publications/price-of-prisons-2015-state-spending-trends
[66] *Ibid.*

Table 2 displays key data related to correctional officer employment. North Carolina offers a higher salary than the other southern right-to-work states, but also has a higher vacancy rate. This table also demonstrates that salary alone does not account for staff vacancy rate.

| State | Right-to-work (non-union) state[67] | Median Wage for C.O.'s, 2016[68,69] | C.O. Vacancy Rate (%)[70] | State Unemployment Rate (%)[71] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| North Carolina | Y | $31,420.00 | 16.66 | 4.1 |
| Oregon | N | $57,570.00 | 4.52 | 4.1 |
| Michigan | Y | $54,080.00 | 11 | 3.9 |
| Pennsylvania | N | $49,370.00 | 2.50 | 4.9 |
| Ohio | N | $44,820.00 | Unknown | 5.4 |
| Georgia | Y | $30,800.00 | 15.42 | 4.7 |
| Indiana | Y | $30,550.00 | Unknown | 3.5 |
| Tennessee | Y | $30,340.00 | 10.30 | 3.3 |

**Table 2: Comparison Between North Carolina and States Interviewed**

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[67] Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor (2016) News Release: Union Members – 2016. Retrieved from:
https://www.bls.gov/news.release/pdf/union2.pdf
[68] Annual wages have been calculated by multiplying the hourly median wage by 2,080 hours.
[69] Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor (2016) Occupational Outlook Handbook, Correctional Officers and Bailiffs.
Retrieved from: https://www.bls.gov/ooh/protective-service/correctional-officers.htm
[70] Association of State Correctional Administrators. (2017) Survey: Correctional Officer Call-ins.
[71] Bureau of Labor Statistics (2017) Local Area Unemployment Statistics. Retrieved from: https://www.bls.gov/web/laus/laumstrk.htm

## VI.     DISCUSSION

As the research demonstrates, all states are facing common corrections issues, to varying degrees: recruitment and retention problems, staff misconduct, as well as issues with cell phones, drugs and other contraband. National media coverage during the duration of this research further documents that these issues are not unique to North Carolina. See *Appendix E – Nationwide Media Summary* for a full description of national media coverage.

As the literature also reaffirms, these problems are not new. As Stohr and Collins state in their 2009 textbook *Criminal Justice Management,* "Of course these problems did not start when we began to pay attention to them...Common themes of crises occurring for at least the last two centuries include understaffing, burgeoning numbers of clientele, dilapidated facilities, brutalities and other abuses, a lack of professionalism, inadequate training and pay, funding shortfalls, a lack of adequate and effective programming, and so on and so on."[72]

However, the seriousness of these problems must not be dismissed or underestimated. Without constant monitoring, innovation, and front-end investment, these inherent struggles spiral into crises that can only be managed at an even higher cost.

Despite the ongoing struggle to maintain order in prisons nationally, some programs are, "flourishing and innovating and have created enjoyable places to work."[73] Our own research supports this. While there is much variation in states' management practices, common themes and inventive ideas emerged. Some of them are already being implemented in North Carolina, such as mass hiring events, use of social media to engage with the public, and investing in modern contraband screening technology. North Carolina also stands out for its success in justice reinvestment, which has reduced the inmate population and overall budget. However, there are some areas, in particular, where budget savings need to be reinvested, in order to continue a path towards increased efficiency and public safety.

Both the literature and interviews emphasized that combinations of management changes, rather than one silver-bullet solution, were the most effective. This phenomenon is supported by the economic research of Ichniowski et al., which provides evidence that clusters of complementary human resource management practices are more productive than changes in individual work practices.[74] Along these lines, the recommendations of this report are grouped according to complementarities to enhance overall effectiveness. The recommendations discussed below are grouped according to the following overarching goals:

- Invest in staff
- Establish a cohesive organizational culture
- Improve facility safety

While the research findings present a number of policy options, the following recommendations were selected according to potential magnitude of impact, ease of implementation, cost, and time.

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[72] Stohr, M.K., Collins, P.A. (2009). Criminal Justice Management: Theory and Practice in Justice-Centered Organizations. Oxford University
    Press. p. 300
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] Ichniowski, C., Shaw, K., Prennushi, G. (1997) "The Effects of Human Resource Management Practices on Productivity: A Study of Steel
    Finishing Lines." *The American Economic Review.* 87(3). pp. 293-295.

## VII.    POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The main takeaway from both the literature and interviews is that adequate staff and strong leadership are the bedrock on which further security enhancements can be built. Therefore, investment in personnel must come first. While some more advanced security technologies and strategies are available, effectiveness is not guaranteed without the trained staff to use or implement them. Investing in staff includes effective recruitment, professionalization of the corrections career, and prioritizing staff wellness. Signaling to staff an organizational willingness to invest in them will result in a reciprocal willingness to commit to the organization long-term. Next, security is enhanced when the organizational culture fosters trust and comradery. A cohesive organizational culture is one in which staff are included in organizational learning, and are provided with adequate and relevant training. With dedicated, well-trained staff, facility safety can then be heightened by bolstering central intelligence, enhancing perimeter security, and implementing a multi-faceted cell phone interdiction strategy.

### INVEST IN PERSONNEL

### RECOMMENDATION 1 – STRENGTHEN LEADERSHIP

**Hire new leadership.** Following recent administrative staff loss and resignation, NC DPS will need to identify new Division of Adult Correction and Juvenile Justice (DACJJ) division leadership responsible for establishing a new division culture. The new Chief Deputy Secretary should be tasked with implementing these recommendations from the top down with the assistance of his or her team of Deputy Secretaries.

**Develop a clear mission statement.** A mission statement that clearly defines the goals and ethos of the DACJJ will serve as a compass for staff, and signal a leadership commitment to making prisons safer and more effective. A mission statement that emphasizes the importance of staff, and balances both rehabilitative and punitive goals to ensure the highest level of public safety will set a motivating tone to inspire change. For example, Pennsylvania Department of Corrections features their mission statement prominently on the website: "The Pennsylvania Department of Corrections operates as one team, embraces diversity, and commits to enhancing public safety. We are proud of our reputation as leaders in the corrections field. Our mission is to reduce criminal behavior by providing individualized treatment and education to offenders, resulting in successful community reintegration through accountability and positive change." A clear mission statement also serves as a guide in future branding efforts.

**Improve standards for all management levels through mandatory management training.** Based on conversations with former inmates and staff, certain North Carolina prisons have established reputations for being "good" or "bad" places to be employed or serve time. More consistency in prison management standards will ensure fairness and stability across the NC prison system, thus leveling the playing field. Three levels of management training are available to staff, on a voluntary basis. Management training should be made mandatory for anyone in a supervisory role, including Sergeants, Lieutenants, Captains, and Superintendents. Mid-level management at the facility level have the greatest opportunity to demonstrate professional standards to new hires and set the trajectory of their careers. Exemplary management is key for enhancing staff unity. Avoiding an "us vs. them" mentality between supervisors and employees enhances retention and prevents corruption.

