Managing Violent Misconduct in a Maximum Security Prison:

Processes and Outcomes in a Restrictive Status Housing Program

by

Travis John Meyers

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Kevin A. Wright, Chair
Jacob T.N. Young
Cody W. Telep

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ABSTRACT

The use of restrictive housing in prisons is at the forefront of national discussions on crime and punishment. Civil and human rights activists have argued that its use should be limited due to harmful effects on the physical and psychological health of inmates as well as its limited ability to reduce subsequent offending. Stacked against this is the need for correctional administrators to respond to institutional violence in a manner that ideally curtails future violence while doing no further harm to the well-being of those housed in these environments. The current project explores the effectiveness of a Restrictive Status Housing Program (RSHP) designed for inmates who commit violent assaults within the Arizona Department of Corrections. The program, as designed, moves beyond exclusively punitive approaches to segregation by encouraging behavior modification that is influenced by cognitive behavioral training. This study advances the literature and informs correctional policy by: 1) examining the effects of program participation on future behavioral outcomes, and 2) exploring mechanisms through which the program works (or does not work) by interviewing former RSHP participants and staff. The current research uses a mixed-method research design and was carried out in two phases. For Phase 1, quantitative data on behavioral outcomes of program participants (N = 240), as well as a carefully constructed comparison group (N = 1,687), will be collected and analyzed using official records over a one-year follow-up. Phase 2 will examine qualitative data derived from semi-structured interviews with former RSHP participants (n = 25) and correctional staff who oversee the day-to-day management of the program (n = 10). Results from the current study suggest that placement in the RSHP has null, and at

times, an adverse effect on subsequent levels of institutional misconduct. Policy implications and recommendations based on these findings are discussed.

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The views and the opinions expressed in this dissertation are solely those of the author and not necessarily those of the Arizona Department of Corrections.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Prison is a place where violence happens. It's an everyday thing. It's like saying hi to your neighbor every day. It's normal[1]

Violence is an unfortunate, yet inevitable reality of prison life. Estimates suggest that roughly half of all prison inmates engage in various forms of misconduct during their imprisonment (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2007). Of this misconduct, twelve percent of prison inmates have physically assaulted another inmate while roughly three percent have physically assaulted a correctional staff member (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2007). It has also been found that one in ten inmates are charged with a physical assault or are injured in a violent interaction during their incarceration (James & Glaze, 2006). Overall, between 6% and 21% of inmates were physically assaulted during the past year (Lahm, 2009; Wolff et al., 2007; Wooldredge, 1994, 1998). These rates of assaults are "two to three times higher than arrest rates for assaults among adults in the U.S. general population" (Steiner & Cain, 2016, p. 166). Overall, rates of victimization for males in prison are 18 times higher than that in the community (Catalano, 2005). Official statistics, however, tend to underestimate the actual level of in-prison violence and victimization due to the underreporting from inmates and the under recording of these events by correctional staff (Wooldredge, 1998). One estimate, for example, suggested that official records only capture between 10-20% of all assaults—physical and sexual—that occur

[1] The quote comes from an interview with an inmate named Nicholas, a 27 year old White male that was placed in the RSHP for assaulting another inmate. This respondent was housed in enhanced maximum security in the ADC during the time of the interview. For the purposes of confidentiality, pseudonyms were used for all inmate respondents included in this dissertation.

within prison facilities (Byrne & Hummer, 2007). Violence is endemic to the prison setting.

There have been a number of explanations put forth attempting to describe why violence occurs within correctional facilities. The deprivation model, for example, argues that violent misconduct is the result of various "pains of imprisonment" (Sykes, 1958). As a result of the severe and often oppressive conditions of many correctional facilities, violence is used as a means of reducing those pains of imprisonment (Poole & Regoli, 1983). In contrast to the deprivation model of inmate behavior, the importation model suggests that violence, and inmate behavior more generally, is simply an extension of the values, morals, and attitudes that were previously held by those who are incarcerated, including those related to violence (Irwin & Cressey, 1962). Under this model, it is assumed that inmate adaptation and response to prison are shaped by an inmate's pre-prison experiences (Irwin, 1980). The administrative control model, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of correctional management in determining levels of violent misconduct (DiIulio, 1987). According to this model, violence is the result of a breakdown in prison management (Mitchell et al., 2017; Useem & Kimball, 1991). It is now recognized that these models are not mutually exclusive; rather they interact to explain variations in levels of violent misconduct across institutions (Lahm, 2008, 2009; Sparks, Bottoms, & Hay, 1996).

Prior research has thus paid considerable attention to explanations of violence within correctional facilities. Less attention, however, has been given to solutions that can be used to reduce violence. Violent misconduct within correctional institutions creates a number of problems for correctional administrators, staff, and other persons

housed in these facilities. First, serious violent misconduct poses a threat to the smooth operation of a correctional facility by challenging the orderly operation of day-to-day procedures (Bottoms, 1999; Gendreau, Goggin, & Law, 1997). This leads to higher operational costs and redirects limited resources to the management and control of inmate movements, rather than on rehabilitation or programming. Estimates suggest that a single misconduct violation costs an average of $970 (Lovell & Jemelka, 1996). Serious violent misconduct that causes bodily injury increases that cost significantly. Second, violence naturally leads to reduced perceptions of safety and security for both correctional staff and inmates. Violence and the need to constantly maintain one's safety often detracts from the desire to engage in meaningful treatment and programming (Ekland-Olson, 1986). Third, violence within correctional institutions has been found to reduce the odds of successful reentry in that those who are released from institutions with high rates of misconduct—especially violent misconduct—are more likely to recidivate (Eichenthal & Blatchford, 1997). Fourth, for correctional staff, working in an environment that is punctuated by violence can lead to higher turnover, stress, reduced job satisfaction, less organizational commitment, and poor job performance (Armstrong & Griffin, 2004; Lambert et al., 2018). In the end, violence creates a host of problems for correctional staff and those who are confined within their facilities.

In the face of this reality, the maintenance of safe and orderly correctional institutions are of primary concern to correctional administrators and staff (Butler & Steiner, 2017; Mears & Castro, 2006; Pizzaro & Narag, 2008; Wright, 1994). To date, the traditional response to serious institutional misconduct and violence has been the permanent or temporary separation, or *segregation*, of the inmate from the general prison

population, typically in a restrictive housing unit (Browne, Chambier, & Agha, 2011; see also Hershberger, 1998). While the conditions of segregation vary by setting and situation, the method commonly includes 22-23 hour per day lockdown with significantly reduced access to personal property and privileges along with little opportunity to engage in programming or education (Beck, 2015; U.S. Department of Justice, 2016). This stands in stark contrast to the treatment of the general prison population in which movement is less restricted and inmates have increased access to activities such as work placement within the institution, programming, phone calls, visits, and recreation (Metcalf et al., 2013; Shames, Wilcox, & Subramanian, 2015).

The use of this management strategy in the United States is ubiquitous. Using data collected from more than 91,000 inmates across 233 state and federal prisons and 357 local jails, Beck (2015) found that on an average day, up to 4.4% of state and federal prison inmates and 2.7% of those housed in local jails were held in segregation. Overall, nearly 20% of prison inmates and 18% of jail inmates have spent time in segregation. Under this approach, the main focus of correctional administrators and staff becomes inmate management and control rather than rehabilitation and treatment. Recently, however, civil and human rights activists, and even former U.S. president Barack Obama, have renewed concerns about the potentially negative impact that restrictive housing may have on the physical and mental well-being of inmates (e.g., American Civil Liberties Union, 2014; Obama, 2016). The concern over restrictive housing practices is well-deserved as some have found that the practice leads to serious psychological deterioration (Haney, 2003; 2008; 2018; Smith, 2006). Evidence also suggests that placement in a restrictive housing setting within a correctional facility may increase the likelihood of

subsequent institutional misconduct and recidivism (Lovell, Johnson, & Cain, 2007; Mears & Bales, 2009; Pizarro, Zgoba, & Haugebrook, 2014; see for exception Clark & Duwe, 2017).

A critical reality, however, is that not all research documents negative outcomes associated with segregation practices (see for e.g., Labrecque, 2015; Morgan et al., 2016; O'Keefe et al., 2013; Suedfeld et al., 1982; Suedfeld & Roy, 1975). It is likely that individual characteristics of inmates impact the level of distress experienced by segregation. Further, there is not "one" restrictive housing type; in practice, restrictive housing varies in terms of its rationale and frequency of use, duration, and facility conditions (Beck, 2015; Morris, 2016; Shames et al., 2015). And, although eliminating the practice entirely might get rid of any potential damage done to inmate physical and mental health, the simple fact is that restrictive housing represents a critical tool for managing inmate behavior. Some type of response is needed when inmates engage in serious violence—the safety and security of staff and other inmates largely depends on it (Mears & Castro, 2006; O'Keefe, 2008).

In that regard, it is notable that *alternatives* to traditional restrictive housing are largely absent from these national discussions (Frost & Monteiro, 2016; Mears, 2016). O'Keefe and colleagues (2013) recommend that "future research is needed to understand how increased services, privileges, staff, and out-of-cell time may ameliorate the unintended consequences of administrative segregation" (p. 59). Indeed, altering existing forms of restrictive housing and segregation to minimize harm may represent the best bet for corrections moving forward. Rigorous, theoretically-informed outcome evaluations, however, are virtually nonexistent, and the difficulty in gaining access to this population

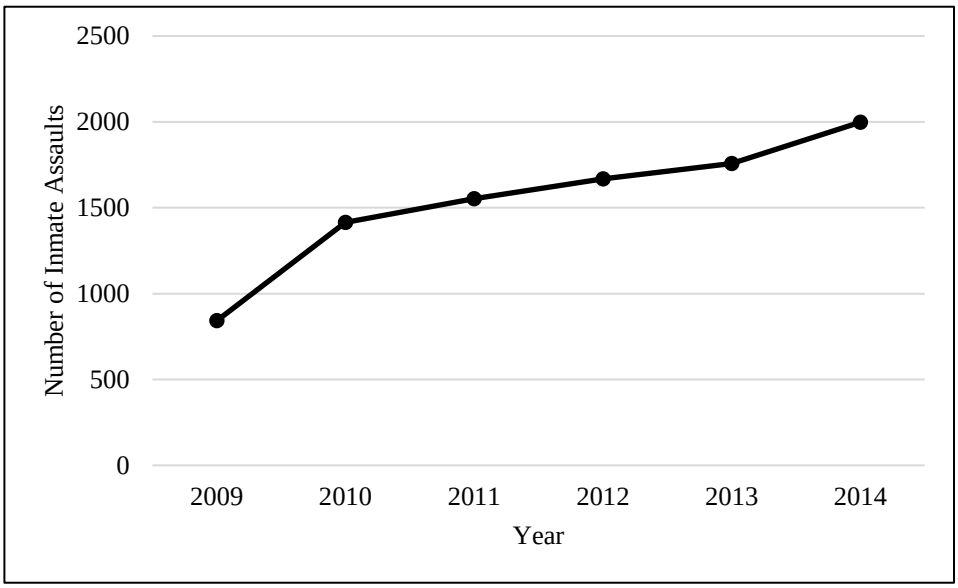
makes it unlikely that future evaluations will be completed any time soon (Harrington, 2015; Mears, 2008). The few studies that do examine inmate perceptions of restrictive housing experiences and outcomes are limited in scope, typically relying on small, non-random samples (see for e.g., Grassian, 1983; Miller, 1994; Suedfeld & Roy, 1975).

In addition, evaluations of behavioral outcomes associated with the practice, especially institutional misconduct, are rare. In a recent meta-analysis on the topic, Labrecque and colleagues (2013) found that across all studies examining the effects of segregated institutional housing environments, only nine of the sixty-five effect size estimates measured behavioral outcomes like misconduct and recidivism (see also, Labrecque, 2015). The majority of these empirical evaluations have focused on recidivism as the primary outcome (see for e.g., Mears & Bales, 2009). To date, there has only been three studies that assess the impact of segregation on subsequent rates of institutional misconduct (see for e.g., Briggs, Sundt, & Castellano, 2003; Labrecque, 2015; Morris, 2016). More importantly, there is limited information on alternative approaches to restrictive housing for handling inmates for which it likely will be reserved for in the future: those who have engaged in serious violence within the institution. This is a missed opportunity to explore disciplinary segregation that is used in response to serious violent misconduct. In the end, examination into the effects of segregation for disciplinary purposes provides an opportunity to test hypotheses about the effects of short-term isolation on inmate outcomes (Mears & Bales, 2009).

Taken together, these limitations led Frost and Monteiro (2016) to lament, "…almost no literature documents the utility of the practice [segregation] or demonstrates that the use of these units has achieved specific aims in demonstrable ways"

(p. 29). With estimates of more than 66,000 inmates under some form of restrictive housing in the U.S.[2], the absence of reliable information is a significant problem (Liman Program & ASCA, 2015). The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a rigorous, mixed-methods evaluation of a Restrictive Status Housing Program (RSHP), as implemented by the Arizona Department of Corrections (ADC), which serves as disciplinary segregation for inmates who have engaged in serious violence within the institution. The ADC experiences a significant number of inmate-on-inmate assaults every year. As shown in Figure 1.1, between 2009 and 2014, there was continued growth in the number of inmate-on-inmate assaults. During this time there were a total of 9,234 inmate assaults or an average of 1,539 assaults per year (Ryan, 2014).

