

THE INTENSIVE MANAGEMENT UNIT OF THE OREGON STATE
PRISON SYSTEM: A QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF PROGRAM CHANGES.

by

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ABSTRACT

An abstract of the thesis of Benjamin Daniel Randolph for the Master of Science in Sociology presented November 12, 2004.

Title: The Intensive Management Unit of the Oregon State Prison System: A Quantitative Study of the Effectiveness of Program Changes.

The Intensive Management Unit (IMU) of the Oregon State Prison System is designated as a supermax facility, which is an abbreviation for super maximum, the highest of four confinement levels used in the prison system. There are two IMU's in Oregon, one at Snake River Correctional Institute (SRCI) in Ontario, and the other at Oregon State Penitentiary in Salem.

This study was designed to examine differences between two groups. Group one was a sample of inmates who had been assigned to the IMU from the opening of the IMU in 1991 at OSP (the IMU at SRCI opened in 1999) until a new program was implemented in 2002. Group two was a sample of inmates who had been housed in the IMU from 2002 until the sampling frame was constructed during the summer of 2003.

The previous system of operation in the IMU required an inmate to complete a six-month sentence with no misconduct reports. The new program that was implemented in 2002 requires an inmate to complete a series of programs that include anger management, cognitive restructuring, and behavior modification. The

inmates in group two are also required to transition through four levels in order to gain the opportunity to be re-assigned to the general population.

The central hypothesis was, “Group two (post-implementation group) will be less likely to experience recidivism than group one (pre-implementation group) because of the stricter program requirements that are in place today.

The sample consisted of male inmates, of various races, ages, and backgrounds. Group one had 60 inmates and Group two had 57 inmates in the final sample. Research was conducted by a secondary data analysis using a standardized collection form and both the inmate’s institution file and his IMU file.

Results showed the current program has a higher rate of recidivism than the previous program. Findings also showed that inmates who serve the required six-month sentence were more likely to recidivate than an inmate who spent approximately ten months in the IMU.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to discover if the current model of operation within the Oregon Department of Corrections Intensive Management Unit is more helpful or less helpful to the inmates it serves than the previous system. In addition, the research examines the characteristics of inmates who were successful using the Intensive Management Unit and those who were not successful using IMU programming (as measured by recidivism). Recidivism is the practice of being sent back to a facility after being released from that facility.

The National Institute of Justice reported in 2003 that prisons across the country are increasing in number and size. In Oregon, recent laws of mandatory minimum and determinate sentences have resulted in an expansion of the inmate population. Mandatory minimum and determinate sentencing are essentially the same. Both laws state that for an individual being found guilty, that individual will serve a certain sentence that can be increased due to poor behavior on the part of the inmate, without a corresponding opportunity to lower the sentence with positive behavior.

The growing population of inmates has made it necessary to institute new methods to exact appropriate behavior from those inmates. A growing aspect of the prison culture is the use of supermax units. Supermax is an abbreviation for super maximum confinement, the highest level of four confinement levels. These levels of confinement are ranging from super maximum, maximum, medium, and

minimum. Super maximum is defined as solitary confinement, or the practice of housing inmates in isolation for 23 ½ hours a day with a half an hour recreation. Inmates are fed in their cells and have the opportunity to shower two or three times a week. The research that has been conducted on supermax is sparse. Roberts and Gebotys found in 2001 that sixty days in isolation did not have an adverse effect on inmates. The research addressing six-month sentences in isolation propose negative physical and mental effects (Pizarro and Stenius 2004).

The recent shift in managing prison populations via “supermax” was investigated by Pizarro and Stenius (2004). Pizarro and Stenius (2004) observed that supermax is increasingly becoming the type of incarceration used today. They also observe the relative ease of managing inmate populations compared to other types of confinement used in the penitentiary setting make it more widely used (Pizarro and Stenius 2004).

In some prisons, such as Pelican Bay and California State in California and Wallens Ridge State in Virginia, the entire prison is a facility where each inmate is confined in a supermax setting. In Oregon, supermax is used as a smaller institution within the larger prison. This method is similar to the type of supermax being used in prisons in Holland. In Holland, “solitary confinement may be used as a disciplinary means, to avoid collusion (threatening witnesses, destroying evidence, and coordinating statements), or it may be voluntarily demanded by the prisoner” (Anderson et. al. 2000:19).

This research is a study of the Intensive Management Unit (IMU), Oregon’s version of supermax. IMU is a segment of the Oregon Department of

Corrections that houses those individuals who cannot behave in a manner conducive to the rules of the general population of the prison. The population discussed here is male, of various ages and races, and divided into two groups, the pre-implementation group (group one) and the post-implementation group (group two). This primary goal of this research is to discover whether group one or group two has the better success. Success is measured by a lack of recidivism. The secondary goal of this research is to discover the characteristics of the inmates who are served by the IMU within the framework of the two different programs associated with group one and group two, respectively.

During the period of time the group one sample is drawn from, an inmate had to complete a six-month sentence in the IMU without any misconduct reports in order to be reassigned to the general population. The new program the sample of group two is associated with was instituted in 2002 and is the event that was implemented as discussed earlier. The new program uses cognitive restructuring, anger management, and behavior modification in an effort to assist each inmate to behave according to the administrations rules both in the IMU and once the inmate is released back into the general population.

Crime, Prisons, and the Context of Reform

The steady increase in incarceration rates in prisons at the state and federal level has resulted in more interest in the study of crime and criminals. According to the National Institute of Justice (2003), there were a total of 1,305,253

inmates in federal, state, and private prisons in 2000 compared to 1,023,572 inmates in the three types of institutions in 1995 (NIJ 2003). This is a 27.5% increase over the course of five years. Although there was a 13.9% increase in the number of facilities in the same time period (1464 prisons in 1995 to 1668 in 2000), there is generally more overcrowding then there was previously (NIJ 2003).

The number of male inmates in state facilities rose 17% between 1995 and 2000. This relates to the report that there were 4.8 inmates per correctional staff in 2000, which is slightly higher than the 4.6 inmates per 1 correctional staff in 1995 (NIJ 2003). These figures, when related to the overcrowding reported above indicate that management among prisons is becoming a concern.

The hypothesis and research questions used for this data were not tested, but instead were used to explain expected results for the data. The central research question of this paper is, “Group two (post-implementation group) of the Intensive Management Unit will be less likely to experience recidivism than group one (pre-implementation group) of the Intensive Management Unit because of stricter requirements and because the inmate experiences less internal disorganization. The research presented in this paper is timely because of the increase in the number of prisons, inmates, and the use of supermax facilities like the IMU. By understanding which of the two programs studied here has the best outcomes; prison administrators in ODOC can increase the effectiveness of the IMU.