This recommendation could be implemented quickly at a low cost. The vacant positions are already part of the agency budget. Any additional investment would be in the form of staff time to develop the division's mission, for supervisors to attend management training, and for training staff to conduct training.

## RECOMMENDATION 2 – INCENTIVIZE CAREER COMMITMENT

**Couple career development opportunities with appropriate compensation.** The research shows that salary alone will not improve retention. However, because corrections officers are not sworn law enforcement, new staff often use corrections as a stepping stone to a more professionalized branch of law enforcement with higher pay. Several steps would professionalize the corrections career path. The first step is to commission an outside entity, such as the National Institute of Corrections, to perform a market study on salaries. The second step is to determine meaningful educational credentials for increased pay, so that salary increases are targeted to maximize long-term investment. The third step would be adopting a pay-for-training model for correctional officer salary whereby C.O.'s can achieve higher pay for progressively higher professional training and credentials. For example, several Sheriff's offices in North Carolina offer 5 percent for an Associate's Degree, 10 percent for a Bachelor's Degree, 5 percent for EMT certification, and 5 percent for Spanish proficiency. DACJJ has existing partnerships with community colleges to provide in-service training. This relationship could be an easy avenue to offer additional professional development opportunities to prison staff. Higher salaries would also reduce staff reliance on secondary employment and overtime income that leads to burnout, and lower expected relative gains from smuggling contraband.

**Have supervisors create individual professional development plans for each new hire**. This should be completed on day one, followed by annual review. This step is particularly important for women, who are highly represented in North Carolina's prison workforce, but are not yet adequately represented in prison facility leadership. Professional development plans will incentivize staff to commit to a career in corrections, and will lead to longevity, skill, mentorship, capacity for growth, and improved recruitment**.**

This recommendation would have a large and extended impact, but would be challenging to implement. This type of pay restructuring would require legislative action, and a tremendous increase in department funding. However, the funding would be used strategically, and the upfront investment in staff would reduce the risk of more expensive future crises.

## RECOMMENDATION 3 – PRIORITIZE EMPLOYEE WELLNESS

**Re-establish an executive wellness committee.** The committee should consist of members of the NC DPS executive team, as well as representatives from each section of DACJJ. This committee would lead development and implementation of wellness programming across DACJJ. An executive wellness committee would bring more attention to available wellness programs, ensure these programs are equally accessible to all DACJJ staff, and communicate to prison managers that employee wellness should be a top priority.

**Track progress relative to an established wellness baseline.** Oregon provides an excellent model for employee wellness programs. Anonymous baseline wellness assessments should examine physical, mental, and spiritual well-being, including important topics such as sexual harassment/assault, work-life stress, and substance abuse risk. A wellness assessment was already conducted for DACJJ staff by Desert Waters Correctional Outreach in 2015. This assessment be used as a baseline against which to measure progress. Each year, a third party should be used to provide staff with an anonymous brief assessment and counseling session.

**Design staff wellness programming that directly addresses assessment results**. Ideas from Oregon include family nights, where families can gain a better understanding of the demands and workplace stress faced by their loved ones, mindfulness coaching to provide skills for mitigating stress levels, community-building social events such as

potlucks and holiday parties, and establishing designated spaces for decompression such as Oregon's "blue rooms." Management should be encouraged to ensure protected time away from the job for staff to decompress.

This recommendation only requires policy change at the agency level. While assessments and counseling may present a significant cost, Oregon has been able to implement a comprehensive program using existing administrative funds. Employee trauma and stress are extremely important to manage, if improving retention and safety is top priority. Despite additional cost, the employee wellness standard is currently low, therefore the impact of this type of initiative has the potential to be large.

## RECOMMENDATION 4 – BRING ALL HANDS ON DECK TO RECRUIT

**Form recruitment committees at each prison.** Research demonstrates that involving current staff in recruitment improves the ability to recruit the right candidates for the job and improve yield. Prison recruitment committees should work with the human resources department to identify the ideal characteristics for job candidates at their specific facility. Teams should be carefully selected and comprised of staff from different levels and backgrounds who will set high bar and promote positive messages.

**Offer referral bonuses and other incentives.** All prison staff should be offered referral bonuses for candidates that are successfully hired, plus an additional bonus if the recruit stays more than one year. This would enhance both recruitment and retention. Signing bonuses, and other creative incentives such as childcare or housing benefits should also be considered for difficult-to-staff facilities and positions. Incentives would create a work-around for little flexibility in salary changes based on geography.

**Create a professionally-produced recruitment video.** While DACJJ already has a recruitment video featured on the website and social media, it is outdated and uninspiring compared to examples from other states. A new recruitment video should highlight the positives of a career in corrections, addressing negative perceptions head-on, and including testimonials from a diverse array of staff on why they chose a career in corrections. This will not only inspire more individuals to pursue a career in corrections, but could also serve as a marketing tool to improve public perception of corrections. In general, NC DPS should avoid using marketing materials that don't evoke a feeling that aligns with the department's desired brand.

**Track the results of recruitment tactics.** Be sure to measure improved yield in addition to the volume of applicants and new hires.

This recommendation would be easy and quick to implement, as it only involves changes in internal agency policy and existing staff. Total cost of recruitment incentives and additional staff time would be dependent on staff participation, which may be difficult to predict. A new professionally-produced recruitment video would cost several thousand dollars, at least, though partnerships with local film schools such as the UNC School of Journalism, or the Duke University Documentary Studies Program could be pursued.

## ESTABLISH COHESIVE ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

## RECOMMENDATION 5 – SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING

NC DPS should support organizational learning through transparent examination of strengths and weaknesses, with recurring top-to-bottom communication, where staff at all levels are secure in making recommendations to improve the workplace.  This can be achieved with several changes.

**Improve communication tools for sharing information internally.** Email addresses are needed urgently for all correctional officers. Email will allow correctional officers to receive mass communications, and even complete some online training. DACJJ already provides computers at each prison so staff have guaranteed email access, as well as easy access to policies and procedures. In addition, TV screens should be placed at all facility entrances and cycle through a display of social media agency updates from NC DPS and DACJJ central offices, as well as facility-specific announcements generated by management. An additional tool to consider is a hotline staff can call for a recorded daily digest, in case they lack internet access while not at work.

**Formalize operations feedback committees at each facility**. Committees should consist of diverse staff in a variety of roles and rank. Similar to Pennsylvania's partnership with NYU's BetaGov, ideas from operations committees should be gathered by the central office and turned into randomized controlled trials in partnership with a local university, such as North Carolina State University. The rapid prototyping of staff ideas would allow for more regular, fast-paced innovation.