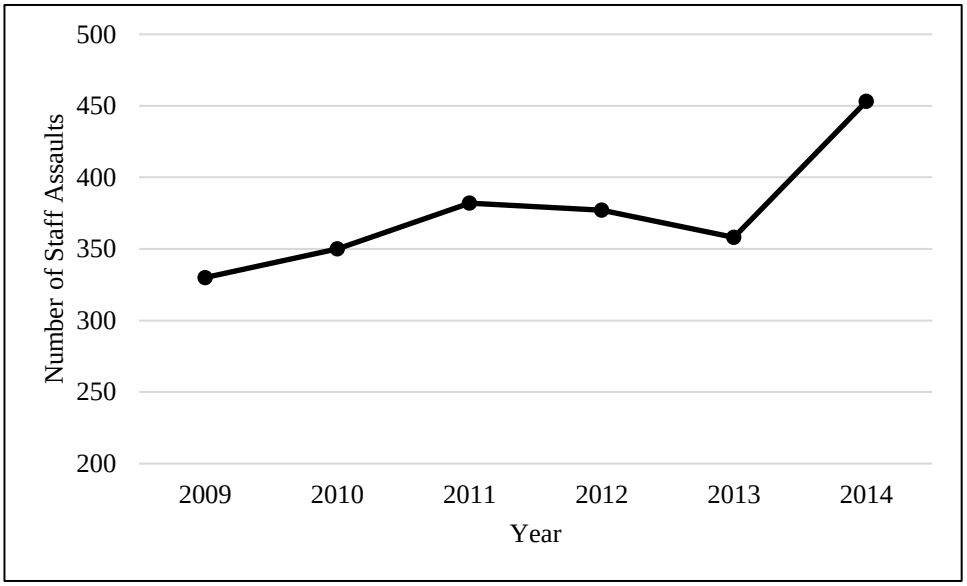
Figure 1.1 Inmate-on-Inmate Assaults in the Arizona Department of Corrections, 2009-2014.



[2] This estimate was based on the reporting of thirty-three state and federal prison systems (Liman Program & ASCA, 2015).

Staff assaults also occur with relative frequency in the ADC. As shown in Figure 1.2, during the same time period, the ADC experienced a total of 2,250 assaults on staff, or an average of 375 staff assaults per year (Ryan, 2014)[3]. The RSHP was implemented in March 2014 as a means to reduce the number of violent assaults that occur within the state's correctional facilities.

Figure 1.2 Staff Assaults in the Arizona Department of Corrections, 2009-2014.



When an inmate engages in an act of serious violent misconduct, they become eligible for placement in the RSHP. These qualifying acts include serious assaults on staff, an aggravated assault against another inmate involving a weapon or serious injury, or aggravated assault against another inmate involving multiple aggressors and a single victim. To address this violent misconduct, the ADC implemented a contingency-management approach that moves beyond traditional restrictive housing by providing

[3] This figure includes both physical assaults resulting in injury as well as non-physical assaults such as the throwing of bodily fluids.

incentives for inmates to complete programming and remain discipline-free (see, for example, State of Washington Department of Corrections, 2016). The efficacy of this approach will be evaluated by comparing inmate outcomes (i.e., major, minor, and drug misconduct violations, assaults on staff, and inmate assaults) in the six and twelve-months following graduation from the RSHP to a matched-comparison group of inmates who were eligible for placement in the RSHP but were housed in an alternative location. The study also capitalizes on qualitative data obtained through in-depth semi-structured interviews with former RSHP participants and correctional staff who oversee the program. More broadly, the purpose of this study is to determine whether a more progressive approach to restrictive housing serves as a promising alternative to more traditional forms of segregation in response to serious institutional misconduct.

Research Strategy

Using quantitative data provided by ADC, as well as qualitative data culled from in-depth semi-structured interviews with former RSHP participants and correctional staff involved in the day-to-day operation of the program, this dissertation explores the following two research questions:

1) What are the behavioral outcomes associated with completion of the RSHP?
2) What are the mechanisms by which the RSHP affects behavioral outcomes?

In doing so, the broader purpose of this dissertation is to build on the limited knowledge base of restrictive housing and segregation with a focus toward overcoming existing limitations in prior research and providing alternative solutions to a problem of national concern. This dissertation builds upon and advances existing research on restrictive housing for disciplinary purposes in the following ways. First, it evaluates

the effectiveness of a restrictive housing program that is specifically designed for male inmates who engage in serious violent misconduct. In light of the negative evidence and criticism surrounding the use of restrictive housing in the U.S., a number of states (e.g., Alaska, California, Colorado, Maine, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Virginia, Washington) have taken steps to implement alternative strategies to address troublesome inmates within their facilities (for a review, see Shames et al., 2015). The efficacy of these various approaches, however, is unknown. Second, the evaluation takes a rigorous approach to document program outcomes by comparing program participants to a matched-comparison group on a number of behavioral outcomes (e.g., assaults, major misconduct violations) six and twelve-months following program completion. Prior research on the effects of placement in restrictive housing have been criticized for lacking rigorous methodological designs that reduce the possibility of alternative explanations for the reported effects (for an overview, see Morgan et al., 2016). Third, the dissertation capitalizes on access to program staff and current and former participants of the program to provide rich, detailed qualitative information on the RSHP experience. Lastly, the study focuses on the unique programmatic elements of ADC's RSHP to inform on the theoretical foundations of restrictive housing practices and the use of disciplinary segregation more broadly. In the end, information about the effects of short-term placement in segregation following an act of violence can help inform debates regarding whether such housing should be continued, expanded, or ultimately eliminated as a correctional practice.

Plan of the Dissertation

In light of these research objectives, this dissertation will proceed to Chapter 2 where a discussion of the research on restrictive housing and the use of segregation, its rise and current form, as well as evidence on the potential of alternative strategies that have been used to address violent misconduct will be provided. Chapter 3 details the data and methodology used to address the research objectives stated above. Information is provided on the RSHP program as well as the variables included in the current research. The statistical techniques for the quantitative and qualitative analyses are also provided in this chapter. Chapter 4 presents the results of the quantitative analyses exploring the effect of program placement. The main analyses evaluate whether or not placement in the RSHP reduces subsequent rates of institutional misconduct when compared to a matched-comparison group of inmates. Chapter 5 explores themes derived from semi-structured interviews with correctional staff and former inmate participants of the program. The overall goal of this chapter is to contextualize the results of the quantitative analyses presented in Chapter 4. These qualitative analyses focus specifically on respondents' perceptions of the differences between the RSHP and traditional placements in maximum custody, the identification of positive and negative aspects of the program, as well as the identification of future directions for the continued use of the RSHP. Finally, Chapter 6 provides a summary and discussion of the major findings of the dissertation. The dissertation closes with a discussion of the implications for correctional policy and the use of restrictive housing in response to serious institutional violence and misconduct.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The use of restrictive housing to control incarcerated populations has a long and complicated history in the United States. To some, the practice is necessary to control disruptive inmates and to maintain the safety and security of correctional facilities. At the same time, that the practice is said to be overused and leads to a number of adverse outcomes. There is, however, a limited knowledge base with which to make informed decisions on the use of restrictive housing in the United States. The purpose of the following chapter is to provide an overview of the current issues surrounding the use of restrictive housing and segregation in the U.S. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the history of the practice and the most prominent explanations for why violence continues to occur in correctional facilities. The discussion then moves to an overview of the empirical evidence on the effects of placement in restrictive housing that have been reported in the literature. The chapter closes with a discussion of the theoretical rational behind its continued use while providing evidence for alternative approaches to traditional restrictive housing practices that may reduce the adverse outcomes described in prior research.

Background

In the 1970s a fundamental shift in penal philosophy occurred in the United States. The ideals of rehabilitation were replaced by philosophies of deterrence and incapacitation as the modus operandi of the correctional system (Cullen, 2005; Garland, 2001). This shift came on the heels of growing concerns over the state's ability to rehabilitate offenders. Due in part to the proliferation of the "nothing works" doctrine

incapacitation replaced theories of rehabilitation as the dominant correctional philosophy as a means to address growing rates of crime (Clear, 1994; Martinson, 1974). The shift in penal philosophy led to a massive growth in the rate of imprisonment.

These changes led to various problems for correctional facilities including overcrowding and increased rates of violence and collective disturbances (Colvin, 1992; Irwin, 1980; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2008; Useem & Kimball, 1991; Wooldredge, Griffin, & Pratt, 2001). Consequently, correctional agencies reverted to the use of segregated units and restrictive housing environments as a means to control the growing prison population (Pizarro & Stenius, 2004; Pizarro, Stenius, & Pratt, 2006; Riveland, 1999; Sundt, Castellano, & Briggs, 2008). Segregation, broadly, refers to placement in restrictive housing environment that is used by correctional administrators to maintain a safe and secure facility by separating an inmate or group of inmates from the general prison population (Browne, Cambier, & Agha, 2011). The original practice of segregating prisoners in the United States can be traced to the Quaker reformers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania who sought to facilitate reflection and repentance through isolation (Morris & Rothman, 1995; Rothman, 1971). In fact, segregation has been used as a means of controlling behavior within correctional institutions since the inception of the first prisons (Rothman, 1971). While this model was abandoned relatively early in the United States, the practice of using segregation in restrictive housing units as a means to control inmate behavior never fully disappeared. Against this backdrop, the following sections describe the known explanations for violence and misconduct within correctional facilities as well as the reemergence and current use of restrictive housing and

segregation practices that are used to control inmate misconduct. The discussion then turns to the psychological and behavioral effects of placement in segregation and restrictive housing as well as consideration of alternative approaches to traditional correctional practice through the incorporation of therapeutic and programmatic elements. The chapter closes with a discussion of the limitations of the research described and how this dissertation will attempt to overcome these existing limitations.

Explanations of Violence and Misconduct within Correctional Facilities

There have been a number of explanations put forth attempting to describe why violence and misconduct occurs within correctional facilities.[4] The deprivation model, for example, posits that violence and misconduct are adaptive responses to the severe restrictions and loss of personal liberties and autonomy that characterize most correctional facilities (Sykes, 1958; see also, Sykes & Messinger, 1960). The prison, as a total institution, creates a divide between the prison system and the society that exists outside of the facility (Goffman, 1961). According to Sykes (1958), this contributes to the "pains of imprisonment." The adjustment to these pains results in a subculture amongst the incarcerated that is in opposition to correctional administrators and staff (Sykes & Messinger, 1960). It has been found that this oppositional relationship leads to a resistance to authority while incentivizing violence and rule violating behaviors (Harer & Steffensmeier, 1996; Wright, 1991).

The importation model, on the other hand, posits that rates of violence and misconduct are determined by the socialization experiences that occur prior to

[4] It is now recognized that these models are not mutually exclusive, rather they interact to explain variations in levels of violent misconduct across institutions (Sparks, Bottoms, & Hay, 1996).

incarceration (Irwin & Cressey, 1962). The model describes how the values and attitudes held by those entering prisons are the primary predictors of various forms of misconduct (Irwin, 1980; Poole & Regoli, 1980; Thomas, 1977). Importation theorists have tested a number of individual-level characteristics that have been found to be significant predictors of violence and misconduct. Age is the strongest known correlate of misconduct and offending more generally (Farrington, 1986; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983). A number of studies have found that age is inversely related to institutional violence and misconduct (Flanagan, 1983; Gendreau, Goggin, & Law, 1997; Jiang & Winfree, 2006; Lahm, 2008; Steiner, Butler, & Ellison, 2014; Toch & Adams, 2002). Like age, educational attainment has been found to be inversely related to misconduct where inmates with more education accrue fewer disciplinary infractions and lower overall rates of violent misconduct than those with less education (Harer & Langan, 2001; Toch & Adams, 1986). It has also been found that inmates who are involved with security threat groups or gangs within correctional facilities are more likely to engage in institutional misconduct and violence (DeLisi et al., 2013; Gaes et al., 2002; Griffin & Hepburn, 2006; Ralph & Marquart, 1991). Those who have mental health problems have also been found to engage in more misconduct as compared to higher functioning individuals (Adams, 1986; Adams & Ferrandino, 2008; Houser, Belenko, & Brennan, 2012). Not surprisingly, individuals with greater histories of misconduct are also more likely to engage in future misconduct (Bonta, Law, & Hanson, 1998; Camp et al., 2003; Gendreau et al., 1997; Steiner et al., 2014). Other variables that are positively related to misconduct and violence include the length of time served and security-level. Those who have served more time within a correctional facility are more likely to engage in

misconduct (Cunningham & Sorensen, 2007; Gendreau et al., 1997). In addition, those housed within a higher security- level during their incarceration are more likely to engage in misconduct when compared to those housed in lower security units (Jiang & Fisher-Giorlando, 2002; Steiner et al., 2014; see for exception, Cho et al., 1997). Collectively, a number of factors have been found to be related to rates of institutional misconduct that are imported into the prison environment.

Both the importation and deprivation models of institutional misconduct, however, have been criticized for neglecting the role of prison administration and management. In response, the administrative control model argues that a correctional administration's ability to manage the institution is predictive of the level of misconduct that will occur in the facility (DiIulio, 1987). According to this model, there are characteristics of the institution, such as overcrowding or inadequate training and resources for staff, which lead to a breakdown in the administration's ability to control the institution (Ussem & Kimball, 1991). As a result of this breakdown, collective and individual misconduct is more likely to occur (Useem & Reisig, 1999). Regardless of the causes of violence and misconduct within correctional facilities, the modal response from correctional administrators has been the coercive control of inmates using placements in more restrictive housing settings (Huebner, 2003; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2008; Sundt, 2016).

Rise and Current Use of Restrictive Housing in the United States

The massive growth in the prison population, coupled with increasing rates of violence within correctional facilities, led to the rapid development of restrictive housing units within U.S. prisons in the 1980s and 1990s (Pizarro & Stenius, 2004; Riveland,

1999). There appeared to be a growing consensus amongst correctional administrators and penologists that prisons in the United States were becoming increasingly difficult to manage (DiIulio, 1991; Toch, 1982). The widespread use of restrictive housing units in the U.S. was revived with the opening of the United States Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois (USP Marion) (King, 1999; Mears & Reisig, 2006). Following the killing of two correctional officers at USP Marion in 1983, the facility was modified to improve security by increasing the reliance on segregation (Richards, 2008; Ward & Werlich, 2003). Based on the model used by USP Marion, the first high security prison, Pelican Bay, was built in 1989 with the explicit purpose of housing prisoners in segregation (Bosworth, 2002; Reiter, 2016).