BACKGROUND

History of Oregon Prisons and the Intensive Management Unit

Prisons in Oregon have a history that begins prior to the state's official origin in 1859. Prior to 1866, the only prison in Oregon was territorial and located in Portland. After the prison in Portland was destroyed by fire, the Oregon State Penitentiary (OSP) was built in Salem and opened in 1866. Although it has been expanded over the subsequent decades, it remains on its original parcel of land. The Department of Corrections, the governing body of the State of Oregon prison system, has since opened several other prisons around the state. Oregon now has twelve prisons (including OSP) in operation that are classified as minimum, medium, or maximum custody. In addition to OSP, the other facility used in this study, the Snake River Correctional Institution (SRCI), was built in Ontario and opened in 1991. The IMU is commonly referred to as "supermax" (Irwin 1980, Roberts and Gebotys 2001, and Pizarro and Stenius 2004) due to the high level of inmate confinement. The Intensive Management Unit at OSP was opened in 1991 and the IMU at SRCI was opened in 1999 (Yoder 2003).

IMU is a smaller housing unit within the walls of the larger penitentiary at OSP and SRCI called "administrative segregation" in the Oregon State Penitentiary system. It consists of inmates who, for various reasons, cannot successfully live within the general prisoner population. IMU is also called "segregation,"

“isolation,” “solitary confinement,” and “the hole,” but those names are also attached to other forms of administrative segregation. IMU is also the most restrictive form of confinement within the Oregon Department of Corrections and it contains the prisoners perceived as most dangerous (Webb 2003).

The History of the Program within the Intensive Management Unit

“In 2002, the Oregon Department of Corrections implemented a new behavioral modification system using incentives, disincentives, and access to privileges in an attempt to influence inmate behavior within the IMU” (Bellatty 2003). The goal of this research is to examine how these changes influenced the behavior of the inmates after they were released from the Intensive Management Unit (IMU) and re-enter the prison’s general population. An inmate who does not experience recidivism after successfully being reintegrated into the general population after release from the IMU will indicate successful socialization and the effectiveness of the IMU program.

The IMU at SRCI consists of three units of forty-eight single-bed cells per unit. One of the IMU units at SRCI, Unit B, houses those individuals who are placed in protective custody either by their own request or by an administrative decision. The IMU at OSP consists of three units each with forty-nine single-bed cells. By conducting a comparison study of inmate populations before and after the current system was enacted, an assessment of the effectiveness of the new program on the socialization of the inmates involved in the IMU program was

conducted.

According to Paul Bellatty (2003), some inmates opt to go to the IMU to get protection from other inmates (although the number is declining), others are gang affiliates and are placed there to remove them from the general population, and most of the remaining inmates have anger management problems. Although the mentally ill are usually housed in a different unit, some manage to get assigned to the IMU (Bellatty 2003). On an administrative level, isolation is used as a punishment for deviating from the rules, but studying the prison as a “total institution,” (McEwen 1980:143, Goffman 1961) may prove that inmates themselves do not view serving time in isolation as a negative consequence. Within the prison, a suspicion held by staff is the inmates view spending time in isolation as taking a break or getting a change in scenery from the regular prison routine (Van Patton 2003).

Although IMU staff and administration treat all inmates similarly, there are four different levels of privileges attained by inmate due to their behavior in the current program. The more amenable the inmate appears to be to IMU program expectations, the more privileges he receives. Of the four levels of privileges in the IMU, level one is the most restrictive and level four is the least restrictive within that program. An inmate begins at level two upon entrance into the IMU, but can be placed on level one and housed accordingly if he fails to conform to the rules and expectations within the IMU. The reason that an inmate is not placed at level one upon entrance into the IMU is the administration needs the leverage of a negative consequence to exact the behavior they desire. For instance, if an inmate is on

level two upon entrance into the IMU, then the inmate knows that if they, as an inmate, do not behave according to the rules of the IMU they can be further sanctioned and placed on level one.

The three units of IMU at SRCI are divided as follows: Unit A houses those inmates who are on behavior level one or two, Unit B houses the administrative segregation population (those placed in protective custody), and Unit D houses those inmates placed in behavior levels three and four. Those inmates who are assigned to Unit B at SRCI are subject to the same rules and guidelines as other inmates in the IMU and are treated the same as other individuals in the sample for the purpose of this study. The three units of IMU at OSP are divided as follows: Unit A holds individuals who are level one and receive the least privileges. Unit B holds individuals who are level two and three and receive associated privileges according to the Oregon State Penitentiary (OSP) Intensive Management Unit Inmate Handbook. Unit D holds those individuals that have been assigned to level four within the IMU and receive the highest level of privileges (Unit C is Death Row and not a part of the IMU).

TABLE 1

Divisions of Housing Units in IMU

<u>OSP IMU</u>	<u>SRCI IMU</u>
Unit A=Level 1	Unit A=Level 1 and 2
Unit B=Level 2 and 3	Unit B=Protective Custody
Unit D=Level 3	Unit C=Level 3 and 4

The previous system of IMU operation required the individual stay in the IMU for at least six months and receive no misconduct reports during that time.

Under the new system, the individual must satisfactorily perform behavioral modification tasks and obtain a level four (of levels 1-4) before reassignment into the general population. The observation of the individual's behavior may be a way to measure that his socialization has improved by his ability to avoid recidivism by behaving in a manner acceptable to the institution. It is expected that there will be less recidivism experienced by the inmate after the changes to the IMU than before because inmates are given means to integrate socially with the current educational program in the IMU.

CHAPTER II

PRIOR RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Prisons as a Total Institution:

This research focuses on the prison as a complete society or total institution. Following the definition and discussion of a total institution, there will be support for studying inmates as a heterogeneous group. Finally, the characteristics of a group and how individuals operate within a group will be presented.

According to Erving Goffman (1961), a total institution is “A basic social arrangement in modern society is that the individual tends to sleep, play, and work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities, and without an over-all rational plan. In addition, the central feature of total institutions is that they involve a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life” (Goffman 1961:5-6) The state prisons in Oregon as governed by the Oregon Department of Corrections fit Goffman’s (1961) definition of a total institution individually as well as collectively. Defined as “places of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life” (Goffman 1961: xiii), prisons in Oregon fit this definition because individuals are assigned to the Oregon state prison system if they are sentenced to one year and one day or longer. Institutional interconnectedness was noted earlier due to the fact that the Intensive Management Unit (IMU) draws

its population from the male prisoner population from all the male institutions throughout Oregon even though the IMU's physical locations are within Snake River Correctional Institution (SRCI) in Ontario, Oregon and the Oregon State Penitentiary (OSP) in Salem, Oregon.

Although much of the previous research has focused on inmates as a homogenous body of individuals (Emerson, Ellis et. al. 1974, and McEwen 1980), contemporary researchers focus on inmates being unique individuals that must be studied as a heterogeneous population (Irwin 1980, Terry 2004). In support of John Irwin (1980) and Charles Terry (2004), individual inmates in Oregon are alike only in that they have been convicted of a crime that is prohibited by the laws of the State of Oregon. Even the reported 70% of Oregon's prison inmates that have committed a person-to-person crime (Oregon Department of Corrections 2004) are different from each other in social background and elements involved in the crime.

While inmates in the eleven different prisons in Oregon may not see inmates in other institutions, most inmates are transferred between institutions so there is generally knowledge of occurrences among the inmates in the various institutions. Also, most prisons have a common exercise yard where inmates may come into contact with other inmates of the same facility. One institution, Two Rivers Correctional Institution (TRCI) consists of several self-contained dorms where inmates only leave their dorm area for medical reasons too severe for the nurse to attend within the dorm. By Goffman's (1961) definition, TRCI would be more of a total institution than the standard penitentiary in Oregon because its formal administration is more prominent due to the structural layout.