**Outline a mechanism, in DACJJ policy, for sharing feedback following an incident.** Already, NCDPS Secretary Erik Hooks has held well-received town-hall style meetings following the tragedy at Pasquotank Correctional Institution. This type of feedback session should be regular, standard practice at each prison. A potential model is military-style After Action Reviews. These debrief sessions create a judgement-free zone where everyone in the room is required to share three things that went right and three things that went wrong. When an event occurs, staff will inevitably discuss it. It is more productive if this conversation occurs in a group that includes the presence of staff with expertise and decision-making authority. This way, the sharing of opinions becomes a learning and training opportunity for staff at all levels, and solutions are developed to prevent mistakes from occurring again. Out of this process develops a culture of trust.

**Establish clear policy for prison management walk-arounds.** Increased interaction between prison management and staff will strengthen team dynamics, offer opportunities for coaching, and deter misconduct through increased oversight.

The biggest barriers to the implementation of this recommendation are cost of technology, available space and staff time. Policies establishing the frequency of operations committee meetings, action reviews, and management walk-arounds should consider these costs. However, as the literature and interviews show, the benefit of improved retention and job satisfaction is a crucial investment in future security and efficiency gains.

## RECOMMENDATION 6 – MODERNIZE TRAINING

**Continue to require completion of basic training prior to starting work.** Due to capacity limits at training facilities, basic training classes should be smaller and held more frequently to also reserve resources for higher level trainings, and not cause massive facility vacancy during training periods. Training slots should be allocated relative to facility vacancy, so that prisons in most desperate need of staff see their vacancy rates come down faster. In the future NC DPS should evaluate whether there are available abandoned facilities that could be renovated to serve as a dedicated DACJJ overnight training facility.

**Extend training period for new hires.** The 160-hour basic training period for correctional staff is shorter in North Carolina than most states interviewed, and far shorter than the 640 hours required for other law enforcement in North Carolina. In addition to a longer basic training, the on-the-job training period for new employees should be extended, and focus more specifically on the different custody levels. On-the-job training could be further improved with trainers in the environment observing and providing feedback.

**Update basic training to reflect the needs of modern facilities and inmate characteristics.** The Office of Staff Development and Training (OSDT) is beginning to look at potential training updates to be rolled out in January 2019. A few states interviewed provided insight on developing modern training content. As demonstrated in Pennsylvania, involving prison staff in the development of content builds enthusiasm and engagement, while also ensuring the content's relevance to the day-to-day work environment. Modern training in other states such as Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Ohio has shifted to a focus on communication techniques, identifying and working with mentally ill inmates, de-escalation strategies, and calling for back-up to improve safety and reduce the use of force. In addition, NC DPS should support the inclusion of strategies for coping with corrections fatigue in the basic training curriculum. While OSDT currently offers a voluntary, day-long training on the topic, a two-hour basic training module is also under development. DACJJ should look at any recent changes to standards and training for probation officers, to determine if any are applicable and beneficial to corrections officers. Both deal with similar clientele.

**Increase flexibility in job assignments.** Allowing staff to move around between different roles and units would enhance employee engagement and professional growth. For example, Pennsylvania allows correctional officers to work at training facilities on "detached assignment." In addition, with a variety of staff coming through, facilities would develop around a larger agency culture, not just one management personality. Most importantly, job assignment and facility flexibility would help prevent improper relationships between staff and inmates and lessen gang influence within prisons.

Better training will ensure that staff feel confident in their own skills and safe in the company of a loyal and supportive team. Although this is needed urgently, implementation of this recommendation will likely take some time due to the North Carolina Criminal Justice Education and Training Standards Commission review and approval process.

## IMPROVE FACILITY SAFETY

### RECOMMENDATION 7 – MODIFY OVERSIGHT & INTELLIGENCE GATHERING

**Create an oversight body separate from corrections.** Prison oversight mechanisms vary from state to state. Some states have independent bodies, others have units that report to an agency secretary, and some have both. For example, North Carolina might create an Inspector General position that reports to the NC DPS Secretary. The Inspector General would conduct random policy compliance audits for each prison, and provide oversight of the hotline/online form for reporting mismanagement or misconduct. This would create a reporting mechanism that exists outside of the corrections "chain of command" (for C.O.'s) and outside of prison leadership (for inmates), to minimize fear of retribution. In addition, an independent mechanism may be considered. The University of Texas at Austin conducted a comprehensive 50-state inventory of independent correctional oversight mechanisms that investigate prison wrongdoing or monitor prison conditions. Of the states interviewed in this report, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania have some version of an independent prison oversight body that does not report to the DOC, receive funding from the DOC, or employ DOC staff. A full summary of independent correctional oversight bodies can be found in *Appendix F – U.S Independent Correctional Oversight Mechanisms.* To enhance public trust, NC DPS might also re-evaluate investing in American Correctional Association (ACA) accreditation for specific facilities.

**Strengthen intelligence gathering capacity.** Currently the Special Operation and Intelligence Unit gathers intelligence for the entire DACJJ, including prisons, community corrections, and juvenile justice. This intelligence

unit should hire additional prison analysts to track data and provide preemptive info, similar to Pennsylvania's "Intelligence Management System." More analysts would allow better examination of monthly inmate grievance reports, contraband finds, incidents, and fights. Tracking intelligence trends would allow DACJJ to better predict emerging issues, and provide evidence for targeted facility and cell searches. Despite increased labor and administrative cost, Pennsylvania has found that investing these resources up front is less expensive than re-building following an incident.

**Foster better coordination between prison investigators and local law enforcement.** Other states, such as Pennsylvania and Tennessee, employ sworn law enforcement within their corrections agencies' Office of Internal Affairs and Investigative Unit. This has allowed for more comprehensive investigations that expand beyond the prison walls to reduce crime both in the prison and the surrounding area. Tennessee's Chief Interdiction Officer role includes the responsibility of facilitating interaction between local, state, and federal law enforcement to address sources of contraband out in the community. NC DPS might consider similar measures, or an improved intergovernmental agreement that enhances cooperation between DACJJ investigators, the State Bureau of Investigation, other local law enforcement agencies. DACJJ should also improve the process for referring criminal activities to local district attorneys to ensure that crimes that occur within prison are adequately prosecuted.

## RECOMMENDATION 8 – ENHANCE PERIMETER SECURITY

The pathway through which most contraband enters North Carolina prisons is unclear. However, staff, management, and the community have hypothesized that most contraband is either being thrown over fences or brought in by staff. Therefore, perimeter security should be enhanced in several ways.