By 2004, 40 states had implemented segregation-specific facilities within their prison systems (Browne et al., 2011; Cloud et al., 2015). After the establishment of these facilities, the overall use of restrictive housing increased rapidly during the 1990s. By 2004, 40 states had implemented segregation-specific facilities within their prison systems (Browne et al., 2011; Cloud et al., 2015; Shalev, 2011). According to some estimates, the number of inmates housed in segregation rose by 40 percent between 1995 and 2000. It is estimated that between 80,000 and 100,000 inmates were held in segregated units in 2014 (Liman Program & ASCA, 2015; Metcalf et al., 2013). On an average day roughly 5.5 percent of state and federal prisoners were held in some form of segregated confinement in the United States (Stephan & Karberg, 2008). In addition, nearly 20 percent of state and federal prison inmates had spent time in segregated housing (e.g., disciplinary or administrative segregation) in 2011-2012 (Beck, 2015). These rates, however, have been criticized for underestimating the true prevalence of restrictive

housing placements. It may be that correctional agencies underreport estimates as a means to avoid the controversy that is sometimes associated with the practice (Naday, Freilich, & Mellow, 2008).

Types of restrictive housing. In the United States, there are at least three different types of segregated housing used: administrative segregation, disciplinary segregation, and protective custody (Cloud et al., 2015; Morris, 2016). The primary purpose for the implementation and continued use of restrictive housing is that it increases institutional order, functioning, safety, and control (DiIulio, 1987). Inmates may be placed in these units for their protection or the protection of others, while awaiting transfer or movement to another facility or unit, while awaiting trial, or as punishment for violating facility rules and regulations (Shalev, 2011). Segregated housing may also be used to separate inmates from the general population in order to provide mental, medical, or other services to the inmate (Beck, 2015). The three types of segregated housing vary in their goals and operating procedures. Administrative segregation, for example, is used to separate those who are deemed a threat to institutional safety and security based on patterns of disruptive or violent behavior. These inmates are involuntarily placed in segregation for indefinite periods of time, leaving correctional administrators vast discretion in movement and release decisions (King, 1999; Shames et al., 2015). Protective custody, on the other hand, refers to placement in a segregated unit because they are classified as being at risk for victimization if housed in the general prison population (Gendreau, Tellier, & Wormith, 1985). Unlike administrative segregation, placement in protective custody is sometimes voluntary. Unlike administrative or protective segregation, which commonly involves indefinite placement, disciplinary

segregation refers to temporary confinement in a segregated housing unit as punishment following serious institutional rule violations (Browne et al., 2011; Butler & Steiner, 2017). Inmates placed in disciplinary segregation are afforded rights of due process, typically imposed after a disciplinary hearing (Flanagan, 1982; Howard et al., 1994).

Segregation, whether for punitive or other reasons, is characterized by very little out-of-cell time. Inmates are often secured in their cell for 22-23 hours per day. This often involves limited interaction with other inmates or staff. Further, those who are housed in restrictive housing environments, especially for punitive or disciplinary reasons, experience significantly reduced privileges. This can include restricted access to educational or work programs (e.g., visits and telephone calls, and personal property such as radios and reading materials) when compared to those housed in the general prison population (Haney, 2003; Metcalf et al., 2013). Under this management approach the main focus of correctional administrators and staff becomes the management and control of inmates rather than focusing on rehabilitation, programming, and treatment.

The Effect of Placement in Restrictive Housing

Recently, civil and human rights activists have renewed concerns about the potentially negative impact that restrictive housing may have on the physical and mental well-being of inmates (e.g., American Civil Liberties Union, 2014; Obama, 2016). In addition to the mixed evidence of significant psychological deterioration, research is mixed on whether placement in restrictive housing leads to improved behavioral outcomes, such as reduced misconduct and recidivism, as the practice intends (O'Keefe, 2008). The next section will describe research on the psychological and behavioral effects that have been associated with placement in restrictive housing.

Psychological effects. Contrary to the claims of some civil and human rights activists, research examining restrictive housing in the United States has been decidedly mixed as to whether the practice produces unintended outcomes (Zinger et al., 2001; for a review see Kapoor & Trestman, 2016). Researchers employing varying methods to study different populations have generated inconsistent evidence of the psychological effects of placement in restrictive housing (Arrigo & Bullock, 2008; Gendreau & Labrecque, 2018). One body of research suggests that conditions of confinement that characterize many segregation units have direct and adverse effects on the physical and mental health of prisoners—effects that are argued to continue once the inmate is released from that environment (Andersen et al., 2000; Haney, 2008, 2012; Irwin & Austin, 1997; Miller, 1994; Miller & Young, 1997). It is argued that placement in segregated environments that are devoid of social contact and meaningful interaction with others leads to adverse psychological deterioration (for review see Haney, 2018). As a result, this psychological deterioration and stress increases an individual's propensity to engage in criminal and rule breaking behavior both within the institution as well as after the individual is released back into the community (Mears & Watson, 2006; Toch & Kupers, 2007).

In an early large-scale study of the effects of segregation, Toch (1975) conducted in-depth interviews with inmates in correctional facilities in New York. The respondents who had experienced segregated confinement reported a number of deleterious psychological symptoms. These symptoms included panic and rage that led to psychological regression and incidents of self-harm. The harmful psychological effects resulting from placement in segregation were also identified in an early study by Grassian (1983) who coined the term "SHU syndrome" to describe the psychological symptoms

present in those who experience segregation and isolation. SHU syndrome is characterized by difficulties in concentration and memory, distortions in perceptions, hallucinations, as well as increased problems with impulse control. More recent research on the effects of placement in restrictive housing environments, especially long-term placements, found that placement leads to severe psychological deterioration. For example, Metzner and Fellner (2010) found that placement in segregated housing environments leads to "anxiety, depression, anger, cognitive disturbances, perceptual distortions, obsessive thoughts, paranoia, and psychosis" (p. 104; see also, Arrigo & Bullock, 2008; Haney, 2003). In the end, poor mental health has been associated with higher rates of institutional misconduct (Lovell & Jemelka, 1996; Toch & Adams, 2002).

Others, however, have not found that placement in these environments leads to impairment. It is now widely recognized that *long-term* placement in segregation can lead to lasting negative physical and physiological outcomes (Haney, 2018). Correctional administrators can respond to institutional misconduct in a number of ways including more temporary or short-term placements in segregation following serious rule violations. Research on the effects of *short-term* segregation, unlike the effects of long-term segregation described above, has found that placement in segregation may not lead to serious psychological deterioration (O'Keefe et al., 2013; Suedfeld et al., 1982; Zinger et al., 2001). Using a sample from five correctional facilities in the United States and Canada, Suedfeld et al. (1982) found no support that placement in segregation led to poor o, finding that there were no significant differences in psychological outcomes of those placed in segregation versus those in the general prison population. Similarly, Zinger, Wichman, and Andrews (2001), using a sample of inmates who spent 60 days in

segregation, found that while those in segregation had poorer mental health when compared to the general inmate population; they found no evidence that they experienced significant declines in their psychological well-being or overall mental health while in segregation. More recently, Morgan and colleagues (2016), conducted a meta-analysis on the effects of segregated confinement on inmates' mental and physical functioning.[5] Results from the meta-analysis suggest that placement in segregation has small to moderate effects on a number of psychological constructs. Overall they found that the effects of segregation are "comparable with the quantifiable effects resulting from incarceration, as a general matter, and with various non-segregated prison conditions" (Morgan et al., 2016, p. 455).

Behavioral effects. While use of segregation originally proliferated as a means to control the growing prison population and the subsequent increase in violence that resulted, the practice has continued due to the belief that it is actually effective. Correctional officials overwhelmingly believe that segregation is an effective way to manage misconduct within their institutions (Mears & Castro, 2006). Evidence on the behavioral effects of this correctional practice, however, is sparse. The vast majority of research on the effects of placement in segregated environments has examined the psychological outcomes associated with the practice (Morris, 2016). For example, in a meta-analysis conducted by Labrecque and colleagues (2013), among 65 separate effect sizes, only nine measured behavioral outcomes such as recidivism and misconduct (see also, Labrecque, 2015).

[5] The study included a systematic replication of two independent meta-analyses in which the results from each were compared (see Morgan et al., 2016).

Those studies that do look at behavioral outcomes, have found mixed evidence of the effect of placement on a number of important outcomes including recidivism (Lovell, Johnson, & Cain, 2007; Mears & Bales, 2009; Pizarro, Zgoba, & Haugebrook, 2014; Ward & Werlich, 2003), institutional rates of violence and disorder (Austin & Irwin, 2001; Briggs, Sundt, & Castellano, 2003), and individual-level misconduct (Labrecque, 2015; Morris, 2016). Recidivism has been the most studied behavioral outcome when examining the effects of placement in segregation. Lovell et al. (2007), for example, used a retrospective matched-control research design to examine recidivism outcomes on a sample of inmates from Washington State. They found no statistically significant differences between recidivism rates for those housed in segregation when compared to a matched-control group of inmates. They did, however, find that those who were released directly from segregation tended to have worse behavioral outcomes than those who had not been placed in segregation or had been in segregation but were in the general prison population at the time of their release. In another study, Mears and Bales (2009) examined the effects of placement in segregation on the recidivism outcomes of inmates in the Florida Department of Corrections. They began by comparing those who had served time in a segregation unit to all inmates released in Florida and found that those who were housed in segregation were more likely to recidivate. When compared to a matched-comparison group, however, they found that most of the differences in rates of recidivism were eliminated (see for exception Motiuk & Blanchette, 2001).

Far fewer evaluations, however, have examined the use of segregation on other behavioral outcomes such as institutional rates of violence and disorder and individual-level misconduct. The evidence of the effectiveness in reducing institutional rates of

misconduct, as with the psychological and recidivism-based studies, has provided mixed support. For example, in a study of aggregate-level violence in Arizona, Illinois, and Minnesota, Briggs, Sundt, and Castellano (2003) found that the use of segregation had no effect on inmate-on-inmate violence across the three states. They also found mixed support for the idea that the use of segregation increases levels of safety for staff. In fact, they found that the use of segregation had no effect on inmate assaults on staff in Minnesota. At the same time, the use of segregation increased staff assaults in Arizona temporarily, but reduced assaults against staff in Illinois.

A number of studies have described null effects of placement in segregation on misconduct outcomes. Using multi-level data from over 4,000 inmates in 185 state correctional facilities, Huebner (2003) found that the use of segregation in response to disciplinary infractions was unrelated to aggregate levels of misconduct, specifically inmate assault violations. Labrecque (2015) examined the effect of placement in segregation and the number of days spent in segregation on a number outcomes including violent, non-violent, and drug-related misconduct of over 14,000 male and female inmates housed in Ohio. Results from this pooled time series design study suggest that neither placement in segregation nor the number of days spent in segregation have any appreciable effect on the occurrence or rate of subsequent institutional misconduct. More recently, Morris (2016) used a quasi-experimental design to examine the effects of placement in segregation following an act of violent institutional misconduct across seventy prison units in a single state. The results from this study, again, found that placement in segregation had no effect on subsequent misconduct. Morris (2016) concluded that the use of segregation in response to violent misconduct "may not play a

causal role in subsequent physical violence, its timing, or its downstream effect on misconduct development" (p. 17). These findings are supported by a study of 228 male inmates housed by the Oregon Department of Corrections (Lucas & Jones, 2017). The goal of the study was to examine the effect of placement in segregation in deterring subsequent rates of institutional misconduct. Results of this study did not support the contention that placement in segregation exerts a deterrent effect for those placed in these conditions.

The findings described above provide mixed, and at times, contradictory evidence of the effect that placement has on subsequent psychological and behavioral outcomes. Complicating this body of work is that very little research has explored the impact that segregation has on individual-level rates of subsequent institutional misconduct. Further, it could be that these mixed findings can be explained not only by methodological differences but also by the specific theoretical rationale and programmatic components that guide the various forms of restrictive housing and segregation. Research on the effects of placement in restrictive housing often neglects the role of these contextual differences in housing environments and the populations involved. It is critical that research on the effects of placement in these environments attend to the contextual differences that exist between the types and styles of restrictive housing used across correctional agencies in the United States. The next section will describe the theoretical and contextual differences that exist in the various forms of restrictive housing and segregation that are used in United States correctional systems as a means to identify the mechanisms that may explain the mixed results of prior research.

Restrictive Housing as Deterrence

The conditions of confinement that define most segregation units operate under a deterrence framework—namely specific deterrence (DeJong, 1997; Pizzaro & Narag, 2008; Stafford & Warr, 1993). It has been argued that increasing the severity of punishment, through placement in more restrictive housing units (with less opportunities and privileges), constitutes a form of specific deterrence in that inmates who experience such conditions should be deterred from committing future offenses (Mears & Reisig, 2006; Pizarro & Stenius, 2004; Sundt, 2016; Ward & Werlich, 2003). Results from several studies have shown that traditional restrictive housing environments are significantly more punitive than conditions associated with placement in the general population (King, Steiner, & Breach, 2008; Kurki & Morris, 2001).

Research on the area of deterrence, however, indicates that in most cases, deterrence as a correctional policy is generally ineffective and at times even criminogenic (Cullen, 1995; Nagin, 2013; see generally, Pratt & Cullen, 2005). There are several broad explanations for the lack of deterrent effects observed in the literature. First, deterrence theory assumes that offenders are capable of making rational decisions (Nagin; 1998; Paternoster, 1987). This ignores the fact that many offenders do not weigh the long-term benefits and consequences of engaging in a specific behavior (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). This is especially true in a sample of individuals who are already incarcerated. Second, and related, it has been found that offenders commonly overestimate the perceived rewards of crime and greatly underestimate the chances of being caught (Nagin & Pogarsky, 2004). Third, when institutional misconduct goes unpunished, the absence of punishment reinforces rule breaking behavior (Skinner,

1953). Further, any delay between the behavior and punishment provides an opportunity for the behavior to be reinforced prior to the application of a punishment (Nagin & Pogarsky, 2004; Tittle & Rowe, 1974). There is reason to believe that this reinforcement of misconduct is common in correctional facilities as official records (i.e., misconduct that came to the attention of correctional administrators) captures only about 10% to 20% of all assaults (sexual and physical) that occur in U.S. prisons (Byrne & Hummer, 2007; Wooldredge, 1998).