Role scheduling is when an individual actor has certain roles that he or she can adopt as formation of the self to present to others (Goffman 1961). Just as Goffman found that membership in a total institution “disrupts role scheduling,” membership of an inmate in the IMU may disrupt their role scheduling as well. Inmates appear to have two primary role choices upon entrance to the IMU. The inmate can adopt a role that is conducive to the rules of the IMU, or the inmate can adopt a role that is disruptive to the operation of the IMU. Even though it is expected that some people get sent to the IMU as an action to receive protection, the inmate who is a member of a gang or involved in subversive activities may find his role scheduling disrupted because he is at risk of being displaced by other inmates while in the IMU.

Staff and inmates tend to label each other. “Each grouping tends to conceive of the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes, staff often seeing inmates as bitter, secretive, and untrustworthy, while inmates often see staff as condescending, highhanded, and mean” (Goffman 1961:7). It is expected in this study, an inmate that has been to the IMU several times will have received a label as evidenced by recidivism to the IMU.

Another traditional theorist who has studied interactions within the small group is George Herbert Mead (1965). In order to understand why an individual becomes involved in deviant acts, it is useful to analyze value conflicts that may occur within an individual while in an institution. While the individual actor brings certain values into the institution, other values are adopted once incarcerated. “The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from

the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs” (Mead 1965:138). Therefore, upon introduction to the prison population and the social relations within the prison, it can be deduced that the individual may change, because the people around him are different than the people he interacted with while in the larger society; using Mead (1965), his perception of himself may change. One former inmate described Mead’s writings (above) when he discussed his involvement in a riot at an Oregon institution because the exercise yard was “locked down” (secured from inmate movement in or out) once the riot began and the former inmate was inside the recreation yard. He said:

I was young and scared. I started brawling with everyone else and when the towers fired warning shots, I got down with everyone else too. I went to the hole (segregation) with everyone else and I didn’t know what had happened. It happened so fast I just got caught up. (Former inmate 2003)

The former inmate reported that before he had been incarcerated he had considered himself to be “laid-back” and not a violent type of person. He stated that while in prison, because he perceived himself to be physically small, that he had to “make his bones more than the next guy” (commit acts of violence in order to show other inmates that he was not to be perceived as weak or lacking in some way). This is an example of the individual essentially experiencing himself from the viewpoint of others.

In the institution, groups provide emotional support for the individual since it is interaction between individuals that form the group. In prison, the emotional support may not be any support for a socially positive role because the group

might prove to be the force that causes the individual to choose deviance. Upon release from the IMU, the individual returns to the general population where he is swayed by the values of the larger group as mentioned above, regardless of the changes that have occurred within the IMU.

According to Mead (1965), deviant acts that are in violation of the values and norms of a society can be due to an inner discrepancy within the individual. If faced with an inner-discrepancy, then an individual who is sent to the IMU may not be focused on behaving in a way that is conducive to being returned to the general population. If the dominant ideology in the IMU is created by an existing group of individuals who are content to remain and exercise an idea of control by performing in anti-social ways towards the correctional officers, then an inmate who is new to that social structure may find it less appealing to comply with the rules. Another conclusion that DOC employees have reached is that with each visit to the IMU, the inmate is more likely to return to the IMU (Bellatty 2003).

Effects of Total Institutions in the Literature

Part of life in the total institution is the classification of inmates to determine where inmates are to be housed. Although discussing classification with regard to prison systems of the past, Irwin (1980) uses a description of classification that embodies the essence of the IMU mission. "An ideal correctional institution primarily organized to rehabilitate prisoners would require an elaborate, systematic diagnostic and planning process that assessed the nature of the individual's

criminality and prescribed a cure” (Irwin 1980:43).

In Oregon, within the IMU, amenities are used as incentives to exact behavior that is conducive to the prison structure. Some amenities are radios, access to visitors, and reading material. One study examined correctional administrators’ assessments of the importance and impact of prison programs and services based on the 1995 Prison Amenities Index (Johnson et. al. 1997). The national trend has been toward a repeal of prison amenities in light of current pressures placed on prison administrations by state legislatures (Johnson et. al. 1997). The findings of Johnson et al. (1997) “suggest that prison wardens have become more punitive in their orientations” (Johnson et. al 1997:37).

These findings can be associated with most facilities like the IMU, but the purpose of the new program in the IMU is designed to give inmates some education while spending time in isolation or more of a rehabilitative incarceration. While correctional administrators use programs like IMU as a negative consequence, inmates often welcome being placed in isolative environments to be removed from the general population (Webb 2003). Therefore, it may be better to focus on rehabilitative goals as Irwin (1980) suggested.

Prior Research has also shown that individuals being sent to an isolative unit can be the result of a request on the part of an inmate (Bellatty 2003). Situations that are included here are if the inmate is a “former police officer, police informant, former correctional officer, or the inmate has enemies in the same prison unit” (Fong and Buentello 1991: 3). Because IMU is the more serious stage of isolative measures used by prison officials, it is believed there will be some of the

above mentioned individuals in the IMU, but they will not be separated out from the larger sample for this study, because they are inmates and assigned to the IMU.

Negative mental effects that may have affected sociability of an inmate have been researched in Canada with the conclusion, “segregation for 60 days does not negatively affect prisoners’ mental health and psychological functioning” (Roberts and Gebotys 2001:85). The two differences with the research of Roberts and Gebotys (2001) and this research is that IMU is at least a 180-day stay. Many of the inmates within the IMU may have a previous diagnosis for a mental disorder, some of which may be anti-social by definition (American Psychiatric Association 2000). It is expected that those inmates who have been designated as needing mental health treatment will experience recidivism at a greater rate than those inmates who do not need mental health treatment. It is unknown whether inmates who have been designated as needing mental health treatment have received it or if they have received it, if the treatment was successful. It is only if the inmate has been determined to have some level of need for mental health treatment that they are singled out for this study. The reason that it is felt the designation of mental health need will be a factor in determining recidivism of the individual is because some mental health diagnoses are defined as the individual exhibiting, “a pervasive pattern of disregard for, and violations of, the rights of others” (American Psychiatric Association 2000: 701).

Some research has been done regarding the phenomena of “aging out” (Hirschi and Gottfredson 1990). “Aging out” refers to the concept that individuals, who after getting involved in criminality, eventually quit engaging in criminal

acts as they age due to increased stakes in social networks. For instance, a man in his late 20's is more likely to have a steady job, a family, and more responsibilities than one in his early 20's. It is expected that those individuals who experienced recidivism will generally be in their lower to middle 20's as based on the research by Hirschi and Gottfredson (1990).

The issue of race as it relates to the criminal justice system has been studied by several researchers (Jackson 1997, Crawford et. al 1998, Pettit and Western 2004, among others), and most researchers have found there to be sentencing disparities between different racial and ethnic groups in the United States for the same or similar crimes. This research will analyze race to examine the racial composition of the Oregon prison system as it relates to society, and the racial composition of the IMU as it relates to the general population of the Oregon prison system. Racial composition of the population that has recidivated is also studied.