**Install additional security tools where over-fence throws of contraband are most common.** One low-cost, quick solution for facilities that have a less-secure outer perimeter is to install tall poles and netting, like Georgia. DACJJ should also assess the cost of piloting permanent infrared detection technology, similar to Ohio, that faces outwards at facilities with the least secure surrounding area, such as woods or nearby residents.

**Further tighten security at facility entrances.** One effective solution to both deter and detect staff and visitors bringing in contraband is to use a canine unit. The dog remains on one side of a screen sniffing forced air pumped in from the other side on which visitors and staff stand. In addition, staff overseeing facility entrances should be rotated regularly, and only staff with Sergeant rank or higher should be assigned to those posts. Staff should be heavily scrutinized at higher-security facilities, where they provide the main channel for contraband introduction. The opportunity for contraband to be introduced in medium and minimum custody prisons should not be underestimated, due to the increased access for volunteers and visitors.

To further deter staff from bringing in contraband, NC DPS should consider a zero-tolerance policy for staff caught with contraband. The penalty is currently a misdemeanor offense. Increased legal penalties, in addition to loss of employment would further deter this type of misconduct.

## RECOMMENDATION 9 – LAUNCH A MULTI-FACETED CELL PHONE INTERDICTION INITIATIVE

While not all states consider cell phones a major issue, the presence of cell phones in North Carolina's prisons has caused major safety concerns. NC DPS should demonstrate a commitment to a full system-wide cellphone clean-out, through a year-long cell phone interdiction initiative.

**Combine cost-effective cellphone detection technologies with increased random and targeted searches.** Indiana's cellphone interdiction plan provides a good model. First they invested in Cellsense technology (which North Carolina already uses at all facility entrances). Second, they contracted with a private firm conduct signal intelligence gathering at each prison periodically, rather than investing in a full, costly Managed Access System (MAS). Indiana's cost was $250,000 for ten facilities, twice a year. This is low, compared to the multi-million dollar cost of MAS at each facility. The contractor was able to detect powered-on devices, numbers dialed, and attempted texts. For phones not powered on, trained cellphone-sniffing dogs were used during regular random and targeted cell and common area searches. This type of program is a good example of a broad range of detection and deterrence strategies used together to comprehensively manage contraband within the prisons.

**Track results and cost savings.** Indiana's program resulted in a reduction in the number of phones confiscated, and was further proven effective when payphone usage went up despite a declining inmate population. Indiana even earned money from the payphone company in exchange for cell phone interdiction, which they used to invest in other contraband programs including narcotics.

**Partner with other states to monitor FCC policy developments and lobby for federal assistance.** Federal policy is currently under review and technologies to fully control cell phone use within prisons may become available at a more cost-effective price point. NC DPS should remain at the forefront of these efforts.

## VIII.   RECOMMENDATIONS ADDENDUM

At the public meeting of the Governor's Crime Commission on December 7, 2017, the following additional recommendations were supplied by Commissioners for further consideration by the North Carolina Department of Public Safety.

**Salary.** Commissioners recommend a raise in base pay across the board, to address labor market competition exacerbated by low unemployment and an expanded economy.

**Retirement benefits.** Commissioners recommend exploring including corrections officers in law enforcement retirement programs that have additional benefits and amenities compared to the retirement program currently available to prison system staff.

**Staff levels.** Commissioners recommend conducting a study to establish appropriate staffing levels of North Carolina's 55 prisons based on the characteristics of each facility and inmate population. Staffing levels need to accommodate relief, and should be meaningfully enforced.

**Equipment.** Commissioners recommend staff have functional communications equipment, and pilot body-worn cameras for accountability and deterrence.

**Number of prisons.** Commissioners recommend evaluating further efficiencies gained by reducing the number of prisons and expanding existing facilities, thus reducing administrative overhead and management complexity.

**Employment termination.** Commissioners recommend evaluating State Personnel Act barriers to termination of employment for prison staff who violate policy or commit acts of misconduct.

**Staff recognition.** Commissioners recommend emphasizing management's role in providing positive recognition and reward for staff who are working in difficult, stressful working conditions as a way to boost morale and improve job satisfaction.

**Prosecution.** Commissioners recommend building facility-level capacity to refer inmate or staff criminal misconduct to local law enforcement and prosecutor's offices.

# IX.     APPENDICES

**North Carolina Department of Public Safety**
*Prevent. Protect. Prepare.*

Roy Cooper, Governor                                        Erik A. Hooks, Secretary

June 14, 2017

The Honorable Robert A. Evans, Chairman
c/o Caroline Valand, Director
NC Governor's Crime Commission
1201 Front Street
Raleigh, NC 27609

          RE:  Request for Study of Prison Security

Dear Chairman Evans:

The Department of Public Safety is undertaking a thorough review of prisons and acknowledges a number of serious concerns regarding the operation of these institutions. While we have begun to implement measures to improve conditions, much more work is needed to heighten security in our prison facilities. The North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission serves as the chief advisory body to the Governor and the Secretary of Public Safety on criminal justice matters.  Therefore, I am requesting that the Governor's Crime Commission coordinate a comprehensive study of prison management across the country to identify best practices for improving safety and security in prisons.  The study should examine the following:

- Hiring practices for correctional officers, including screening of candidates,
- Training of correctional officers and all prison staff,
- Staffing at the facilities,
- Security procedures to interdict contraband,
- Measures to detect and address staff misconduct, and
- Any other matters the commission deems necessary and relevant to the study.

In conducting this study, please feel free to enlist the assistance of other stakeholders within the criminal justice community, including but not limited to the NC Conference of District Attorneys and the NC Criminal Justice Education & Training Standards Commission. Please provide a report of your findings and recommendations to me by December 1, 2017.

Thank you for lending your expertise to these critical issues.

Sincerely,

*Erik A. Hooks*

Erik A. Hooks
Secretary

cc:  Caroline Valand, Director

**MAILING ADDRESS:**
4201 Mail Service Center
Raleigh, NC 27699-4201
www.ncdps.gov

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512 N. Salisbury Street
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Telephone: (919) 733-2126

## *Study: Improving Safety and Security in North Carolina Prisons*
### *Interview Questions*

*Has your agency implemented any recent policies or initiatives in response to staff misconduct, or prevalence of contraband?*

*How are candidates for prison jobs recruited, screened and hired?*
- Urban/rural recruitment strategies
- Incentives offered for recruitment and retention
- Screening tools used, such as tests and background checks
- Diversity goals
- Officer wellness programs

*How are new officers trained?*
- Developing training standards
- Frequency of updates
- Instructors
- Training Structure
- Costs

*How are state facilities staffed?*
- Number and security levels of facilities
- Changes in staffing needs over time
- Measuring and budgeting for vacancy
- Overtime
- Incorporating automation or architectural design

*What are the state's security procedures to interdict contraband?*
- Current screening technologies
- Aspirational screening technologies
- Other strategies
- Contraband trends

*How is employee misconduct detected and addressed?*
- Detection and reporting of misconduct
- Addressing crimes that occur within prisons
- Determining disciplinary action
- Security footage
- Staff rotation

*What other measures has your state implemented to improve safety and security in prisons?*

*Sanford School of Public Policy, Duke University*

The Sanford research team examined corrections websites nationally to identify the most professional and creative branding and recruitment efforts. Two that stand out are Wyoming and New York City.