Restrictive housing practices that operate under traditional deterrence frameworks are unlikely to produce positive effects and may even explain the adverse effects associated with placement found in previous research (see for e.g., Haney, 2003, 2008; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Lovell et al., 2007). For example, Miller and Young (1997) explored the relationship between levels of restriction and mental health outcomes in a small sample of inmates. When comparing three levels of restriction (i.e., general population, administrative detention, and disciplinary segregation), the researchers found that as the level of restriction increased, so too did rates of psychological distress. More specifically, feelings of hostility, inferiority, and irresistible impulses were significantly related to increases in the level of restriction (see also Miller, 1994). While it is likely that locking inmates away in harsh, adverse environments will do little to achieve the objectives and goals of restrictive housing (Listwan et al., 2013), there is a substantial body of evidence on what promotes behavioral change that could inform existing practice. In light of the growing criticism over traditional segregation practices, a number of states have begun to alter the way

violence and other serious misconduct is addressed within their facilities (Shames et al., 2015).

Alternative Approaches to Restrictive Housing

In contrast to the weak effects found in many deterrence-based strategies, there is reason to believe that restrictive housing, especially disciplinary segregation, can be designed in a way that reduces the likelihood of the negative behavioral and mental health outcomes described in previous research (Gendreau & Keyes, 2001; Suedfeld, 1980). Restrictive housing programs or units that are based on theories of effective correctional intervention, specifically programs that follow risk-needs-responsivity (RNR) principles, could to lead to an increase in prosocial behavior (Cullen & Gendreau, 2001; Gendreau, Smith, & French, 2006; see generally, Lipsey & Cullen, 2007). It is argued that punishment-oriented interventions often fail because they are centered on theories of crime and offending that do not address the known risk factors for engagement in criminal offending (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2006; Andrews et al., 1990). A number of meta-analyses have confirmed that correctional programs that adhere to these principles consistently achieve higher reductions in antisocial behavior than other programs—especially when compared to those based on a deterrence framework (Andrews et al., 1990; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; McGuire, 2002).

Principles of effective correctional intervention. Restrictive housing programs that include principles of effective correctional intervention may limit the potential adverse consequences of segregation. As such, studies finding null or positive effects may be examining programs that include a therapeutic component. There are three core principles at the center of the effective correctional treatment paradigm (see Andrews et

al., 1990). The first principle, risk, suggests that treatment services should be geared towards high risk offenders; simply, the level of supervision and treatment should be matched with the individual's risk of offending. Low-risk offenders, under this principle, should receive minimal supervision and intervention. Research has found that services delivered to low-risk offenders may actually increase the likelihood of negative outcomes (Lowenkamp & Latessa, 2004; Lowenkamp, Latessa, & Holsinger, 2006). The importance of matching treatment to risk has been supported in numerous meta-analyses (see for e.g., Andrews et al., 1990; Andrews & Dowden, 2006; Lipsey & Wilson, 1998).

The second principle of effective correctional intervention is the need principle. This principle suggests that the most effective treatment and rehabilitative programs are those that assess and subsequently target criminogenic needs (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990). As such, high-risk offenders are categorized as high-risk due to having antisocial attitudes, pro-criminal associates, and antisocial personalities (Andrews et al., 1990); these are considered dynamic criminogenic needs that are malleable and thus can be targeted for intervention. Based on tests of this principle, those treatment programs that adequately target dynamic criminogenic needs have been associated with an average of a 19% difference in recidivism (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). In fact, interventions and treatment that target non-criminogenic needs have actually been found to increase recidivism and other negative outcomes (Bonta & Andrews, 2007).

The third and final core principle of the effective correctional treatment paradigm is responsivity (Andrews et al., 1990). This principle argues that treatment and interventions should be designed in a way that is responsive to the individual's learning styles and abilities (Andrews & Bonta, 2010). The responsivity principle takes two forms:

general and specific responsivity. General responsivity principles advocate for the use of cognitive-behavioral based treatments as the most effective treatment approach (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Andrews et al., 1990; Dowden & Andrews, 2004). Cognitive-behavioral treatments often include the replacement of antisocial attributes and behaviors through reinforcement of positive, pro-social behaviors. Specific responsivity, on the other hand, refers to tailoring of the cognitive behavioral intervention to the offender's individual characteristics such as personality, cognitive abilities, and physiological characteristics. The principle argues that these characteristics should be matched with appropriate treatment settings, styles, and professionals. The responsivity principle, however, has garnered the least amount of empirical validation when compared to the principles of risk and need. One meta-analysis conducted by Landenberger and Lipsey (2005) on 58 experimental and quasi-experimental studies found that programs employing cognitive behavioral theory were more effective than other treatment modalities (see also, Lipsey, Chapman, & Landenberger, 2001; Wilson, Bouffard, & MacKenzie, 2005).

Addressing misconduct in restrictive housing. Recently, Butler, Solomon, and Spohn (2018) argued that those who are most often placed in segregation, especially those who engaged in violence within the institution, may be the most appropriate targets for programming as they satisfy a number of conditions outlined under the principles of effective correctional intervention. Accordingly, those who are placed in restrictive housing units in response to violent disciplinary infractions, are high-risk. According to Beck (2015), those who are most frequently placed in segregation have extensive criminal and institutional offending histories. They also tend to be younger and lack substantive educational histories (see also, Butler & Steiner, 2017). Collectively, those

who are housed in segregation often have a number of risk factors that make them more likely to engage in serious institutional misconduct making them ideal subjects for intervention. Butler et al. (2018) also argue that those in restrictive housing have dynamic criminogenic needs that can be assessed and subsequently targeted during treatment and intervention attempts. Many of those who are housed in segregation in restrictive housing units, as stated above, have extensive institutional offending histories, suggesting an orientation towards antisocial attitudes and opinions that are favorable to criminal offending (Andrews et al., 1990). This may also mean that these individuals have ties to pro-criminal associates, such as security threat groups, that reinforce the use of violence (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Cunningham & Sorensen, 2007; Di Placido et al., 2006; Griffin & Hepburn, 2006).

There also appears to be added difficulties amongst the population that challenge responsivity in programming (Butler et al., 2018). In regard to specific responsivity, inmates who have low educational attainment or those who suffer from mental health issues may be less able to engage in meaningful programming and rehabilitation (Andrews et al., 1990). It is also the case that very few correctional treatment programs are able to deliver adequate and effective treatment program. For example, Gendreau and Goggin (1997) report that as few as one in ten correctional agencies operate in ways that would allow for the effective provision of treatment programs (see also Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). Providing effective correctional treatment and intervention requires staff who are trained to respond to various learning styles and who can match their treatment approach to an individual's specific risk and criminogenic needs. This ultimately creates an added burden to already resource-deprived correctional agencies

who will have to hire and train more qualified treatment providers (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). In the end, it may be that individuals who are most often placed in restrictive housing may represent the most appropriate targets for change under the principles of effective correctional intervention.

A study conducted by O'Keefe and colleagues (2013) provides support for the idea that the incorporation of therapeutic elements into a restrictive housing setting may reduce the negative psychological and behavioral outcomes associated with placement in these settings (see also Suedfeld, 1980). The authors found that segregated housing (i.e., administrative segregation) did not worsen the psychological symptoms of inmates as compared to inmates who did not experience segregated housing over the same time period. This may be due to elements of a program that provides "incentive-based behavior modification and cognitive programs" in which every inmate is required to complete three months of "televised cognitive classes" (O'Keefe et al., 2013, p. 51). Additionally, individual counseling sessions and crisis management are available to program participants (O'Keefe et al., 2010, 2013). Indeed, this would be consistent with other correctional approaches that have been found to "work" when punitive approaches (i.e., discipline) are combined with treatment (i.e., therapeutic intervention) (see the discussion by MacKenzie, Bierie, & Mitchell, 2007).

In a more recent study, Butler et al. (2018) examined the impact of programming in a restrictive housing setting on future misconduct outcomes. This study is one of the first to examine outcomes related to placement specific to a more therapeutic version of restrictive housing. The study explores outcomes of those who received the program in either administrative or disciplinary segregation. More specifically, the authors conducted

an outcome evaluation of a cognitive behavioral program that "targets criminogenic thoughts and attitudes to promote prosocial outcomes" amongst male inmate participants (p. 5). Using a propensity score matching approach, the authors attempt to isolate the treatment effect of the program using a retrospective comparison group of inmates. The outcome measures of interest included the prevalence of drug violations, assaults, and nonviolent misconduct in the six-months following program completion. Initial results suggested that participants in the program were significantly less likely to engage in the three measures of misconduct when compared to those included in the comparison group of inmates not in the program. The authors, however, argue that placement in administrative versus disciplinary segregation may influence the true effect of treatment; thus, their effects should be measured separately. When dividing the samples between those in administrative and disciplinary versions of segregation, they find that placement in the program had no effect on subsequent misconduct for those who received the program in disciplinary segregation nor those who received treatment in administrative segregation.

Conclusion

Taken altogether, the available evidence suggests that traditional forms of restrictive housing, especially those based on philosophies of deterrence, are likely to lead to unintended and potentially negative behavioral and mental health outcomes for those exposed to these conditions. This is especially true for those subjected to long-term placement. However, there exists a number of alternatives to the traditional style of restrictive housing currently being used in the United States (Butler et al., 2018; O'Keefe et al., 2013; Shames et al., 2015; Suedfeld, 1980). As described above, short-term

confinement in disciplinary segregation following serious institutional acts of violence may be a more appropriate approach for correctional administrators and staff who are concerned with the safety and orderly functioning of their institutions while at the same time doing no further harm to those who are housed in these environments.

The growing concern over the use of indefinite placement in segregated prison units has led correctional administrators to rely on other strategies to address violent misconduct. In light of these concerns, there are at least three reasons to believe that the use of disciplinary segregation may remain as the sole form of restrictive housing used by correctional officials and administrators in the future. First, as noted, the use of disciplinary segregation is viewed as a necessary correctional tool. Some sort of response is needed when an individual commits a serious violent act within the institution; the safety and security of the facility, staff, and other inmates depends on it (Gendreau & Keyes, 2001). Second, exposure to disciplinary segregation is traditionally short in duration (O'Keefe, 2008). Due to the temporary nature of the placement, the potentially damaging effects of isolation can be minimized or eliminated (see for e.g., Grassian, 1983; Haney & Lynch, 1997). The practice also allows correctional staff and administrators to incentivize rule-abiding behavior that can lead to placement in less restrictive settings. Third, disciplinary segregation is a widespread practice in the United States and as a result, the practice can be modified using evidence from rigorous outcome evaluations. Because of these reasons, the practice is less likely to garner the same criticisms as placement in administrative segregation and protective custody (see for e.g., Ortega, 2012; Weir, 2012), and research on this particular form of restrictive housing is especially needed to guide the modification of existing practice.

In doing so, future research should rigorously examine the potential of rehabilitation and treatment in restrictive housing settings (Meyers, Infante, & Wright, 2018; Smith, 2006). There are a number of limitations of prior research that need to be addressed to achieve this goal. First, studies of the effects of placement need to continue to incorporate sophisticated research methodologies, such as propensity score matching, to better isolate the treatment effects of these placements. According to Gendreau and Labrecque (2018), studies that examine the effect of placement in restrictive housing that employ weaker methodological designs produce stronger effects of placement compared to those employing more sophisticated research designs (see also, Labrecque, 2016).

Second, studies of the effects of placement in restrictive housing would be significantly improved upon with the inclusion of mixed-method outcome evaluations. Rigorous mixed-method evaluations of alternative approaches to segregation and restrictive housing have yet to appear in the literature. Mixed-methods research can be used to better understand the contradictory effects found in prior research (Maruna, 2010). In the context of restrictive housing and its effects, the complexity of the phenomena ultimately requires a convergence and corroboration of findings using multiple types of data that allowing for the measurement of situational and contextual factors that may affect results (Johnson & Turner, 2003; Maruna, 2010).

Third, the role of correctional officers and those who oversee the day-to-day management of restrictive housing units, especially those working in restrictive housing units that include programming and therapeutic elements, have been absent from prior research on the effects of placement in restrictive settings. As described above, effective treatment relies on treatment providers' ability to be responsive to the learning styles and

needs of the targeted population (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Cullen & Gendreau, 2000). Research suggests that physical environments and conditions may be less important as compared to fair and just treatment by correctional staff (Gendreau & Bonta, 1984; Suedfeld, 1980). A growing body of research has argued that those who perceive their treatment as respectful and just are less likely to report psychological distress and are less likely to engage in misconduct (Beijersbergen et al., 2015; Liebling, 2011; Reisig & Mesko, 2009). Examining the role of staff in alternative approaches to segregation in restrictive housing is critical to the understanding of placement effects.

The use of restrictive housing in response to serious institutional misconduct is a complex problem. Restrictive housing and segregation practices have a long history in American corrections. As a correctional policy, the use of segregated housing attempts to correct a problem that has several root causes according to various theoretical frameworks. As a result, what we know about the effects of placement in these settings is mixed, and what we think we know is highly dependent upon the methodology employed and the type of housing that is studied. In response to the limitations and mixed-findings described in this chapter, this study combines both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to better understand the true effects of placement in segregation following acts of violent institutional misconduct. The next chapter describes the data and methodology that is used to address the research objectives of this dissertation. Information is provided on the study setting of the current research as well as the statistical techniques employed for the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the effects of placement in the RSHP.

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHODS

Civil and human rights activists have expressed concern about the potentially deleterious impact restrictive housing environments may have on the physical and mental well-being of inmates. Despite these concerns, restrictive housing remains a critical tool for managing in-prison behavior, especially for those who engage in serious violent misconduct (Colvin, 1992; Mears & Castro, 2006). Thus, there exists a need to find a form of restrictive housing that accomplishes the goals of safety and security while doing no further harm to those housed in these environments. Guided by theory and existing empirical evidence, this study explores the behavioral outcomes associated with completing a Restrictive Status Housing Program (RSHP) within the Arizona Department of Corrections (ADC).[6] This study seeks to investigate two interrelated research questions:

1) What are the behavioral outcomes associated with completion of the RSHP?