Theoretical Framework:

Theory was used in this research to analyze the data in a sociological sense; the data of this research was not used to test any theories. As mentioned above, this research uses Goffman's (1961) definition of a total institution in the examination of the Oregon State prisons. This research will follow Goffman's analysis of institutions because the inmate is stripped of his civilian identity and rebuilt using what Goffman calls "the privilege system that provides a framework for personal reorganization" (Goffman 1961:48).

Placement of an individual in the IMU is a strong indicator that the prisoner has failed to assimilate into the general population by integrating the privilege system. The privilege system consists of three parts: house rules, clearly defined rewards, and punishments. House rules are those rules designed by the administration of the facility. Clearly defined rewards are for those who follow the rules among the inmate population. Punishments are the opposite of rewards and are given out to those inmates who do not follow the house rules. IMU has a stricter set of house rules than the general population of inmates. The rewards are fewer for those inmates who successfully advance through the four levels than the rewards available for the general population in prison. Punishment is more severe for IMU inmates than the inmates in general population because an inmate in IMU can be reassigned to level one and start the program over again.

Agnew's Revised Strain Theory (1992) will be used as a foundation with which to explain why, in a total institution, the individual finds it necessary to deviate from the societal norms when there are few incentives for doing so, other than those incentives mentioned previously (Webb 2003). Strain theory is important because it "focuses explicitly on negative relationships with others in which the individual is upset with the way he or she is treated" (Agnew 1992: 178). To tie together Strain theory and the IMU, strain "is typically measured in terms of the disjunction between aspirations (or ideal goals) and expectations (or expected levels of goal achievement)" (Agnew 1992: 180). The blocking of an individual from real or perceived goals could be the driving force in motivating an individual to refuse to follow the rules at a higher level of custody, causing that individual's

assignment to the IMU.

Another facet of Strain (Agnew 1992) is the strain an individual feels when they have experienced victimization, maltreatment, or a stressful event. Under this definition, strain would be a common event since inmates could define the incarceration itself as a stressful event. Victimization and maltreatment are common occurrences in the prison society too.

Using Labeling Theory as described by Reed and Yeager (1996), the process by which an inmate is labeled as “crazy” or “a trouble-maker” for repeat visits to the IMU will be examined for any benefits the inmate receives once he is returned to the general population. The benefit an inmate experiences from being labeled include avoiding being manipulated by other inmates. Also, the second stage of the labeling process is how the inmate accepts the label. In accordance with my previous statement, I expect that reappropriation occurs and the inmate adopts the label as a defense. Reappropriation is the process by which a label is taken out of its negative context and reassigned to have a positive, symbolic meaning.

The opposite of a label being positive can also happen. While the inmate who is labeled “crazy” or “a trouble-maker” may find he receives some benefit from other inmates, he may also find that he receives negative attention from correctional officers and other staff due to the label he has acquired.

Hypothesis

- Hypothesis one: Group two (post-implementation group) will be less likely to experience recidivism than group one (pre-implementation group) because of

the stricter requirements and because the inmate experiences less internal disorganization according to Mead (1965).

Research Questions

- Research question one: Will minorities experience more recidivism to the IMU once released from the IMU because sentencing disparities (the concept that minorities are sentenced more harshly than their white counterparts for the same or similar crimes) are often carried into the prison culture (Jackson 1997)? Labeling minority populations by the dominant culture also occurs in the institution and this may affect minority populations adversely so they receive the negative effects of a label by correctional officers and administration more than their Caucasian counterparts.
- Research question two: Will inmates in the IMU be younger (mid-20's and younger)? It is expected inmates will be younger because they are searching for the validation of the larger inmate group. This ties with Hirschi and Gottfredson (1983) because the younger inmate will have more social ties to the deviant group and less social ties to a more conforming group that is trying to successfully move through their sentence in general population.
- Research question three: Will those inmates who have been designated as having a mental health need will be more likely to experience recidivism than those who do not have the same need? Many mental health diagnoses have a component that defines the individual as unable to operate in the mainstream culture (American Psychiatric Association 2000).

- Research question four: The longer the inmate is in the IMU, will he be more likely to recidivate? It is expected the answer to this question will be “yes,” because the inmate will be accustomed to the isolated environment of the IMU and it will not hold the same negative incentive that the IMU does for someone who has never been housed there. The inmate will also realize less strain (Agnew 1992) because the inmate has had less opportunity to be victimized in the IMU.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research examines recidivism between two groups of inmates that were housed in the Intensive Management Unit (IMU) in the Oregon Department of Corrections. The first group was housed in the IMU between the opening of the IMU and a new program implementation in 2002. The second group was housed in the IMU between the program implementation in 2002 and the sample construction in the summer of 2003. In addition to discovering whether group one or group two and the associated program was more successful (as measured by no recidivism) this research examined the characteristics of inmates who recidivated.

Information was obtained from an analysis of the case records of incarcerated individuals. This data collection method was chosen because it is less intrusive into inmates' lives to evaluate secondary data from their file as opposed to using a more intrusive methodology like interviews or observations.

The Human Subjects committee of Portland State University approved this study. The inmates can in no way be identified through the data collected from their files in order to protect the individual's confidentiality. The only number on the data collection sheet associated with an individual inmate is their state identification number or (SID). Nobody outside of the department of corrections, or inside the department of corrections without the proper clearance can associate SID numbers with specific individuals.

The researcher and two employees of the Department of Corrections

compiled the data with a pre-tested standardized collection form and coordinated their collection methods to maximize inter-coder reliability. Inter-coder reliability is the process where two or more researchers coordinate their research techniques so that the process of data collection can be accurately replicated. The collection form was pre-tested at the Oregon State Penitentiary in Salem, Oregon by the researcher and the two Department of Corrections employees on a random sample of 18 individuals. Demographic and other descriptive variables were gathered regarding the placement of incarcerated individuals in the IMU. The intent of this analysis was to 1) quantify outcome differences between the prior and current treatment systems and 2) recognize changes in the population served by the IMU.

Prisoner characteristics were studied during this project. Variables collected were demographic factors such as age and race (since all inmates in the sample were male), length of time incarcerated, and the length of time until completion of the inmate's sentence. Other items that will be used for analysis will be the number of times the individual served a prison sentence and the number of times he has been housed in the IMU. Other variables include the current crime(s) committed and the inmate's criminal history. These variables were chosen based on previous research (Clemmer 1940, Jackson 1997, and NIJ 2003).

This project quantifies outcome measures of differences between groups that were selected before and after the implementation of the new program. The outcome measures, which assess IMU effectiveness after inmates return to the general population, will include return to the IMU by individuals in both groups.

In addition to examining whether recent program changes affect an

inmate's behavior as measured by recidivism into the IMU, an analysis can be performed to determine the demographics of which inmates are best served by the IMU. An inmate being served well will be determined by whether or not the inmates from these two sample groups return to the IMU.

Goffman (1961) found that it is the individual's involvement in the institution itself, not the original crime committed, which will affect whether or not that person behaves in a manner that is or is not conforming to the rules of the institution. One method that can be used to measure involvement in the institution in this study is inmate enrollment and completion of various programs. It should also be noted that many inmates confined to the IMU who are a part of group two explored here must complete some of the same programs as inmates in the general population in order to progress through the various levels and achieve reassignment back to the general population.