New York City has implemented pointed messaging characterizing corrections as an honorable and important profession. Staff of NYC DOC are consistently referred to as "the New York Bold." Their recruitment page is headlined:



In addition, almost all images and pages are hash-tagged with #JointheBoldest, providing continuity between the website and social media platforms. In fact, even the recruitment page web address is "nyc.gov/jointheboldest." As part of this campaign, the website has a #Proud2bDOC photo campaign, highlighting a diverse array of individual officers and why a career in corrections makes them proud.

The NYC DOC recruitment website is easily accessible from the main DOC website. In addition, the site has an option to be translated into a variety of languages, helping to increase accessibility to a greater amount of people. Furthermore, the site contains professional videos explaining how C.O. salary and benefits are updated annually, as well as other videos on subjects such as the physical agility test.
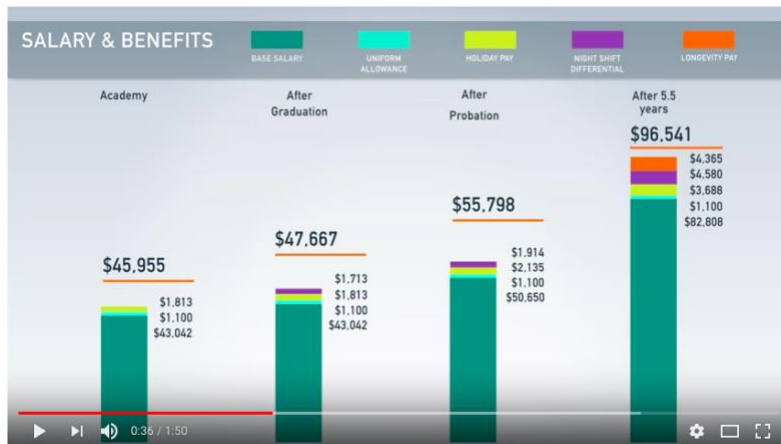




NYC Correction Officer Salary and Benefits 2017

While many corrections departments have started integrating various social media platform usage, NYC does a particularly good job. There is both an account for the DOC as a whole and specifically for recruitment (@jointheboldest) that focuses on disseminating information about testing sites, job fairs, and other initiatives. Not only are the accounts updated on a regular basis with a variety of content, but the feeds are featured on the website as well (see below).

**Correction in Community**

Ever wanted to speak with someone about the multitude of opportunities available at the NYC Department of Correction? Our recruitment team is constantly on the go. Meet them at the following events and get your questions answered immediately.

9/16 Olivet Church Health Fair
3900 Dyre Ave
Bronx, NY
10am-3:30pm

9/17 African American Parade
New York, NY
10am-6pm

**NYC Correction**

Tweets by @CorrectionNYC

tinyurl.com/y93lmca2

Rikers Island Inmates ...
The stacks of handwritte...
afscme.org

Sep 14, 2017

NYC DOC
@CorrectionNYC

#ICYMI DOC held its inaugural 9/11 5k/10k memorial run. Hundreds of runners joined, incl. staffers & Anthony Gardner from @Sept11Memorial.

**Join the Boldest**

Tweets by @jointheboldest

NYCDOC Recruitment
@jointheboldest

DOC's Youth Explorers were @NYCCOBA1 Family Day recruiting new members. Signup by 9/20 at nyc.gov/jointheboldest. #jointheboldest