2) What are the mechanisms by which the RSHP affects behavioral outcomes?

The broader purpose of the current work is to build upon and advance existing research on restrictive housing for disciplinary purposes in the following ways. First, the study evaluates the effectiveness of a restrictive housing program that is specifically designed for male inmates who engage in serious violent misconduct. Second,

[6] Incarcerated individuals represent a potentially vulnerable population. As a result of their imprisonment, this population is under unique constraints that limit their ability to make un-coerced, voluntary decisions about their participation in research (Shivayogi, 2013). As a result, this study underwent a full board review by the Institutional Review Board's Social Behavioral Committee at Arizona State University in the beginning of August 2017. Official approval for the study was granted on September 13, 2017 (STUDY00006427).

the study takes a rigorous approach to document program outcomes by comparing program participants to a matched-comparison group on a number of behavioral outcomes (e.g., assaults, major misconduct violations) six- and twelve-months following program completion. Third, the study capitalizes on access to program staff and current and former participants of the program to provide rich, detailed qualitative information on the RSHP experience. Lastly, the study focuses on the unique programmatic elements of ADC's RSHP to inform on the theoretical foundations of restrictive housing practice and the use of disciplinary segregation more broadly.

Study Setting

In light of the negative evidence and criticism surrounding the use of restrictive housing in the U.S., a number of states (e.g., Alaska, California, Colorado, Maine, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Virginia) have taken steps to implement alternative strategies to address troublesome inmates within their facilities (for a review, see Shames et al., 2015). Similarly, ADC implemented an alternative to traditional restrictive housing in the Central Unit of the Arizona State Prison Complex-Florence (ASPC-F) in 2014. Restrictive housing, as implemented by the ADC, is specific to what Shalev (2011) defines as "punitive segregation" or "disciplinary segregation" where exposure to restrictive housing constitutes a temporary punishment in response to acts of misconduct (p. 2; see also, Browne et al., 2011). The RSHP is managed using a number of guiding principles (see Table 3.1). The program targets inmates from the ADC who have committed one of "three forbidden acts": 1) serious assault on staff, 2) aggravated assault on another inmate involving a weapon or serious injury, or 3) aggravated assault on another inmate involving multiple aggressors and a single victim. Inmates charged

with one of the forbidden acts are required to participate in a three-step contingency management program involving cognitive-based group counseling and self-study programs.[7] Through disincentives and incentives, the RSHP aims to promote "real change in the thought processes and values of the participating inmates" (ASPC-F, 2014, p. 2).

[7] Contingency management, in the context of restrictive housing, refers to a process of inmate behavior management in which inmate behaviors are rewarded for adhering to (or failing to adhere) to the rules and regulations of the institution. Based on behavior, inmates can earn more incentives (e.g., phone calls, visits, out-of-cell time) (Gendreau et al., 2014).

Table 3.1 Guiding Principles of the Restrictive Status Housing Program[8]

1) Provide a process, a separate review for decisions to place an inmate in maximum custody;

2) Provide periodic classification reviews of inmates in maximum custody every 180 days or less;

3) Provide in-person mental health assessments, by trained personnel within 72 hours of an inmate being placed in maximum custody and periodic mental health assessments thereafter including an appropriate mental health treatment plan;

4) Provide structured and progressive levels that include increased privileges as an incentive for positive behavior and/or program participation;

5) Determine an inmate's length of stay in maximum custody on the nature and level of threat to the safe and orderly operation of general population as well as program participation, rule compliance and the recommendation of the person(s) assigned to conduct the classification review as opposed to strictly held time periods;

6) Provide appropriate access to medical and Mental Health staff and services;

7) Provide access to visiting opportunities;

8) Provide appropriate exercise opportunities;

9) Provide the ability to maintain proper hygiene;

10) Provide program opportunities appropriate to support transition back to a general population setting or to the community;

11) Collect sufficient data to assess the effectiveness of implementation of these guiding principles;

12) Conduct an objective review of all inmates in maximum custody by persons independent of the placement authority to determine the inmates' need for continued placement in maximum custody;

13) Require all staff assigned to work in maximum custody units receive appropriate training in managing inmates on maximum custody status.

[8] Adapted from the Arizona Department of Corrections Director's Order #326 for maximum custody population management.

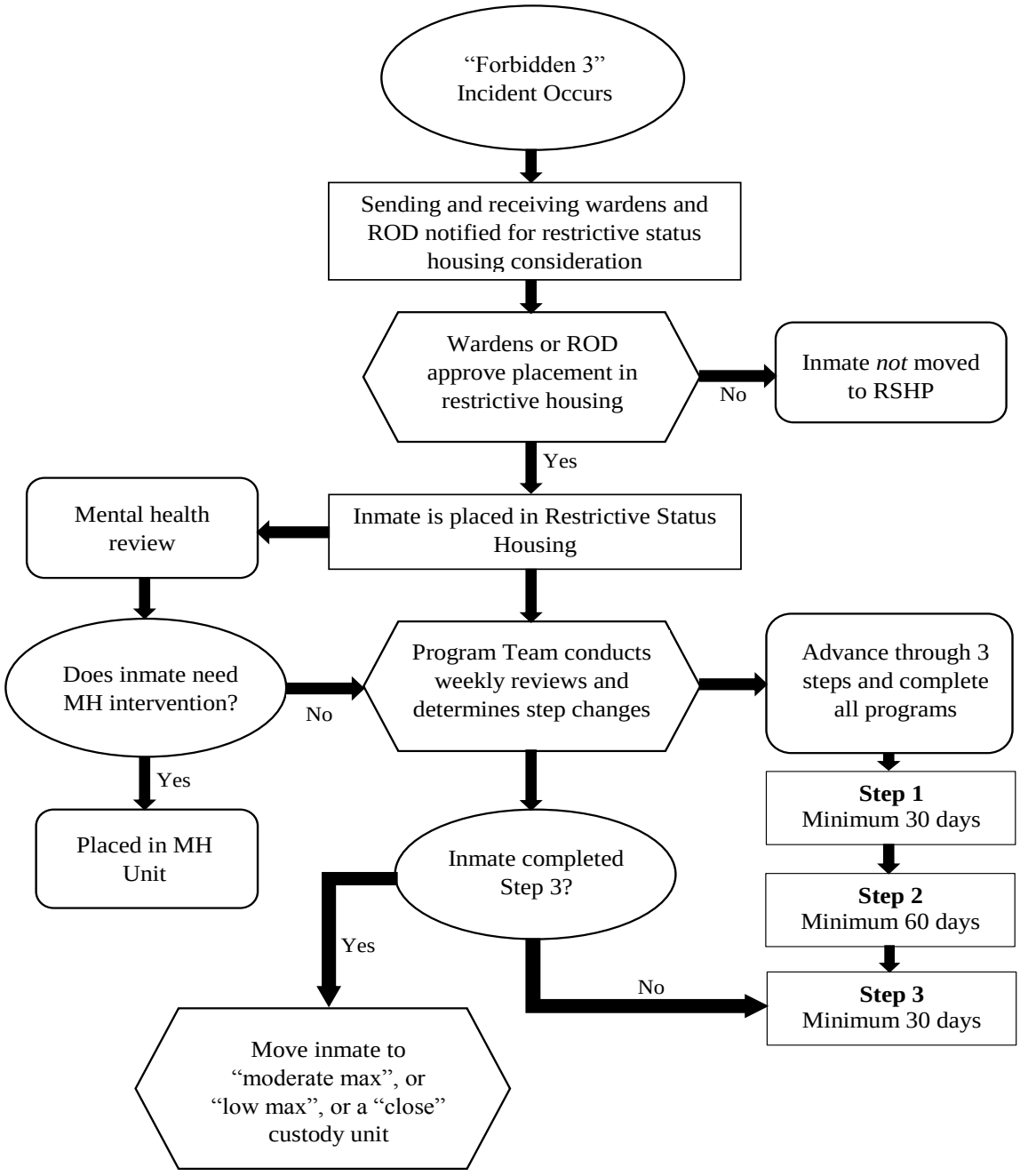
Intake. Figure 3.1 depicts the intake model for the RSHP. As noted, commission of a "forbidden three act" qualifies for placement in the RSHP. When such an act occurs, the warden of the complex where the violation took place contacts the Warden at ASPC-Florence to discuss the incident. The Regional Operations Director is then contacted and a placement decision is made based on the seriousness of the act and the security concerns involved. Collectively, the placement decision is made by the sending complex warden (i.e., location where violation occurred), the receiving warden (i.e., location of the RSHP at the ASPC-Florence Complex), and the Regional Operations Director.[9]

Upon arrival to the unit, each participant is strip-searched and provided one change of clothing (i.e., one jumpsuit, one pair of boxers, socks, a t-shirt), basic hygiene items, and one book upon request. The RSHP Review Committee meets with each participant within three days of placement to explain the reason for placement, develop a program plan, explain requirements for return to general population, and to document decisions on the program plan form.[10] In addition, a number of physical and mental assessments are conducted upon intake. Medical and mental health staff conduct an intake screening within 24 and 72 hours of the participant's arrival, respectively.

[9] It is critical for the current analysis that placement decisions are made based on a uniform and consistent approach to eligibility criteria. It was not always clear as to why someone was selected for the program whereas another was not. Indeed, the existence of a comparison group suggests that there are individuals who were eligible for placement in the program but were not. The issue is returned to in the discussion section.

[10] The "Review Committee" consists of the complex deputy warden, associate deputy warden, program supervisor, RSHP case manager, and RSHP sergeant.

Figure 3.1 Restrictive Status Housing Program Intake Model



Program elements. The RSHP involves an intense and rigid programming structure that is designed to change assaultive behavior, enhance social skills, expand thinking processes, and provide support in understanding the importance of pro-social values and relationship building (ASPC-F, 2014). These changes are facilitated by a number of therapeutic elements including group counseling delivered by the RSHP case manager, completion of self-study and educational television (ETV) modules, practice of rigid adherence to rules and regulations, disincentives for failures (e.g., step reduction) and incentives for achievements (e.g., increased recreation time, more allowable spending at the commissary), and frequent and supportive interactions with RSHP staff and program participants in a safe and secure environment. In contrast to many traditional forms of disciplinary segregation, the RSHP requires participants to complete six group counseling programs that address topics like social values, self-control, responsible thinking, substance abuse, and feelings and emotions. The group counseling programs are products of *The Change Companies* and are described as cognitive and evidence-based programs that emphasize a writing process that motivates and guides participants toward change (The Change Companies, 2008, 2012).[11]

In addition, RSHP participants are required to complete a number of self-study and ETV modules that are selected by the RSHP case managers based on an assessment of individual needs. The materials used to facilitate each of these programming components are described as "evidence-based, cognitive behavioral programs" (ASPC-F, 2014, p. 7-8). More specifically, the self-study modules include Making Decisions,

[11] While described as cognitive and evidence-based, these specific programs have not undergone extensive empirical testing.

Values and Personal Responsibility, Refusal Skills, Attitudes and Beliefs (Hazelden Publishing), and Anger Management (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration). Importantly, the program still retains all of the punitive aspects of restrictive housing, including stripping inmates of all property, restricting visitation and phone privileges, and requiring the inmate to spend most of his time in a small, single-bunked cell. In addition, every time the inmate leaves their cell, they are strip-searched, shackled, and provided a two-officer escort.

Program completion. The Program Team reviews inmates in RSHP at a minimum of every 30 days for program participation and step progression. The Program Team includes a number of Offender Operations personnel and may include Support Services personnel and Mental Health professionals (i.e., Unit Psychologist, Psych-Associate, and Psych-Technician).[12] Operations staff members include Unit Administrator(s), Captain(s), Correctional Officer IV(s), Correctional Sergeant(s), Correctional Officer(s) III, and Correctional Officer(s) II assigned to unit/housing area.[13] Support Services staff members include teachers, chaplains, and treatment counselors. In addition, the team meets once a week to discuss individual cases, program advancements and reductions, as well as any operational issues.

Participants are required to advance through three incentivized steps. In Step 1, the participant is restricted of all personal property with the exception of "the clothes on

[12] Any decision concerning the inmate's mental health is decided by a senior clinical staff member.

[13] Correctional officer roles in Arizona can be separated into two broad categories: program and security staff. Security staff (e.g., Correctional Officer II) responsibilities include inmate movement and monitoring, and the enforcement of institutional rules and regulations. Program staff (e.g., Correctional Officer IV) responsibilities include inmate case management and the oversight of inmate programming such as work placements and classroom education.

his back and one book to read" (ASPC-F, 2014, p. 3). In addition, contact and communication is restricted. Participants in Step 1 are prohibited from receiving visits and getting or receiving phone calls.[14] Store purchases are restricted to state-issued hygiene products. In this initial step, privileges are suspended so that the participant "can focus on his interactions with RSHP program staff, group counseling sessions, and the programming material provided to him" (RSHP Program Manual, 2014, p. 4). There are a number of requirements that participants need to accomplish in order to advance through the program steps. First, participants are expected to abide by all rules and directives. Any misconduct or infraction results in a disciplinary violation report and the possibility that the participant has to start the program over from day one. Failure to abide by program expectations may also result in a "time-out period" in which the participant is removed from the program housing area and placed in a detention unit. These time-out periods are determined by the treatment team and range from one week to 30 days. In addition, participants are expected to participate in a group counseling session once a week as well as complete a self-study module in Step 1. Participants are also expected to participate in recreation in a one-man enclosed cell three times per week for two hours and to take a shower after recreation. Participants remain in Step 1 for at least 30 days and are required to remain disciplinary free throughout those 30 days.

Upon completion of the requirements for Step 1, the participant can advance to Step 2 of the RSHP. The minimal amount of time in this step is 60 days. During Step 2, participants are expected to remain discipline free and active in their participation of both the self-study and group counseling sessions. Privileges are slightly increased during Step

[14] The only exception to this restriction is mail.