Some methods of identifying institutional ties within the theory of the Total Institution could come from the inmate's work assignment, their housing assignment, and certain activities they are involved in. One of the central barriers to an inmate's involvement in the institution is the stereotype held by other inmates that an inmate is a "snitch" or "rat." Those labels signify that an inmate is telling staff and administration of other inmate's (often illicit) behaviors. In some institutions, being labeled as a "snitch" or "rat" is reason for inmates to assault or kill the individual being labeled.

An inmate who is labeled a snitch or a rat may have his ties to the institution severed because it is often those two labels that cause an individual to seek

protective custody for reasons mentioned above. Strain may often develop because the label of “snitch” or “rat” is so severe in the inmate culture that it has the potential to block opportunities both in the Total Institution and in the inmate subculture especially if the label is attached due to false information on the part of those attaching it.

Sampling Used in Current Research – Procedure and Problems

With a population of over a thousand inmates for group one and several hundred inmates for group two, it was decided to extract a scientific random sample of inmates to be used for analysis. Reliable analysis required approximately 60 cases per group (pre- and post-implementation respectively). Both populations were over-sampled at 115 cases for the pre-group and 125 cases for the post group to account for attrition. There was assumed to be more attrition in the post group because many inmates had not had the opportunity to complete the two-year cycle to measure recidivism. See Table 2 below for the demographics of the two groups.

TABLE 2

Race and Ethnicity of Inmates in the Two Study Groups

	Gro up 1	Gro up 2
Caucasian	37	41
African American	7	2
Native American	3	5
Hispanic	14	9

Race and Ethnicity was comprised by the following in group one: Caucasians 37, African American 7, Native American 3, Hispanic 14. In group two, race and ethnicity had the following numbers: Caucasian 41, African American 2, Native American 5, and Hispanic 9. The study population consists of every individual served by IMU from 1991 until the summer of 2003. The sampling was done as a stratified random sample by taking every third inmate from a list of all inmates who comprised group one and every second inmate from a list that comprised group two.

Group one was sampled prior to the new program changes in 2002. The previous program (prior to 2002) as mentioned earlier in this paper consisted of an inmate maintaining behavioral compliance for a period of six months in order to regain a housing assignment in the general population. Group two was sampled following program changes in 2002. Now inmates must successfully transition through various levels until they reach level four in order to attain a housing assignment in the general population. In order for an inmate to successfully transition, they must complete a variety of tasks including cognitive-behavioral restructuring, behavior modification, and anger management.

Each case in this research was a male inmate because the IMU only serves the men's prison system. The men studied were from different racial ethnic backgrounds, of various ages, and had committed a variety of offenses both for initial incarceration in the prison system and subsequent referral to the IMU.

There were some shortcomings with the sampling used for this project. First, it was discovered late in the project that many of the inmates who had been a

part of the sample had never been housed in the IMU or were housed in the IMU for a short period of time due to an error by the administration. This was due to a computer error within the Department of Corrections. Second, there were several inmates that made the sample twice. Upon further examination, it was discovered that the IMU visits that had been sampled were often two points in time of the same visit by the inmate.

There was one inmate from group one who had two different visits to the IMU and it was decided to keep the data from his most recent assignment and drop the first custody information in order to describe the data in terms of individual inmates. Third, several inmates within group two did not reach the two-year point for a full analysis of recidivism so those inmates were dropped from analysis too.

TABLE 3

Variables Used for this Study

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Dependent Variable</u>
Age	Recidivism to the IMU
Race	
Length of Sentence in the IMU	
Need for Mental Health Treatment	

The only dependent variable used in this study was whether or not the inmate gets resentenced to the IMU after reentry into the general population, which has been operationalized as the measure of recidivism. Although recidivism may be harder to ascertain from group two due to its shorter time period served, there should be some recidivists in that group. It is expected that group one will

have more recidivism. The findings were weighted to control for the individuals who were released from prison and no longer at risk to recidivate to the IMU.

The first independent variable was age. This was used to determine whether Hirschi and Gottfredson's (1990) theory of Aging Out could be applied. The age was figured by using the length of time from the date of birth until October 1, 2004.

The second independent variable was the length of time the inmate was housed in the IMU. The IMU date of entrance (the date the individual was incarcerated in the IMU) and the IMU date of departure were compared to acquire a length of stay in the IMU. The expectation was the longer the inmate was in the IMU, the more likely any specific deterrence was lost (i.e. inmate was more likely to experience recidivism) because there is no longer the negative association with the IMU due to the inmate being adjusted to the higher level of confinement.

There are eight different areas that are assessed for all inmates to determine if the inmate needs treatment. The eight areas are mental health, education, cognitive, substance abuse, sex offender treatment, work (meaning employment), aggression, and MRDD (mental retardation/developmentally disabled). The designated need for mental health treatment was the third independent variable examined because of the information presented in the literature review (American Psychiatric Association 2000: 701).

There were a series of services for inmates noted as well. Each inmate was assessed whether or not they needed services (different from the eight areas discussed above) by prison staff and whether or not the inmate enrolled and/or completed those services. The services that will be listed are English as a

Second Language (ESL), Functional Literacy, General Education Development (GED), and Special Education; followed by three cognitive restructuring programs Breaking Barriers, Thinking for a Change, and Pathfinders. Several of the more skilled work assignments: Automotive Technologies, CADD/CAMM, Carpentry, Construction Technology, Furniture Restoration, and hair design. Finally, work crew, alcohol and drug education workshops, boot camp, dual diagnosis programs, group alcohol and drug treatment, day alcohol and drug treatment, residential alcohol and drug treatment, and twelve-step alcohol and drug meetings. These services are related to the need levels of inmates because these programs were an indication that a need specified in one of the eight areas mentioned in the previous paragraph was being addressed. It is unknown if the inmates were aware there was a need in any of the areas, if they agreed with the assessment, or if they felt they were getting their needs met from a self-analysis when these services were provided. It may be the inmate felt coerced into taking any program that was mandated.

Several areas of the inmate's juvenile record were recorded if their adult file contained that information. Some aspects recorded were if there was a record of foster care or if the juvenile came from a single parent home, if there was a juvenile record, and if it was in Oregon. Also recorded was whether the individual was placed in a juvenile facility, and if so, the facility's name. Most individuals have their juvenile record sealed when they become 18 years of age. It may be that the number of missing cases for this variable is too high to gain any kind of meaningful conclusion.

Drug use is divided into two categories; Non-intravenous drug use that

has a coding of yes/no, and intravenous drug use, which also has a coding of yes/no. Alcohol was a separate variable from drug use, but has the same yes/no categories with the same age categories as drug use. The age (either 14 or under, 15-18, or 19 and older) indicated when the inmate first used drugs and/or alcohol was also pulled from this record (a self-report item that most inmates complete). A yes response on the self-report indicated if the inmate had ever had a problem with the substance, but most inmates who had a problem with one drug at an early age was either still addicted to that drug (by their own admission), or had transferred addiction to another drug that fell into the category captured by this variable.