26m

Wyoming also had an exceptional recruitment resources. Similar to New York City, they had a separate website for recruitment information that was easily accessible from the main DOC website. While they did not have as developed or cohesive of a branding strategy as NYC, Wyoming's recruitment materials were by far the most polished and professional. The website clearly shows upcoming recruitment fairs, benefits, and opportunities. In addition, an incredibly well-produced recruitment video shows the exciting, rehabilitative, and personal side of the job, and features testimonials from a wide array of staff.
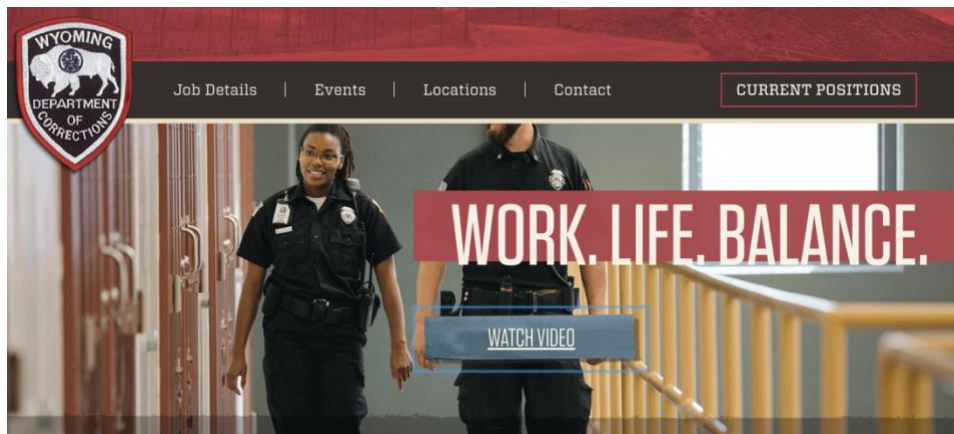
| Prison facility | Staff | Inmate Capacity | Gender | Custody Level | Address | City | State | County | DPS Region | Economic Tier |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Albemarle Correctional Institution | 324 | 816 | Male | Medium | 44150 Airport Rd. | New London | North Carolina | Stanly | Mountain | 2 |
| Alexander Correctional Institution | 531 | 1,180 | Male | Close | 633 Old Landfill Rd. | Taylorsville | North Carolina | Alexander | Mountain | 2 |
| Avery Mitchell Correctional Institution | 315 | 816 | Male | Medium | 600 Amity Park Rd. | Spruce Pine | North Carolina | Avery and Mitchell | Mountain | 2/1 |
| Bertie Correctional Institution | 480 | 1,504 | Male | Close/Medium | 218 Cooper Hill Rd. | Windsor | North Carolina | Bertie | Coastal | 1 |
| Caldwell Correctional Center | 80 | 238 | Male | Minimum | 480 Pleasant Hill Rd. | Lenoir | North Carolina | Caldwell | Mountain | 1 |
| Caledonia Correctional Institution | 405 | 1,038 | Male | Minimum/Medium | 2787 Caledonia Dr. | Tillery | North Carolina | Halifax | Coastal | 1 |
| Carteret Correctional Center | 71 | 300 | Male | Minimum | 1084 Orange St. | Newport | North Carolina | Carteret | Coastal | 3 |
| Caswell Correctional Center | 188 | 460 | Male | Medium | 444 County Home Rd. | Blanch | North Carolina | Caswell | Triangle | 1 |
| Catawba Correctional Center | 61 | 246 | Male | Minimum | 1347 Prison Camp Rd. | Newton | North Carolina | Catawba | Mountain | 2 |
| Central Prison | 1,319 | 752 | Male | Close | 1300 Western Blvd. | Raleigh | North Carolina | Wake | Triangle | 3 |
| Columbus Correctional Institution | 241 | 698 | Male | Medium | 1255 Prison Camp Rd. | Whiteville | North Carolina | Columbus | Central | 1 |
| Craggy Correctional Center | 189 | 408 | Male | Medium/Minimum | 2992 Riverside Dr. | Asheville | North Carolina | Buncombe | Mountain | 3 |
| Craven Correctional Institution | 350 | 850 | Male | Medium | 600 Alligator Rd. | Vanceboro | North Carolina | Craven | Coastal | 2 |
| Dan River Prison Work Farm | 166 | 640 | Male | Minimum | 981 Murray Rd. | Blanch | North Carolina | Caswell | Triangle | 1 |
| Davidson Correctional Center | 56 | 258 | Male | Minimum | 1400 Thomason St. | Lexington | North Carolina | Davidson | Central | 2 |
| Eastern Correctional Institution | 160 | 429 | Female | Medium | 2821 N.C. Highway 903 | Maury | North Carolina | Greene | Coastal | 1 |
| Foothills Correctional Institution | 440 | 858 | Male | Close/Minimum | 5150 Western Avenue | Morganton | North Carolina | Burke | Mountain | 2 |
| Forsyth Correctional Center | 61 | 248 | Male | Minimum | 307 Craft Dr. | Winson-Salem | North Carolina | Forsyth | Central | 3 |
| Franklin Correctional Center | 175 | 452 | Male | Medium | 5918 NC Highway 39 | Bunn | North Carolina | Franklin | Triangle | 2 |
| Gaston Correctional Center | 52 | 242 | Male | Minimum | 520 Justice Ct. | Dallas | North Carolina | Gaston | Mountain | 2 |
| Greene Correctional Institution | 203 | 616 | Male | Minimum | 2699 Highway 903 | Maury | North Carolina | Greene | Coastal | 1 |
| Harnett Correctional Institution | 366 | 988 | Male | Medium | 1210 E. McNeill St. | Lillington | North Carolina | Harnett | Triangle | 2 |
| Hoke Correctional Institution | 185 | 502 | Male | Minimum | 243 Old Hwy 211 | Raeford | North Carolina | Hoke | Central | 2 |
| Hyde Correctional Institution | 219 | 736 | Male | Medium/Minimum | 620 Prison Rd. | Fairfield | North Carolina | Hyde | Coastal | 1 |
| Johnston Correctional Institution | 255 | 612 | Male | Minimum | 2465 US 70 West | Smithfield | North Carolina | Johnston | Triangle | 3 |
| Lanesboro Correctional Insititution | 512 | 1,850 | Male | Close/Medium/Minimum | 552 Prison Camp Rd. | Polkton | North Carolina | Anson | Mountain | 1 |
| Lincoln Correctional Center | 61 | 202 | Male | Minimum | 464 Roper Dr. | Lincolnton | North Carolina | Lincoln | Mountain | 3 |
| Lumberton Correctional Institution | 290 | 768 | Male | Medium | 75 Legend Rd. | Lumberton | North Carolina | Robeson | Central | 1 |
| Marion Correctional Institution | 385 | 738 | Male | Close/Minimum | 355 Old Glenwood Rd. | Marion | North Carolina | McDowell | Mountain | 1 |
| Maury Correctional Insititution | 599 | 1,504 | Male | Close | 2568 Moore Rouse Rd. | Hookerton | North Carolina | Greene | Coastal | 1 |
| Morrison Correctional Institution | 336 | 801 | Male | Medium | 1573 McDonald Church Rd. | Hoffman | North Carolina | Richmond | Central | 1 |
| Mountain View Correctional Institution | 269 | 884 | Male | Medium | 545 Amity Park Rd. | Spruce Pine | North Carolina | Avery and Mitchell | Mountain | 2/1 |
| Nash Correctional Institution | 318 | 512 | Male | Medium | 2869 US 64 Alt | Nashville | North Carolina | Nash | Triangle | 2 |
| Neuse Correctional Institution | 280 | 788 | Male | Minimum | 701 Stevens Mill Rd. | Goldsboro | North Carolina | Wayne | Triangle | 2 |
| New Hanover Correctional Center | 120 | 384 | Male | Minimum | 330 Division Dr. | Wilmington | North Carolina | New Hanover | Central | 3 |
| North Carolina Correctional Institution for Women | 646 | 1,288 | Female | Close/Medium/Minimum | 1034 Bragg St. | Raleigh | North Carolina | Wake | Triangle | 3 |
| Odom Correctional Institution | 174 | 352 | Male | Minimum | 485 Odom Prison Rd. | Jackson | North Carolina | Northampton | Coastal | 1 |
| Orange Correctional Center | 66 | 200 | Male | Minimum | 2110 Clarence Walters Rd. | Hillsborough | North Carolina | Orange | Triangle | 3 |