2. Participants are allowed a television so that they can participate in ETV and for recreational use when not programming. Participants are also allowed to have one, 2 hour non-contact visit per month. In addition, store purchases are increased to $15.[15] Rule violations during Step 2 may result in dropping the participant to Step 1 as decided by the treatment team. Serious rule violations and program non-compliance may result in removal from the program or a time-out period as decided by the treatment team. To advance through Step 2, participants must complete all required assignments, abide by all rules, and "indicate to staff through his demeanor, attitude, behavior, interactions, and statements in group" that they are understanding the materials and developing new skills and thought processes (RSHP Program Manual, 2014, p. 4-5).

The final step of the RSHP, Step 3, requires that participants make clear and consistent indications to program staff (e.g., case managers, sergeant) that they are gaining a more developed understanding of the program material. More specifically, the participant's behavior and participation in group counseling should indicate an "understanding of the negative impacts of anger, aggressive actions, and heightened conflict" (RSHP Program Manual, 2014, p. 5). As with all the steps in the RSHP, participants are expected to remain violation free. Any violation may result in a step reduction, time-out period, or removal from the program. Participants in Step 3 are further required to actively participate in group counseling and to complete any self-study or ETV modules as determined by the case manager. The minimal amount of time in Step 3 is 30 days. To successfully complete Step 3, and the RSHP, participants must be

[15] At least $10 of the allowable $15 of store purchases, however, must be spent on personal hygiene items.

recommended to the treatment team by the case manager as having satisfied the requirements of the program and demonstrated behavior consistent with skills gained from the program material. Upon approval from the treatment team for graduation from the RSHP, the case manager and program supervisor (i.e., COIV) reviews the participant's classification score to determine the appropriate housing location. The program ends with a graduation ceremony where a certificate of completion is presented to the participant by members of the treatment staff.

Phase 1: The Influence of Restrictive Status Housing on Inmate Outcomes

This study of a restrictive housing program in a maximum security prison will be conducted using a mixed-methods[16], two-phase data collection and analysis strategy. Each phase of the data collection and analysis strategy will be discussed independently in the following sections.

Phase 1 of this dissertation examines quantitative behavioral outcomes (i.e., misconduct) of inmates who were placed in the RSHP compared to a matched comparison group of inmates. In short, Phase 1 addresses the question: What are the behavioral outcomes associated with completion of the RSHP?

The data for Phase 1 builds on a pilot study evaluation of the RSHP (Meyers, Infante, & Wright, forthcoming). This project consisted of a basic evaluation of the behavioral outcomes of inmates who graduated from the RSHP ($N = 114$). The purpose of the pilot evaluation was to examine whether program graduates showed improved in-prison behavior following release from the RSHP. There were a number of

[16] Broadly, "mixed-methods," in this study, refers to the process of collecting and integrating both qualitative and quantitative research techniques and approaches into a single study (Creswell et al., 2003; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007).

positive outcomes associated with placement in the RSHP. Specifically, assaults on inmates and staff members were lower six- and twelve-months after graduation as compared to those time periods prior to placement. Collectively, statistically significant change was observed in four out of the six outcomes of interest at both the six and twelve month follow-up period. These included major violations, staff assaults, inmate assaults, and drug violations. The pilot evaluation, however, was limited in a critical way: the evaluation did not include a comparison group or counterfactual that could be used to isolate the true effect of the program. Accordingly, "no study of program effectiveness can be entirely convincing with-out a control group" (Lovell et al., 2001, p. 97). As such, this dissertation employs a matched-comparison group to better identify the impact of the RSHP on future behavioral outcomes. In addition, this dissertation includes data derived from in-depth semi-structured interviews with correctional staff and former RSHP participants that are used to contextualize the results of the quantitative analyses of administrative data.

Sample and Data

This dissertation moves beyond the pilot study by analyzing administrative data on an additional 217 program participants and graduates. The final sample for the treatment group used in this study is 331. This group represents *all* adult male inmates who were placed in the RSHP between March 2014 and January 2017. Additionally, this dissertation builds on the pilot program evaluation by creating a matched comparison group to better isolate the effect of program participation on inmate outcomes. This approach approximates a true experiment as it compares RSHP participants to those who were eligible for the program, but received some other form of placement (Campbell &

Stanley, 1963). The comparison group in this study was identified using ADC's computerized inmate database system. The comparison group includes *all* adult male inmates who committed an act that could have qualified for placement in the RSHP (i.e., aggravated assault, staff assault, rioting) but were not placed in the program between March 2014 and January 2017 (N = 1,951). As shown in Figure 3.1, there are a number of reasons why a qualified inmate may be diverted from placement in the RSHP. According to the intake model shown in Figure 3.1, the complex wardens and regional operations director have discretion in placement. This decision is based on the "seriousness of the act and security concerns" (Director's Instruction #326, 2014, p. 6). Other reasons for non-placement include mental health scores; specifically, scores of three or higher are not eligible for placement in the RSHP and are housed in a mental health unit. Other reasons for non-placement include unavailable bed space, as the RSHP participants are single-bunked within a separate wing of the unit. The non-random assignment to the RSHP is a limitation of the current work and will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 6.

The analyses described below will be performed on a sample of program participants (treatment group) and nonparticipants (comparison group), with the key difference being the group's placement in the RSHP. Analyses were further restricted to those who have either a six or twelve-month follow-up for the treatment (n = 240) and comparison (n = 1,687) groups. Administrative data used in this dissertation were provided by the ADC's Research Director using the department's computerized inmate database system. ADC's computerized inmate database system is the central repository for inmate records. These records include information on a number of inmate characteristics including incarceration history, institutional movements, inmate

demographics, and current programming information. The system also contains information related to the inmate's institutional misconduct history such as minor violations (e.g., disrupting count, grooming violations, refusal to work) and major violations (e.g., aggravated assault, promoting prison contraband, positive urinalysis).

Dependent Variables

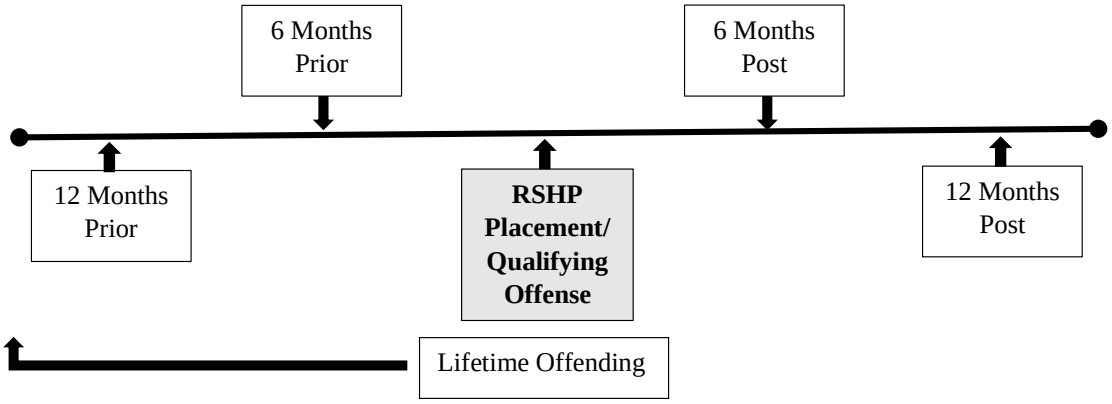
In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the RSHP as implemented in the ADC, Phase 1 of this dissertation examines five behavioral misconduct outcome measures. Because there is no one best way to measure failure, this dissertation uses measures of both prevalence and incidence. Specifically, prevalence measures assess whether or not the form of misconduct occurred during the follow-up while incidence measures assess the frequency of the misconduct outcome. As shown in Table 3.2, this dissertation explores a variety of behavioral misconduct outcomes; these measures include *major violations* (e.g., promoting prison contraband, possession of a weapon), *minor violations* (e.g., failure to maintain grooming requirements, being out of place, littering, horse playing, smoking or use of tobacco in unauthorized area), *staff assaults*, *inmate assaults* (e.g., assaults, aggravated assaults, and/or rioting), and *drug violations* following release from the RSHP or after commission of a qualifying act (see Appendix A for full description of ADC rule violations). As shown in Figure 3.2, all behavioral outcomes described above will be measured at six months and twelve months following release from the RSHP.

Table 3.2 Outcome Measures Included in the Final Analyses

Behavioral Outcome Measures[17]
Prevalence of major offenses Inmate found guilty of a major misconduct violation following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act; 0 = no, 1 = yes.
Incidence of major offenses Number of major misconduct violations following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act.
Prevalence of minor offenses Inmate found guilty of a minor misconduct violation following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act; 0 = no, 1 = yes.
Incidence of minor offenses Number of minor misconduct violations following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act.
Prevalence of drug violations Inmate found guilty of a drug-related misconduct violation following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act; 0 = no, 1 = yes.
Incidence of drug violations Number of drug-related misconduct violations following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act.
Prevalence of inmate assaults Inmate found guilty of assaulting another inmate following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act; 0 = no, 1 = yes.
Incidence of inmate assaults Number of inmate assault violations following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act.
Prevalence of staff assaults Inmate found guilty of assaulting an ADC staff member following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act; 0 = no, 1 = yes.
Incidence of staff assaults Number of staff assault violations following completion of the RSHP or the commission of a qualifying act.

[17] Behavioral outcomes are measured at both six and twelve-months following RSHP completion or the commission of a qualifying act (i.e., "Forbidden Three").

Figure 3.2 Measurement Points Used in Study



Independent Variables

Participation in the RSHP is the key independent variable of interest in this dissertation. Individuals who were placed in the RSHP were given a value of "1," while the matched comparison group (i.e., those who were eligible but were not placed in the RSHP) were assigned a value of "0".

Matching Criteria

A number of theoretically-relevant covariates were included in an attempt to reduce unobserved bias within the propensity score models (see Table 3.3 for full description). These covariates have been found to be significant predictors of prison misconduct (see generally, Gendreau, Goggin, & Law, 1997; Steiner, Butler, & Ellison, 2014). First, *age*, measures the individual's age (in years) at the time of data collection. Second, *race/ethnicity* is captured using dichotomous variables (0 = no; 1 = yes) for White, Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, and "Other." Both age and race/ethnicity have been found to be related to institutional misconduct, where younger

and minority inmates have been found to engage in higher rates of institutional misconduct (Flanagan, 1980, 1983; Jiang & Winfree, 2006; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2013; Toch & Adams, 2002; Harer & Steffensmeier, 1996). Third, educational attainment is measured using two variables including whether the individual has a *GED* (0 = no; 1 = yes) and whether they have achieved requirements for *mandatory literacy* (0 = no; 1 = yes). An inverse relationship between education and misconduct has been documented in the literature, where inmates with more education accrue fewer disciplinary infractions and lower overall rates of violent misconduct than those with less education (Harer & Langan, 2001; Toch & Adams, 1986). Fourth, *security threat group (STG) membership* (0 = no, 1 = yes) is included as it has been found to be related to institutional misconduct regardless of other individual risk factors (DeLisi et al., 2013; Gaes et al., 2002; Griffin & Hepburn, 2006; Ralph & Marquart, 1991). Sex is not examined in this study as only adult male inmates are eligible for placement in the RSHP.

Covariates in this study also include a host of institutional history measures including the individual's *arrest type* (i.e., property, drug, violent, other) (see generally, Sorensen & Davis, 2011). Additional institutional-related covariates include the number of *prior incarceration*s in ADC and the length of *time served* (in months) during their current placement. Evidence suggests inmates whom have served more time and inmates who have previously been incarcerated are more likely to engage in misconduct (Camp et al., 2003; Flanagan, 1980; Harer & Langan, 2001; Griffin & Hepburn, 2006; Steiner & Wooldredge, 2013).

Covariates also include the *custody level* (0 = minimum custody, 1 = medium custody, 2= close custody, and 3 = maximum custody) of the unit where they committed

the institutional infraction, as rates of institutional misconduct and violence among inmates are more likely in higher-security institutions (Steiner, 2009; Steiner & Cain, 2016). There are four custody levels within the ADC. Starting with the most secure, "maximum custody" units house inmates who represent the highest risk to the public and staff and require housing in a single cell or double cell environment. These inmates have limited work opportunities within the secure perimeter and are subject to frequent monitoring. Further, these inmates require controlled movement within the institution. "Close custody" units house inmates who represent a high risk to the public and staff but are of a lower risk than those classified to maximum custody. Inmates in close custody are restricted from working outside the secure perimeter of an institution. Like the maximum custody classification, close custody inmates require controlled movement within the institution. "Medium custody" units house inmates who represent a moderate risk to the public and staff. Inmates are housed in "open yards" where movement is less restricted, allowing inmates to move freely throughout the unit during designated times. "Minimum custody" house those who represent a low risk to the public and staff. Minimum custody inmates are allowed to work outside the secure perimeter of an institution (e.g., community work crews). Those classified to minimum custody do not require controlled movement within the institution.

Last, the study also includes measures for previous acts of institutional misconduct, specifically counts of lifetime misconduct. Research has demonstrated that prior prison misconduct is a strong predictor of subsequent prison infractions and recidivism more generally (Camp et al., 2003; Cunningham & Sorenson, 2007; Drury & DeLisi, 2010; Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2014; Gendreau et al., 1997; Steiner et al.,

2014). Given this relationship, a number of lifetime misconduct measures including the number of *lifetime major violations, lifetime minor violations, lifetime staff assaults, lifetime inmate assaults,* and *lifetime drug violations* are used as criteria for matching.