The variable collected for this study was the inmate's crime history as well as the current crime(s). Also noted was whether the individual was charged and/or convicted and if they had multiple offenses for the crime. Efforts were made to ensure the data was exhaustive and complete.

Certain items used in the crime were also noted: Whether or not there was a weapon, whether intravenous or non-intravenous drug or alcohol use contributed to the crime, whether the inmate belonged to a gang, and whether parents of the inmate had a history of incarceration in the Department of Corrections.

The IMU keeps a separate record from the one held by the institution in which the inmate is housed. First, the inmate's entry and exit date as described earlier was recorded. A history of the last eight of the inmate's major rule violations (of which there is a varying number) within the prison were recorded as: one occurrence, two through six occurrences, or more than six occurrences of each violation. Also noted was if the inmate received a loss of privileges, and if so,

how many days the sanction was for. Additionally, if the inmate had any fines as part of the sanction, and if there was a retraction of any of the inmate's earned time. Earned time is defined as the days subtracted from a sentence due to the inmate abiding by the House Rules.

Commitment of an individual into the IMU will be a measure of deviance, because as mentioned before, the IMU is the second step of a two-step process in which the inmate is unsuccessful at moving through disciplinary segregation and needs to be placed in a more restrictive environment (IMU) as opposed to a less restrictive environment (general population).

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

There are many findings that are interesting for this project. The main hypothesis is examined: comparison of recidivism between groups. There are also four research questions: recidivism by race and how gang involvement might affect that relationship, the age of the inmate, the length of the sentence in the IMU, and whether the inmate was determined to have a need for mental health treatment.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Recidivism:

The hypothesis is a comparison of group one and group two. Instead of using the yes/no category for the dependent variable like the following research questions, this analysis will divide the dependent variable over six month intervals. For instance, there will be an analysis of 0-6 months, 6-12 months, 12-18 months, 18-24 months, and over 24 months. The analysis will be conducted for each group followed by a discussion of the results.

TABLE 4

Recidivism by Each Group at Six-Month Intervals

Time Until Recidivism by inmate	Group One	Group Two
Within Six Months	20%	30%
Six-Twelve Months	3%	7%
Twelve-Eighteen Months	5%	2%
Eighteen-Twenty Four Months	2%	0%
Over 24 Months	5%	0%
Total	35%	39%

As shown by Table 4 above, the recidivism rate is higher for group two than the recidivism for group one. This is an interesting finding because this hypothesis drove the research from the beginning. The program that was implemented in 2002 was supposed to lower the recidivism rate and it appears based on the above finding the program change has instead raised the recidivism rate.

Race:

The inmate's race was the only variable that was compared to data from the larger society. The reason the racial composition of the IMU was compared to the larger society outside the prison (as well as the prison general population) was to examine sentencing disparities, or the difference between those who get convicted and those who do not when tried in a criminal court (Jackson 1997, Steffensmeier & Demuth 2000, Helms & Jacobs 2002, and Raftery 2001). It bears notice that the overall population of the State of Oregon is comprised of the following: Caucasian 87%, African American 2%, Native American 1%, Hispanic 8%, and Asian 3% (Numbers have been rounded) (Census 2000). Meanwhile the Oregon Department of Corrections is comprised of the same racial composition as depicted in Table 5 (below).

As is shown below (Table 5), the racial composition within the Oregon Department of Corrections is similar to the racial composition of the State of Oregon (Census 2000). The major variation are African Americans, who although falling from 13% to 9% of the overall population of the Oregon Department of

Corrections between 1999 and 2004, was four times the proportion of the larger population from the 2000 census (9% Oregon Department of Corrections vs. 2% society).

TABLE 5

Racial Composition Percentages

Race	IMU Group One	DOC Racial Composition 1999	IMU Group Two	DOC Racial Composition 2004	State Demograph 2000
Caucasian	61%	73%	70%	79%	89%
African American	12%	13%	4%	9%	2%
Native American	5%	3%	9%	2%	3%
Hispanic	23%	10%	16%	8%	8%
Asian	N/A	1%	N/A	1%	4%

Of the 61 men in group one (pre-implementation group), 61% were Caucasian, 12% were African American, 5% were Native American, and 23% were Hispanic. Of the 57 men in group two (post-implementation group), 70% were Caucasian, 4% were African American, 9% were Native American, and 16% were Hispanic.

The above table (Table 5) describes the racial comparison between the IMU sample and the overall prison population for that period. When comparing group one to the Department of Corrections statistics for 1999 and group two to the Department of Corrections statistics for 2004, the data that stands out are the over-representation of Hispanics and Native Americans.

Gang Involvement:

Gang involvement is also a label that is applied and has negative connotations by the administration. Being labeled a gang member may cause an individual to experience recidivism to the IMU due to the administration wanting to remove certain gang members from the general population. An inmate who joins a gang may be the inmate's response to strain in an effort to attain goals that the inmate views are unrealistic without being involved in a gang.

Of the variables examined for this study, the only one that might explain the disparity of the assignment of Hispanics and Native Americans to the IMU is gang involvement. Using Table 6 for group one, it is shown that gang involvement is high for Hispanics (71% of inmates are affiliated at some level), but Native Americans are not affiliated at all.

TABLE 6

Gang Involvement By Race

<i>Race</i>	Group One		Group Two			
	<i>Affiliated</i>	<i>High Gang Involvement</i>	<i>Number of Inmates</i>	<i>Affiliated</i>	<i>High Gang Involvement</i>	<i>Number of Inmates</i>
Caucasian	50%		36	35%	13%	54
African American	29%		7	67%		3
Native American			3	57%	14%	7
Hispanic	64%	7%	14	75%	8%	12
Total Frequency			60			77
		Chi-Square .148			Chi-Square .573	

Using Table 6 for the group two, it is shown that gang involvement is high

for Hispanics (83% of inmates are affiliated at some level), but the difference between group one and group two is 71% of Native Americans are affiliated in group two while there are no Native Americans affiliated in group one. Neither finding was statistically significant. One of the major differences with the data concerning gang involvement between groups one and two could be reporting practices, namely, gangs are identified more rigorously now than they were five years ago.

Race as it relates to recidivism:

Although the racial compositions of society, the larger prison structure, and the IMU were examined earlier, the inmate racial composition should be examined with regard to the dependent variable. On Table 7 below, an analysis was conducted using race in relation to the binary dependent variable of whether or not the inmate recidivated.

TABLE 7

Recidivism By Race					
	Group One		Group Two		
Race	Recidivism	Frequency	Recidivism	Frequency	
Caucasian	42%	36	34%	41	
African American	43%	7	100%	2	
Native American		3	40%	5	
Hispanic	21%	14	44%	9	
Total Frequency	35%	60	35%	57	
		Chi-Square: .303		Chi-Square: .301	

As shown in Table 7 above, group one shows that African Americans are

the only group that has a higher recidivism rate than Caucasians. In the analysis of group two, each minority group has a higher percentage of recidivism than Caucasians. Making reference back to the earlier analysis of the racial composition in prison as opposed to the larger society, and the racial composition of the IMU as it relates to both the general population of the prison and the larger society, and will show how the racial composition of the IMU is indicative of recidivism rates under the current system of operation.