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| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pamlico Correctional Institution | 200 | 552 | Male | Medium | 601 North Third St. | Bayboro | North Carolina | Pamlico | Coastal | 2 |
| Pasquotank Correctional Institution | 410 | 896 | Male | Close | 527 Commerce Dr. | Elizabeth City | North Carolina | Pasquotank | Coastal | 1 |
| Pender Correctional Center | 312 | 740 | Male | Medium | 906 Penderlea Highway | Burgaw | North Carolina | Pender | Central | 3 |
| Piedmont Correctional Institution | 448 | 952 | Male | Medium/Minimum | 1245 Camp Rd. | Salisbury | North Carolina | Rowan | Central | 2 |
| Polk Correctional Institution | 524 | 904 | Male | Close | 1001 Veazey Rd. | Butner | North Carolina | Granville | Triangle | 2 |
| Randolph Correctional Center | 88 | 226 | Male | Minimum | 2760 US 220 Business | Asheboro | North Carolina | Randolph | Central | 2 |
| Rutherford Correctional Center | 55 | 236 | Male | Minimum | 549 Ledbetter Rd. | Spindale | North Carolina | Rutherford | Mountain | 2 |
| Sampson Correctional Institution | 181 | 452 | Male | Medium/Minimum | 700 Northwest Blvd. US 421 N. | Clinton | North Carolina | Sampson | Central | 2 |
| Sanford Correctional Center | 66 | 298 | Male | Minimum | 417 Advancement Center Rd. | Sanford | North Carolina | Lee | Triangle | 2 |
| Scotland Correctional Institution | 523 | 1,652 | Male | Close/Medium/Minimum | 22385 McGirts Bridge Rd. | Laurinburg | North Carolina | Scotland | Central | 1 |
| Southern Correctional Institution | 323 | 624 | Male/Female | Medium/Close for Female; Minimum for Male | 272 Glen Rd. | Troy | North Carolina | Montgomery | Central | 1 |
| Swannanoa Correctional Center for Women | 120 | 366 | Female | Minimum | 55 Lake Eden Rd. | Black Mountain | North Carolina | Buncombe | Mountain | 3 |
| Tabor Correctional Institution | 525 | 1,752 | Male | Medium/Close | 4600 Swamp Fox Highway West | Tabor City | North Carolina | Columbus | Central | 1 |
| Tyrrell Prison Work Farm | 163 | 620 | Male | Minimum | Snell Road | Columbia | North Carolina | Tyrrell | Coastal | 1 |
| Wake Correctional Center | 102 | 414 | Male | Minimum | 1000 Rock Quarry Rd. | Raleigh | North Carolina | Wake | Triangle | 3 |
| Warren Correctional Institution | 397 | 809 | Male/Female | Close/Medium/PCON/Minimum | 379 Collins Rd. | Manson | North Carolina | Warren | Triangle | 1 |
| Wilkes Correctional Center | 54 | 262 | Male | Minimum | 404 Statesville Rd. | North Wilkesboro | North Carolina | Wilkes | Mountain | 2 |

## APPENDIX E – NATIONWIDE MEDIA SUMMARY

An extremely common theme in much of the media coverage was the problem of staffing shortages in state prisons across the country. Prisons across the country have reported huge vacancy rates for correctional staff. There is also media coverage of several state government attempts to address the staffing shortages, with states such as Maryland, Nebraska, and Florida implementing pay incentives to combat staffing vacancies.[1][2][3] Closely connected to the coverage of correctional staff vacancy is that of violent prison riots. There have been several large prison riots across the nation that have been captured by both state and national media. In Nebraska and Kansas, there has been an increase in prison violence, with news outlets citing high turnover, low morale, and a large number of staff vacancies.[4][5][6][7] In Delaware, understaffing, overcrowding, and internal corruption were cited as contributing causes for a riot in which inmates gained control of the facility and called into a newspaper to demand better treatment.[8][9] In addition, a total lockdown of all prisons in In New Mexico was instituted following a riot in which fire and flooding occurred.[10] Much of the legislative action that has occurred regarding staffing shortages was in direct response to some of these incidents that have occurred over the past year.

Another theme was that of corruption among correctional officers. The most common stories were that of correctional officers smuggling in contraband, or having sexual relationships with inmates. These stories originate from prisons across the country, from New Jersey to Georgia to California. While most of these cases were reported by local news affiliates, there were also several extreme cases of correctional officer misconduct that garnered national attention. One such example was a report in the New York Times in which inmates in Alaska were stripped and made to walk naked on a dog leash, and left without clothing in cold and dirty cells for hours at a time.[11] Another example is a growing criminal inquiry into the sexual assault and exploitation of inmates in New Jersey's state women's prison. So far there have been six indictments of staff members over the last 18 months, prompting prosecutors to call for intervention.[12] However these extreme cases seem to be outliers, with the vast majority of corruption involving sexual intimacy or contraband. In most of the news reports on sexual relationships, the staff member in question was either dismissed or placed on paid leave. Often a sexual relationship accompanied the smuggling in of contraband on the part of the correctional staff member. The most common contraband noted in these news reports includes drugs such as marijuana and tobacco products like cigarettes. However, besides these common contraband items, several news reports noted the increased smuggling of Suboxone strips, a slow-acting opioid about the size of a postage stamp and extremely lucrative in the prison black market.[13][14] Other drugs of note include K2, a synthetic marijuana with no standards for dosage. One report notes that 20 adverse reactions to K2 were reported within hours of each other in the same day at the Nebraska State Penitentiary.[15]

Last, news coverage also highlighted technological and programming initiatives that several states and prison systems were undergoing to combat some of the above highlighted challenges. Programming innovation included a New York program modeled off of Shark Tank that matches inmates to mentors who are business executives.[16][17] Lehigh University students developed an algorithim to assist in assigning inmates to correctional facilities, projecting to save the PA prison system nearly $3 million a year.[18] In Delaware, the Delaware Technical Community College piloted a new program allowing people to get assistance with the correctional officer hiring process while also working towards a college degree.[19][20] While positive coverage on initiatives like these are scarce in comparison to that of correctional staff shortages, prison violence, and corruption, there are steps being taken in several states to address these issues.

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2010]   *50-STATE INVENTORY*   1763

# SECTION 1:
# CORRECTIONAL OVERSIGHT NATIONAL CHARTS

10

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[76] Deitch, Michele. (2010) *Independent Correctional Oversight Mechanisms Across the United States: A 50-State Inventory*, 30 Pace L. Rev. 1754
Retrieved from: http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/plr/vol30/iss5/21

Table 1 below presents the independent prison oversight entities that exist in each state. As discussed above, we list only those entities that are external to the prison agency, that have formal access to the prison facilities, and that have an oversight function primarily related to either investigation of wrongdoing or monitoring of conditions in prisons. Each oversight body was characterized as a particular type of oversight, and in deciding how to categorize a particular entity, we looked more to the function served and the tasks performed by the entity than to its name. The organizational categories we use in this report are defined as follows:

1.  *Governmental Agency or Commission.* A governmental agency or commission is a standing entity external to the DOC with statutory responsibility for oversight of state prisons. This entity has authority to report on prison conditions and, in some cases, may be able to sanction offending institutions.

2.  *Ombudsperson.* An ombudsperson investigates complaints about misconduct or problematic conditions in the state's corrections system (and in some cases, in other government agencies as well). The ombudsperson may be attached to a state's DOC, but if so, that office must report to the legislature or another body external to the DOC to be included in our report.

3.  *Inspector General.* An inspector general investigates criminal wrongdoing and other serious forms of misconduct in an agency, and may also be tapped to identify systemic areas of concern in agency operations. We included Inspectors General only if they were entirely independent of the DOC or the governing board. They may have responsibility for departments other than corrections, but they must provide oversight as defined above.