Table 3.3 Covariate Measures Included in the Final Analyses

Covariates
Age Inmate's age at the time of data collection.
White 1 = yes; 0 = no
Black/African American 1 = yes; 0 = no
Hispanic/Latino 1 = yes; 0 = no
Other race 1 = yes; 0 = no
Lifetime major violations Number of lifetime major misconduct violations while incarcerated in the ADC
Lifetime minor violations Number of lifetime minor misconduct violations while incarcerated in the ADC
Lifetime drug violations Number of lifetime drug-related misconduct violations while incarcerated in the ADC
Lifetime inmate assault violations Number of lifetime inmate assault violations while incarcerated in the ADC
Lifetime staff assault violations Number of lifetime staff assault violations while incarcerated in the ADC

Table 3.3 Covariate Measures Included in the Final Analyses (continued)

Covariates
Incarcerated for a property offense 1 = yes; 0 = no
Incarcerated for a drug-related offense 1 = yes; 0 = no
Incarcerated for a violent offense 1 = yes; 0 = no
Incarcerated for a "other" offense 1 = yes; 0 = no
General Education Diploma (GED) Inmate earned their General Education Diploma (GED); 1 = yes, 0 = no
Mandatory literacy requirement Inmate achieved requirements for mandatory literacy; 1 = yes, 0 = no
Prior incarceration Number of prior commitments to the Arizona Department of Corrections
Custody level Custody level of the inmate at the time of the commission of the qualifying act; 1 = minimum custody, 2 = medium custody, 3 = close custody, 4 = maximum custody
Time served Number of months served during current placement
STG membership Inmate is a suspected or validated member of a security threat group (STG)

Phase 1: Analytic Strategy

The primary goal of Phase 1 is to examine whether the RSHP is effective in reducing levels of misconduct amongst program participants when compared to those who did not participate in the program. One of the better ways to measure the impact of a program or treatment is to conduct an experiment and randomly assign participants to either a treatment or comparison condition. The RSHP as implemented by the ADC, however, did not randomly assign those who committed a qualifying act to placement or non-placement. As a result, this study employs a quasi-experimental research design to estimate treatment effects of the program (Gau & Fraser, 2015). Specifically, propensity score matching (PSM) is a statistical method that estimates the probability of selection into a certain group or treatment based on the inclusion of observed covariates. The predicted probability of being selected (i.e., propensity score) is commonly calculated by estimating a logit model (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1983, 1985). In this model estimation, selection (0 = no selection; 1 = selection) is the dependent variable and the "covariates" or predictor variables include those theoretically-relevant elements that are believed to impact the selection process (Apel & Sweeten, 2010); in this case, placement in the RSHP following a serious institutional rule violation. Once estimated, the propensity scores are then used to "match" individuals who participated in the RSHP to those who did not. By matching RSHP participants to a comparison group of eligible participants, PSM has the advantage of balancing multiple covariates using a single composite score. As a result, PSM reduces selection bias by statistically creating a counterfactual estimate of what would have happened to the RSHP participants had they not been placed in the program (Gau & Fraser, 2015; Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1985).

The analyses will proceed in five primary stages. First, descriptive analyses are used to describe the RSHP program participants and nonparticipants. Second, independent sample *t* tests are estimated to determine if statistically significant differences exist between RSHP participants (i.e., treatment group) and non-participants (i.e., comparison group) on the theoretically-relevant covariates described above. Third, a logit model with RSHP placement as the outcome and the covariates as predictors is employed to generate predicted probabilities (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1983). These scores represent the probability of being placed in the RSHP based on observable variables. Using these predicted probabilities, a one-to-one nearest neighbor[18] matching method with a standard caliper of .05 with replacement is employed.[19] Fourth, after the completion of the matching procedure, a second set of independent sample *t* tests between the treatment and comparison group is conducted. If the matching procedure was successful, all of the previous significant differences between the groups should be reduced to non-significance (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1985).

Last, multivariate analyses will be used to examine the relationship between program participation (or nonparticipation) and the outcome measures of interest (i.e., minor violations, major violations, drug violations, inmate assaults, and staff assaults)

[18] Nearest neighbor matching can be done with or without replacement. Matching with replacement allows for better matches as untreated individuals can serve as the counterfactual for more than one treated individual. While this approach allows for improved matching, at the same time it reduces the number of untreated cases that are used to estimate the treatment effect. Matching without replacement, on the other hand, means that untreated cases can only be matched with one treated case, then it is removed from the matching algorithm. According to some, this may lead to less appropriate matches, especially when there is large variance in propensity scores between the treated and untreated groups (Apel & Sweeten, 2010; Rosenbaum, 2002). The current study uses a matching with replacement approach.

[19] The caliper determines the distance a match can be on the distribution of propensity scores and still be included as a counterfactual (Gau & Fraser, 2015).

using a statistically balanced sample. As noted, misconduct is measured as both prevalence and incidence. Binary misconduct outcomes (0 = no, 1 = yes) are estimated using logistic regression models. The five misconduct outcomes were also measured continuously using counts of officially documented misconduct. The distribution of *major violations* ($\bar{x}$ = .54, σ^2 = 1.08), *minor violations* ($\bar{x}$ = .75, σ^2 = 1.56), and *drug violations* ($\bar{x}$ = .08, σ^2 = .10) revealed overdisperson, meaning that the variance (σ^2) is greater than the mean ($\bar{x}$) (Cox, 1983; Dean, 1992). As a result, negative binomial regression models are estimated (Long, 1997). Negative binomial regression models adjust for this overdispersion by estimating an overdispersion parameter. Two misconduct outcome measures, *staff assaults* and *inmate assaults*, ranged from 0 to 1 in both the six and twelve-month follow-up. As a result, these outcomes were estimated using logistic regression models (Hosmer, Lemeshow, & Sturdivant, 2013).

Phase 2: Contextualizing the Influence of the RSHP on Behavioral Outcomes

Data for Phase 2 were gathered using in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews ($N = 35$). Qualitative interviews are employed as a means to provide contextual information—such as the challenges associated with implementation from staff interviews or whether the program produced lasting meaningful change from inmate interviews—that can be used to better understand program successes or failures. Growing attention has been devoted to documenting underlying mechanisms of treatment programs in the social sciences (see for example, Granger, 2011). Knowing *how* a program works and documenting the processes involved is just as critical as knowing if a program works, and this can be best understood by speaking with those who are directly involved with the program (Lowenkamp et al., 2006).

Correctional Staff Respondents

Correctional staff who were interviewed were not randomly selected. Instead a purposive sampling approach was employed to "obtain the broadest range of information and perspectives on the subject of study" (Kuzel, 1992, p. 37). The process can be thought of as a key informant survey, which targets those who are especially knowledgeable about the management and administration of the RSHP (Gilchrist, 1992). The correctional staff who were approached for possible participation in the study were identified as "key informants" over the course of several meetings with the Complex Warden who oversees the facility in which the RSHP is housed. In the end, the goal was to develop a sample that meets the guidelines put forth by Rubin and Rubin (2011) for selecting respondents in a purposive sample. Specifically, those respondents should be knowledgeable about the RSHP program and its operation, be willing to talk, and be

representative of the full range of correctional ranks/positions involved with the management and operation of the program.

Correctional staff survey instrument. Phase 2 of this dissertation includes semi-structured interviews with program staff that are involved in the day-to-day management of the RSHP (n = 10). This includes line staff who are responsible for inmate movement and management, treatment team members who are responsible for the clinical assessment and evaluation of program participants, classroom staff involved in the implementation of cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) programs, and correctional administrators responsible for overseeing the implementation of the program.

The correctional staff interview tool is comprised of three main sections. Part One, "Work History," focuses on basic background information about the respondent's work experience in corrections, including specific questions regarding their experience working with the RSHP and their main duties and challenges associated with the assignment. Respondents are also asked to reflect on how work with the RSHP varies from other job placements in maximum custody. Part Two, "Perceptions of the RSHP," asks respondents a number of open-ended questions regarding the operation of the program. Specifically, correctional staff are asked questions regarding the implementation and goals of the RSHP and whether or not the RSHP is effective in reducing institutional violence. In addition, staff are asked to identify areas in which the RSHP is effective, as well as areas in which the RSHP can be improved. Respondents are also asked to identify any unintended (positive or negative) effects of placement in the RSHP. Part Three, "General Demographics," is the final section of the correctional staff

survey instrument. In this section, respondents are asked to self-report demographic information including age, sex, race/ethnicity, and marital and educational status.

Correctional staff interview procedure. Interviews with correctional staff took place in three locations. The first location is the office of the Assistant Warden of Programs in a private correctional facility in Arizona. Prior to working in the private facility, this respondent was the complex warden where the RSHP was original implemented and housed. The second location, where the majority of the staff interviews took place, is located in a private conference room connected to the office of the deputy warden of the unit where the RSHP is currently housed. The final interview occurred in the private office of the Northern Region Director of Operations. These correctional staff interviews ranged in length from 15 to 40 minutes, depending on the respondent's openness and familiarity with the RSHP. Interviews with correctional staff were audio recorded and transcribed for analyses. Upon completion of the transcription, each interview transcript was reviewed against the audio recording to identify any grammatical or spelling mistakes and to add any missed or un-transcribed audio.

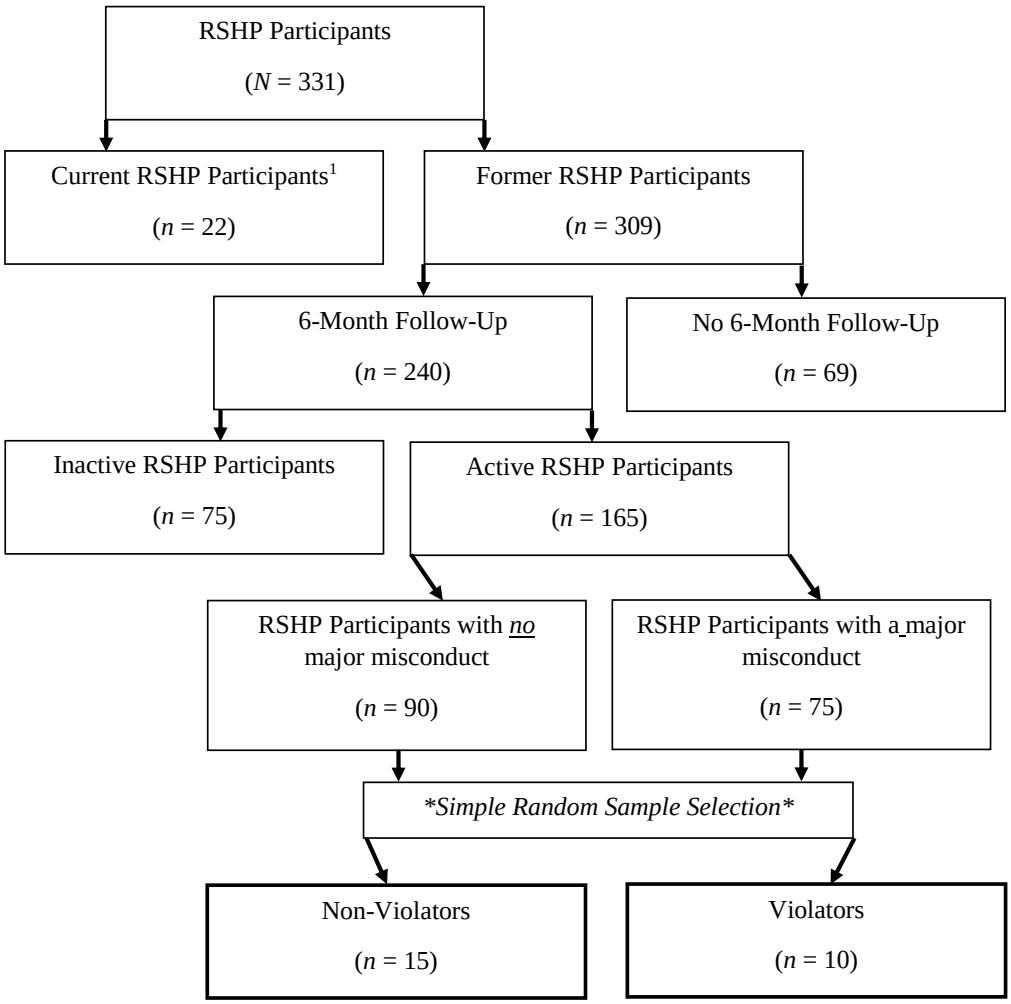
Participants of the RSHP

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with former RSHP participants (n = 25). A simple-random sampling approach was used to develop the sample of former participants to be interviewed (see Figure 3.3). First, the total sample of RSHP participants (N = 331) was divided into current (n = 22; i.e., those who are currently housed in the RSHP and undergoing programming) and former participants (n = 309). Next the sample was restricted to only those who had at least a six-month follow-up (n = 240). The sample was then restricted to only those inmates who are currently active (n =

165) in the ADC. Those who are inactive (*n* = 75) were not approached to be interviewed as they are now living in the community. The sample of former RSHP participants (*n* = 165) who are still active in ADC was then divided into two primary groups: those who had *no* major institutional violations in the twelve months following RSHP placement (*n* = 90) and those inmates who had a major institutional violation in the twelve months following the RSHP (*n* = 75). To reiterate, the purpose of Phase 2 is to explore the processes by which the RSHP works or does not work. Given this objective, it is critical that the semi-structured interviews are conducted with former program participants who were successful *and* those who were unsuccessful. In line with the program objectives outlined by ADC, unsuccessful participants can be broadly conceptualized as those failing to remain infraction free in the six- and twelve-months following graduation from the RSHP.

RSHP participants were selected to be approached for participation in the study using a simple random sampling with replacement approach (also known as unrestricted random sampling) (Kalton, 1983). This means that every former RSHP participant with at least a six-month follow-up had the same probability of being selected into the sample. The final a priori sample (*N* = 25) includes ten former RSHP participants with a major violation following completion of the RSHP (*n* = 10) and fifteen former RSHP participants with no major violation (*n* = 15) following completion of the program.

Figure 3.3 Sampling Strategy for RSHP Participant Interviews



RSHP participant survey instrument. The RSHP participant interview guide instrument is divided into three main sections. First, respondents are asked to describe the reason for their placement in the RSHP and then were asked for their opinion on whether they thought that placement was appropriate given their level of misconduct. Part One of the survey instrument also asks the respondent to compare their placement in RSHP to

other placements in segregation[20] (if applicable). The second, and largest component of the interview, centered on the respondent's perceptions of the programming that was required during their placement in the RSHP. Specifically, respondents were asked about their progress in the program including any step reductions they may have received as well as their perceptions of the efficacy of the program including individual counseling, group counseling, self-study packets, and ETV. The respondents were asked if they participated in these program components and then asked to evaluate the components including any identified areas for improvement. The final part asked respondents to broadly identify what they thought the RSHP did well and where they think the program should improve moving forward. The final part of the interview closed by asked the respondent whether or not they believe that the RSHP is effective in reducing violent misconduct.