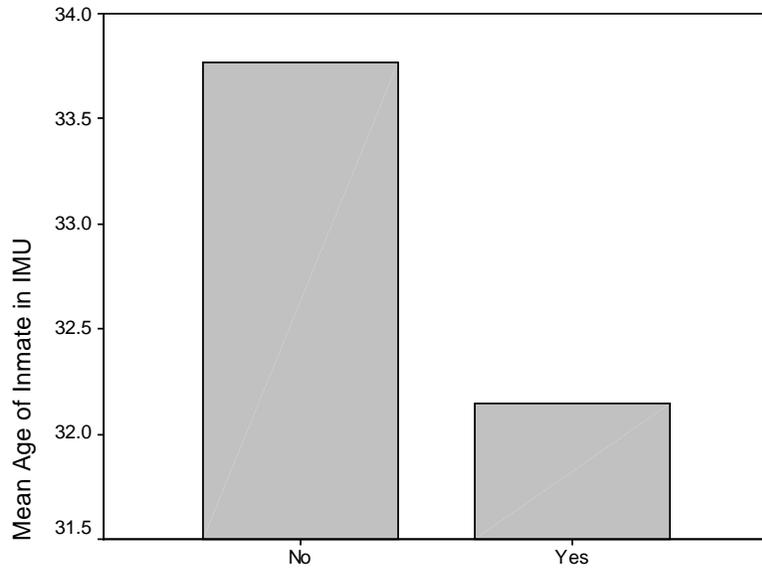
Age:

The second research question was, “would inmates assigned to the IMU would be younger” (Hirschi and Gottfredson 1983). According to the data in Graph 1, below, the data shows that the theory of “Aging Out” cannot be proved with this data set. According to Paul Bellatty (2004), the number of “aging out” is actually higher in the Oregon Department of Corrections and occurs around the age of 36.

While the data for group one is not supported by Aging-out Theory, group two data is supported by the theory. The mean age is of group two is age 28. The assumption with this finding that should be pursued in further research is the inmates are establishing ties to the social conformity of the institution or are being released from prison. Another occurrence that could be tied to the Aging-Out phenomenon is inmates who are older and do not recidivate because older inmates may not be involved in the prison gang subculture at a rate equal to the younger inmates. The other aspect of the relationship of Aging-Out and gangs that could be explored in future research is that older inmates are as involved in gangs as

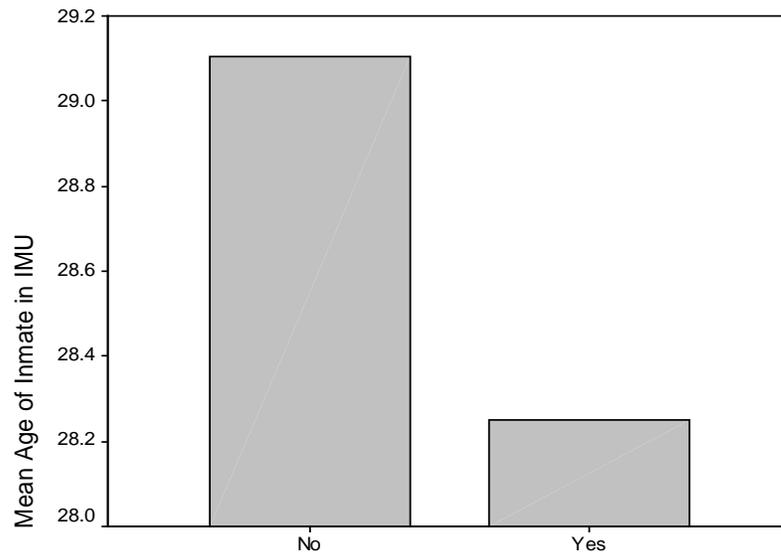
the younger inmates, they are just leaders and do not need to prove themselves.

GRAPH 1 – Recidivism By Age – Group One



Recidivism

GRAPH 2 – Recidivism by Age –Group Two



Recidivism

Mental Health Need:

One variable that was examined during this study was whether the inmate had been identified as needing mental health treatment. The question related to the variable was, “will inmates who have been designated as needing mental health treatment recidivate at a rate greater than those who do not have the same need?” Although some researchers have examined mental health issues as they relate to inmate populations (Nurse et. al., Lovell et. al., and Osofsky), the IMU is set up not to provide treatment for psychiatric issues. There is another unit for that type of treatment, but sometimes inmate behavior in the general population is so severe, they are housed in the IMU.

Although those inmates who have some level of a mental health need do not recidivate at a rate greater than those with no need, inmates who have been designated as having a need end up in the IMU at a rate greater than those who do not have that need.

TABLE 8

Mental Health Need				
	Group One		Group Two	
<i>Need?</i>	<i>Recidivism</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Recidivism</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Yes	26%	33	42%	41
No	42%	27	31%	16
		Chi-Square .183		Chi-Square .477

For group two the research question is true, the inmates who have some level of need for mental health treatment do experience recidivism at a rate greater

than those inmates with no need for mental health treatment. Here, as group one, inmates that are categorized as having a need for mental health treatment are assigned to the IMU at a rate greater than those inmates who do not need treatment. Unfortunately, the data did not allow the research to determine which inmates' were more likely to recidivate than their peers based on their diagnosis.

Time Spent in the IMU:

There is no variable or combination of variables that can measure internal disorganization in this study. According to Mead (1965), the internal disorganization is probably experienced less by the inmate, therefore social reintegration will be more successful, because group two is moved through a structured environment in the post-implementation IMU and has bench-marks to ensure the inmates are completing therapeutic tasks like anger management, cognitive restructuring, and behavior modification.

This research question consists of, "Is the longer an inmate is in the IMU cause that inmate a higher probability of recidivating?" The original variable of time in the IMU was coded in months, but since the numbers became too small to report, time spent in the IMU was recoded into days.

TABLE 9

Length of Stay in the IMU as it Relates to Recidivism

	GROUP ONE			GROUP TWO		
<i>Recidivism</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
No	39	298.54	284.800	35	287.94	121.428
Yes	21	205.24	149.054	22	168.64	135.295
Total	60	265.88	248.568	57	241.89	148.745
			Chi-Square: .167			Chi-Square: .001

This finding was interesting (see Table 9), because the analysis shows that the mean time spent in the IMU for those inmates who do not recidivate is actually longer than the time spent in the IMU for those inmates who experience recidivism. An explanation for this may be the discussion of Mead (1965) when it was noted in the “Prisons as a Total Institution” section that inmates often adopt their perception of self from the perceptions of other inmates. The assumption here is inmates who are away from their peer group for approximately a year rely less on their peer group to formulate their identity and more on their individual self. Recidivism is more probable when an inmate has been away from the group for a shorter period of time and falls back into old patterns easier.

Although many of my bivariate analyses were not significant ($>.05$), it bears doing a logistic regression (Table 10 below) to build a model and determine the effect of the independent variables while holding other factors constant.

In the logistic regression for group one, there were no findings that were statistically significant. This is interesting because there are three findings that are statistically significant in group two and the number of cases is smaller.

In group one, the findings that were strongest were race, mental health, and gang involvement. Gang involvement slightly raises the chance of recidivism, a mental health diagnosis lowers the chance of recidivism, and being a minority lowers the chance of recidivism when all other variables are constant.