4.  *Legislative Committee with Inspection Responsibilities.* While recognizing that every state legislature will have committees that deal with prison-related issues, we limited inclusion in this category to those legislative correctional committees that play an active oversight role that goes well beyond the passage of legislation affecting correctional agencies and the review of population management issues. We sought to include only those legislative committees that focus on conditions in correctional facilities and the treatment of prisoners. Such oversight commit-

11

tees will typically have regular access to correctional facilities and may also have specific responsibilities with regard to inspections.

5. *Advocacy Group with Formal Right of Access.* An advocacy group with oversight authority was defined as a non-governmental organization that has a mandate, legislative authorization, or routine agency permission to inspect, monitor, or otherwise provide a kind of formal oversight over prisons or jails. These entities have a formal right of access to correctional facilities. Access to the facilities may be restricted in some way, but the access provided goes beyond the simple ability to visit inmates in visiting areas of the facility.

6. *Citizens' Board or Advisory Committee.* A citizens' board or advisory committee is an entity appointed by, for example, the governor, with responsibility for investigating or providing feedback about specific or general aspects of the operations of a state correctional system or for a particular facility. It provides a form of outside lay scrutiny of the prison or jail conditions or operations, and the committee reports on its findings and conclusions to the appointing body. Typically, the recommendations of this body are advisory in nature.

7. *General Government Auditing Body.* A general government auditing body refers to an agency in state government designed to conduct performance audits or reviews of a wide variety of state agencies, not just the corrections department. These auditing bodies typically audit each state agency on a regular schedule (usually every several years), and the scope of that review will vary tremendously from state to state, or even from audit to audit. These reviews provide objective input on various managerial, operational, or fiscal issues, but rarely emphasize the treatment of prisoners. More often, the focus is on efficiency or cost-effectiveness of current practices. These auditing bodies usually have free access to correctional facilities, but in most cases they do not take advantage of such access. We included only those auditing bodies that appear to place an unusual emphasis upon prison conditions or those that conduct more routine inspections of prison facilities.

8.   *Protection and Advocacy Organization with Focus on Prison Is-sues.* Protection and advocacy organizations refer to those enti-ties designated as a state's protection and advocacy agency under federal law. These organizations have a statutory right of access into any institution—including a prison or jail—that holds persons with mental illness and disabilities whose rights are possibly being violated. Each protection and advocacy or-ganization sets its annual priorities and, for most of these organ-izations, prison-related issues are not a primary focus and they do not take advantage of their right of access. The protection and advocacy organizations listed in this table are those that in-dicate that issues related to mentally ill or disabled prisoners are a high-priority issue and that monitor conditions for their clients in these facilities.

TABLE 1: MODELS OF FORMAL, EXTERNAL PRISON OVERSIGHT

| STATE | Governmental Agency or Commission | Ombudsperson | Inspector General | Legislative Committee with Inspection Responsibilities | Advocacy Group with Right of Access | Citizens Board or Advisory Committee | General Government Auditing Body | Protection and Advocacy Organization with Focus on Prison Issues |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | | | | | | | | |
| Alaska | | Office of the Ombudsman | | | | | | Disability Law Center of Alaska |
| Arizona | | | | | | | | |
| Arkansas | | | | | | | | |
| California | | Office of Sexual Abuse in Detention Elimination Ombudsperson | Office of the Inspector General | | | | | |
| Colorado | | | | | | | Little Hoover Commission | Legal Center for People with Disabilities and Older People |
| Connecticut | | | | | | | | |
| Delaware | Delaware Criminal Justice Council | | | | | Delaware Council on Correction | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Florida | | | | | | | Florida Department of Health, Correctional Medical Authority | |
| Georgia | | | | | | | | |
| Hawaii | | Office of the Ombudsman | | | | | | |
| Idaho | | | | | | | | |
| Illinois | | | | | John Howard Association for Prison Reform | | | |
| Indiana | | Indiana Ombudsman Bureau | | | | | Indiana State Department of Health Health Care Regulatory Services Commission, Acute Care Division | |
| Iowa | | Office of Citizen's Aide Ombudsman | | | | | | |
| Kansas | | | | | | | | |

15

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| STATE | Governmental Agency or Commission | Ombudsperson | Inspector General | Legislative Committee with Inspection Responsibilities | Advocacy Group with Right of Access | Citizens Board or Advisory Committee | General Government Auditing Body | Protection and Advocacy Organization with Focus on Prison Issues |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kentucky | | | | | | | | |
| Louisiana | | | | | | | | |
| Maine | | | | | | Maine State Prison Board of Visitors | Office of Program Evaluation and Government Accountability | |
| Maryland | Commission on Correctional Standards | | | | | | | |
| Massachusetts | | | | | Massachusetts Correctional Legal Services | | Disabled Persons Protection Commission | |
| Michigan | | | | | | | Michigan Office of the Auditor General | Michigan Protection & Advocacy Service, Inc. |
| Minnesota | | | | | | | | |
| Mississippi | | | | | | | Joint Committee on Performance Evaluation and Expenditure Review | |

16

| | TABLE 1: MODELS OF FORMAL, EXTERNAL PRISON OVERSIGHT | | | | | | | |
| STATE | Governmental Agency or Commission | Ombudsperson | Inspector General | Legislative Committee with Inspection Responsibilities | Advocacy Group with Right of Access | Citizens Board or Advisory Committee | General Government Auditing Body | Protection and Advocacy Organization with Focus on Prison Issues |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Missouri | | | | Joint Legislative Committee on Corrections | | Citizens Advisory Committee | | |
| Montana | | | | | | Corrections Advisory Council | | |
| Nebraska | | Ombudsman-Office of the Public Council/ Ombudsman for Corrections | | | | | | |
| Nevada | | | | | | | | |
| New Hampshire | | | | | | Citizens Advisory Committees | | |
| New Jersey | | Department of the Public Advocate Office of Corrections Ombudsman | | | | | | |
| New Mexico | | | | | | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| New York | New York State Commission of Correction | | | | The Correctional Association of New York-Prison Visiting Project | | | |
| North Carolina | | | | | | | | |
| North Dakota | | | | | | | Office of the State Auditor | |
| Ohio | | | | Correctional Institutions Inspection Committee | | | | |
| Oklahoma | | | | | | | | |
| Oregon | | | | | | | | |
| Pennsylvania | | | | | Pennsylvania Prison Society | | | |
| Rhode Island | | | | | | | | |
| South Carolina | | | | | | | | |
| South Dakota | | | | | | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tennessee | | | | | | | | |
| Texas | | PREA Ombudsman for TDCJ | | | | | | |
| United States | | | US Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General | | | | | |
| Utah | | | | | | | | |
| Vermont | | | | | | | | |
| Virginia | | | | | | | | |
| Washington | | | | | | | | |
| West Virginia | | | | | | | | |
| Wisconsin | | | | | | | | Disability Rights Wisconsin |
| Wyoming | | | | | | | | |

19

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