On the other hand, the statistically significant findings for group two indicate that gang involvement significantly reduces the likelihood of

recidivism. This is contrary to group one (even though group one was not significant). The longer an inmate is in IMU; he has a significantly lower chance of recidivism. This supports the conclusion reached by the bivariate analysis. This finding may be due to the inmate being removed from his peer group and developing his own identity without relying on feedback from his peer group as he may have done before being sent to the IMU.

TABLE 10

Logistic Regression for Inmate Recidivism

	<u>Group 1</u>		<u>Group 2</u>	
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Constant	.553	1.433	8.949	3.785
Age	-.010	.039	-.182	.095*
Race (0=White)	-.992	.629	-.297	.847
Gang (0=None)	.535	.572	-1.734	.719*
IMU Time	-.002	.002	-.014	.005*
Mental Health (0=No Need)	-.229	.274	.031	.275
Nagelkerke R Sq.	.141		.458	
Number of Cases	60		57	

* = .005

Summary:

Of the hypothesis and four research questions proposed for this research, the two research questions partially supported by the data were the first and third: Minorities will more likely experience recidivism in the IMU than Caucasians. Although group one did not exhibit the same results, it is necessary to point out the finding in relation to group two, because it is the system that group two operated under that is in place today. Inmates designated as having a need for mental health

treatment are more likely to experience recidivism than those who do not have the same need. This hypothesis was true for the group two, but not true for group one. The element that bears examination is the number of inmates who were designated as needing mental health treatment in the sample was larger than those inmates who did not have the same designation. This is interesting because the Special Management Unit (SMU) is another unit in the ODOC that is supposed to treat those inmates with psychiatric issues, not the IMU (Bellatty 2004).

The second research question, “will inmates in the IMU generally be younger?” The finding was unexpected, but could be due to the level of criminality in those individuals who are sent to the IMU. In other words, the inmate is aligned with the convict rules opposed to the house rules (Irwin 1980).

Research question four: “The longer the inmate is in the IMU, will he be more likely to recidivate?” It appears the inmate who is housed in the IMU for approximately a year is less likely to recidivate than the inmate who stays in for six months. Group two inmates are more likely to experience recidivism than the inmates in group one. According to the data, group two experienced more recidivism than group one (39% vs. 35%, respectively).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Overall there were 117 people in the final sample combining group one (pre-implementation group) and group two (post-implementation group). The system of operation in the IMU during the time frame that group one was served consisted of an inmate serving six months without any misconduct reports. Group two was housed in the IMU after the administration had implemented a new program where inmates successfully completed programs like anger management, cognitive restructuring, and behavior modification. Inmates had to also successfully transition through levels one through four which had corresponding privileges. Inmates are housed in the IMU at level two and level one is used as a disincentive so inmates are inclined to follow the house rules. It is the program that group two went through that is in operation today.

Using Labeling Theory (Reed and Yeager 1996), it would seem by some of the interviews conducted (Van Patton 2003, Webb 2003) that an inmate being labeled by staff has a resultant effect on recidivism into the IMU and could be explored in future research.

Strain theory could be used to examine the assumption that inmates who recidivate to the IMU probably have had their goals blocked and therefore continue to act in a manner that is not in accordance with the rules set forth by the administration. The maximum consequence that inmates can receive when sentenced to the IMU is a 28 days loss of privilege, a \$200 fine, and a retraction of earned time. All three of these areas can be instruments to block opportunity.

The loss of earned time means the inmate will be serving their entire sentence, the fine means that the inmate will have less financial flexibility while incarcerated (which is already severely limited), and the loss of privilege means the inmate will be restricted to their cell which blocks their limited freedom.

The salience of a religious identity is an aspect that has been examined by other researchers (Beckford 2001), and maybe an avenue that future research could explore in the Oregon Department of Corrections. The salience of a religious identity may have some effect on an inmate in IMU and their desire to change (Beckford 2001). A spurious factor to the religiosity of an individual may be if the individual is in a STG (security threat group). STG is a descriptor assigned to those involved in gangs. The spuriousness is because many members of STG's (primarily the Caucasian racist gangs) invoke religious freedom in order to organize their groups without repercussion. The religions commonly used are Christian Identity, World Church of the Creator, and Odinism.

One area that could use some further exploration in this study is looking at the inmate's juvenile history and whether their parents are currently, or ever have been inmates in a state or federal prison. For confidentiality purposes, those records could not be obtained for this study unless they were already contained within the inmate's institutional record that was used for this study.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Although the attrition was high for this project (240 in original sample and 117 in the final sample), I think many of the findings here are interesting. Most of the findings were not statistically significant, but that was probably due to the small sample size used for analysis.

The most surprising finding was the age of the inmate that is both sent to the IMU, and the age of the inmate who recidivates is found to be age 36 and older. It was assumed after doing much informal questioning of ex-convicts at the researcher's workplace that offenders who were placed in the IMU would be younger because they were trying to prove themselves to their peers as opposed to the older inmates who would have already proven themselves.

The second finding that was surprising was the over-representation of inmates in the IMU who had been designated as needing mental health treatment. The reason this finding was surprising is that it was expected that most inmates with mental health issues were treated in the Special Management Unit (the psychiatric cell block in the Oregon Department of Corrections) or at other facilities like the Oregon State Hospital. Although they did not recidivate at a greater degree than the inmates who were determined not to need mental health treatment in group one, they did recidivate at a greater rate in group two. The fact they were over-represented in the first place is indication that the state prison system is unable to cope with the growing number of mentally ill that are not supported in the

community and end up in the jails and prisons where beds and resources designated to serve the mentally ill are limited.

Finally, the two findings I found most interesting actually relate to each other. One is inmates who have a longer mean length of stay in the IMU tend to recidivate less than those inmates who are housed in the IMU for about six months. This may be due to the inmate who, after being away from their peer group for an extended length of time, does not need the validation of the former peer group or the inmate does not see himself from other's viewpoint. The related issue is the inmates in group two recidivate more often than those inmates in group one. This is contrary to the hypothesis that drove this whole comparison study from the beginning. There are several reasons that can be proposed for this unexpected finding to be evaluated by future researchers. First, gangs seem to be more actively pursued now than they were in the past. Second, inmates appear to experience less recidivism when they are housed in the IMU for 10 months to a year, six months may not be enough time for inmates to internalize the new program requirements in the IMU.

My contribution to the body of knowledge regarding segregative or isolative units is a sentence that is closer to a year seems to be more conducive to an inmate not recidivating than the inmate who serves a six-month sentence. While the data presented here shows the current method of operation is less effective than the previous method of operation in the IMU, it is also a very new program and making such a bold statement may be premature. The whole concept of "aging-out" may need to be re-examined in the IMU do to the continuing recidivating on

inmates later in life.

Research based policy recommendations to the Oregon Department of Corrections are to make sure that the IMU population has a similar racial composition to that of the overall general population. Also the incidence of those determined to need mental health treatment in the IMU was higher than anticipated. I would recommend that the issue of the mentally ill in prison be addressed and a more therapeutic solution than isolation be provided for those inmates who are mentally ill.

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