RSHP participant interview procedure. RSHP participant interviews were conducted in a variety of units in the ADC. All interviews were conducted privately in the specific unit's visitation room. The conditions of the visitation room, however, differed based on the security level of the unit. Interviews that were conducted in medium or close custody units were conducted face-to-face at a table in a private area of the visitation room. Interviews with respondents housed in maximum custody were also conducted in the unit's visitation room. Visits in maximum custody units, however, are conducted behind glass, meaning there is no contact between parties. Upon arrival at the units, the randomly selected participants were approached by ADC staff and told that an

[20] Segregation here was defined as the placement in a unit that is separate from the general prison population (Browne et al., 2011; Frost & Monteiro, 2016).

individual from Arizona State University was there to speak with them regarding a research project. Respondents at this time had the opportunity to refuse to come to the study area. If the respondent did agree to come to the study area, the respondent was then informed of the purpose of the study and read a consent script. Respondents at this time were free to participate in the interview or to refuse participation. Overall, a total of thirty-four individuals were approached for possible participation in the study, resulting in a cooperation rate of 73.53% (25/34).

Interviews with former RSHP participants ranged in length from 20 to 45 minutes, depending on the respondent's openness and individual experiences in RSHP. Unlike the correctional staff interviews, interviews with former RSHP participants were not audio-recorded. Instead, the responses to the interview items were written verbatim and later transcribed for analyses. Each completed hand-written interview was transcribed within 12 hours of completion. There were two primary reasons why the RSHP interviews were not audio-recorded. First, the settings in which the interviews were conducted at times did not permit the use of audio recording devices. As mentioned, interviews with those housed in maximum custody were conducted behind glass. Second, the use of audio-recording equipment may reduce the likelihood of respondents agreeing to participate in the study. Respondents in this study were sometimes hesitant to speak about their experiences in the RSHP. As described above, the survey covers a number of sensitive topics in which respondents may feel uncomfortable speaking about when they know they are being recorded. The possibility of recording these interviews was discussed with ADC who determined hand-writing the responses would be the most appropriate approach.

Phase 2: Analytic Strategy

Thematic content analysis was used to capture major themes in both inmate and staff accounts of the RSHP (Berg & Lune, 2012; Lofland et al., 2006). Analysis of the interview transcripts will begin with the development of higher-level codes by compiling all of the interviews into a central database and checking the transcripts against the audio or hand-written documentation for errors (e.g., spelling, missed transcription).

When analyzing interview transcripts, an inductive coding approach was used. Inductive coding analysis, as opposed to deductive coding[21], is more data-driven insofar as is it guided by the data themselves, rather than a particular theoretical orientation (Lofland et al., 2006; Snow, Morrill, & Anderson, 2003). After reviewing interview transcripts, code sets were developed to identify the "evocative attributes" of the sample (Saldana, 2013). *A priori* (first cycle) codes were then used to organize main themes uncovered in the semi-structured interviews. Second cycle codes followed as a means to isolate and identify the various substantive perceptions of the RSHP (e.g., perceptions of service delivery) and the programming provided (e.g., group counseling, self-help packets). Broadly, these thematic codes were used to identify main themes that are presented in the descriptive analysis (see Chapter 5) of the staff and participant perceptions of the program and its subsequent outcomes.

All qualitative analyses in Phase 2 were conducted using ATLAS.ti—a software program that was designed to analyze unstructured data (e.g., text, multimedia). More specifically, ATLAS.ti allows researchers to organize large volumes of text by keeping

[21] Deductive analysis begins with a hypothesis derived from a theoretical foundation/ body and then proceeds to test the hypothesis via data that were assembled in accord with the orienting theoretical perspective (Lofland et al., 2006; Snow, Morrill, & Anderson, 2003).

track of all notes, annotations, or codes, which was ideal for the analyses described above (ATLAS.ti, 2011). Frequencies of the uncovered themes and descriptive information on these samples will also be provided using Stata 14 statistical software (StataCorp, 2015).

CHAPTER 4

PHASE 1 RESULTS

Phase 1: The Influence of Restrictive Status Housing on Inmate Outcomes

This chapter contains the results for the quantitative analyses of the effectiveness of the Restrictive Status Housing Program (RSHP) as it relates to future behavioral outcomes. Results from the qualitative analyses are presented in Chapter 5. The quantitative analyses presented in this chapter proceed in five stages. First, descriptive statistics for the treatment and comparison groups are presented. Second, independent samples *t* tests are estimated to determine if statistically significant differences exist between the treatment and comparison group (i.e. the groups are unbalanced). Third, individuals in each group are matched using conditional probabilities that are calculated from a logit model. A second set of independent samples *t* tests are then estimated to ensure that no statistically significant differences remain after the matching procedure. Fourth, using the balanced groups, the effect of placement in the RSHP is estimated at both the six and twelve-month follow-up. Last, multivariate analyses are conducted to produce more precise estimates of placement in the program on future behavioral outcomes. Specifically, logistic regression models are employed for binary behavioral misconduct outcomes while negative binomial regression models are employed for count measures of behavioral misconduct.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics for both the treatment group and the matched-comparison group are presented in Table 4.1. Again, as described in Chapter 3, analyses are restricted to those former RSHP participants who have either a six or twelve-month follow-up (*n* =

240). To improve clarity, the demographic statistics for each group will be discussed independently below.

Treatment group. As shown in Table 4.1, the average age for RSHP participants (*N* = 240) at the time of data collection was approximately 32 years old (*SD* = 7.40; range = 21 – 66 years old). The majority of inmates in the treatment group were non-white. More specifically, the majority of RSHP participants were Hispanic/Latino (70%; *n* = 169), followed by White (12%; *n* = 28), Black/African American (11%; *n* = 27), and "Other" race/ethnicity (7%; *n* = 16). Over half of the RSHP participants earned a GED (55%; *n* = 132), while the majority of participants achieved the requirements for mandatory literacy (66%; *n* = 158). On average, those in the treatment group had one prior admission to the Arizona Department of Corrections (*SD* = 1.23; range = 0 – 7 prior commitments) and have served, on average, 64 months or 5.33 years on their current sentence (*SD* = 39.07; range = 11 – 226 months). The majority of inmates in this group were arrested for a violent offense (54%; *n* = 129) followed by property offenses (20%; *n* = 48), drug offenses (14%; *n* = 33), and "other" offenses (13%; *n* = 30). Approximately three-quarters of those in the treatment group were security threat group (STG) members (70%; *n* = 167). On average, RSHP participants accumulated 6.95 lifetime major violations (*SD* = 5.46; range = 0 – 34 major violations) and 6.93 lifetime minor violations (*SD* = 7.54; range = 0 – 41 minor violations). Prior to placement in the RSHP, the average custody level for RSHP participants was 2.60 (*SD* = 0.83; range = 1 – 4).

Comparison group. Table 4.1 also displays the descriptive statistics for the matched comparison group (*N* = 1,687). The average age for inmates included in the comparison group was approximately 33 years old (*SD* =8.37; range = 19-67 years old).

Consistent with the treatment group, the majority of inmates in the comparison group were non-white. The racial breakdown of the comparison group is similar to that of the treatment group where the majority of inmates were Hispanic/Latino (53%; *n* = 886), followed by White (24%; *n* = 409), Black/African American (15%; *n* = 256), and "Other" race/ethnicity (8%; *n* = 136). Just over half of the comparison group earned a GED (51%; *n* = 855), while the vast majority achieved the requirements for mandatory literacy (77%; *n* = 1,307). On average, those in the matched comparison group had one prior admission to the Arizona Department of Corrections (*SD* = 1.19; range = 0 – 8 prior commitments) and have served, on average, 57 months or 4.75 years on their current sentence (*SD* = 45.52; range = 2 – 340 months). Consistent with the treatment group, the majority of those in the comparison group were arrested for violent offenses (49%; *n* = 819), followed by property (20%; *n* = 342), drug (17%; *n* = 281), and "other" offenses (15%; *n* = 245). Less than half of those in the comparison group were security threat group (STG) members (47%; *n* = 798). On average, inmates in the comparison group accumulated 7.37 lifetime major violations (*SD* = 8.21; range = 1 – 96 major violations) and 6.68 lifetime minor violations (*SD* = 7.94; range = 0 – 83 minor violations) prior to commission of a qualifying act (i.e., "Forbidden Three"). The average custody level where the qualified act occurred was 2.41 (*SD* = 0.90; range = 1 – 4).

Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics for Matching Criteria.

		Treatment Group (N = 240)				Comparison Group (N = 1,687)			
Matching Variables	Variable Description	*Mean*	*SD*	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Min.*	*Max.*
Age	Age at time of data collection.	32.15	7.40	21.0	66.0	33.35	8.37	19.0	67.0
Race/Ethnicity									
White	Individual is White (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0.12	--	0.0	1.0	0.24	--	0.0	1.0
Black/African American	Individual is Black (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0.11	--	0.0	1.0	0.15	--	0.0	1.0
Hispanic/Latino	Individual is Hispanic (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0.70	--	0.0	1.0	0.53	--	0.0	1.0
Other*	Individual is "Other" race (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0.07	--	0.0	1.0	0.08	--	0.0	1.0
Lifetime Offending									
Major Violations	Number of lifetime major violations while incarcerated.	6.95	5.46	0.0	34.0	7.45	8.84	1.0	142.0
Minor Violations	Number of lifetime minor violations while incarcerated.	6.93	7.54	0.0	41.0	6.68	7.94	0.0	83.0
Staff Assaults	Number of lifetime staff assaults while incarcerated.	0.38	0.66	0.0	4.0	0.36	1.33	0.0	24.0
Inmate Assaults	Number of lifetime inmate assaults while incarcerated.	0.67	0.76	0.0	5.0	1.01	0.67	0.0	8.0
Drug Violations	Number of lifetime drug violations while incarcerated.	1.35	1.86	0.0	9.0	1.11	1.72	0.0	19.0
Arrest Type									
Property Offense	Property arrest = 1; non-property offense = 0.	0.20	--	0.0	1.0	0.20	--	0.0	1.0
Drug Offense	Drug arrest = 1; non-drug offense = 0.	0.14	--	0.0	1.0	0.17	--	0.0	1.0
Violent Offense	Violent arrest = 1; non-violent offense = 0.	0.54	--	0.0	1.0	0.49	--	0.0	1.0
Other Offense*	Other arrest = 1; non-other offense = 0.	0.13	--	0.0	1.0	0.15	--	0.0	1.0
Education									
GED	Individual has GED (0= no; 1 = yes).	0.55	--	0.0	1.0	0.51	--	0.0	1.0
Mandatory Literacy	Individual achieved mandatory literacy (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0.66	--	0.0	1.0	0.77	--	0.0	1.0
Prior Incarceration	Number of prior commitments to ADC.	1.03	1.23	0.0	7.0	0.99	1.19	0.0	8.0
Custody Level	Custody level at time of offense (1 - 4).	2.60	0.83	1.0	4.0	2.41	0.90	1.0	4.0
Time Served	Amount of time served during current placement (in months).	64.04	39.07	11.0	226.0	57.28	45.52	2.0	340.0
Gang Membership	Inmate is member of STG (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0.70	--	0.0	1.0	0.47	--	0.0	1.0

* = Reference category.

Matching RSHP Participants and Nonparticipants

Table 4.2 presents results from the pre-matching independent samples *t* tests that were estimated to determine if statistically significant differences existed between RSHP participants and the comparison group. As shown in Table 4.2, there was a significant difference in age between the treatment and comparison group ($t_{332.43} = 2.309$, $p < .05$). The average age for non-participants was 1.2 years older than the average age of the treatment group. There were also significant racial and ethnic differences. The comparison group was more white than the treatment group ($t_{371.65} = 5.412$, $p < .01$), while the treatment group had a greater number of Hispanic/Latino participants ($t_{325.66} = -5.605$, $p < .01$). Additional significant differences were found for lifetime inmate assaults, where the comparison group had a more significant history of inmate assault violations ($t_{294.33} = 6.529$, $p < .01$). Those in the comparison group were also more likely to have achieved mandatory literacy ($t_{293.96} = 3.602$, $p < .01$). Differences between the treatment and comparison groups were also found for several of the institutional history measures. There was a significant difference in the custody level where the "forbidden three" offense occurred ($t_{325.73} = -3.263$, $p < .01$). Those in the treatment group committed the qualifying act in a higher custody level unit when compared to those included in the comparison group. Those in the treatment group have also served more time of their current sentence ($t_{338.42} = -2.189$, $p < .05$) and were significantly more likely to be designated as a member of a security threat group ($t_{324.19} = -6.931$, $p < .01$).

Table 4.2 Pre-Matching *t* tests for RSHP Participants and Non-Participants

	Unmatched Sample (N = 1,927)		
	RSHP Participants	Non-Participants	*t*-value
Age	32.15	33.35	2.309*
Race/Ethnicity			
White	0.12	0.24	5.412**
Black/African American	0.11	0.15	1.766
Hispanic/Latino	0.70	0.53	-5.605**
Other	0.07	0.08	0.75
Lifetime Offending			
Major Violations	6.95	7.45	1.216
Minor Violations	6.93	6.68	-0.465
Staff Assaults	0.38	0.36	-0.262
Inmate Assaults	0.67	1.01	6.529**
Drug Violations	1.35	1.11	-1.909
Arrest Type			
Property Offense	0.20	0.20	0.098
Drug Offense	0.14	0.17	1.208
Violent Offense	0.54	0.49	-1.509
Other Offense	0.13	0.15	0.878
Education			
GED	0.55	0.51	-1.255
Mandatory Literacy	0.66	0.77	3.602**
Prior Incarceration	1.03	0.99	-0.461
Custody Level	2.60	2.41	-3.263**
Time Served[a]	64.04	57.28	-2.189*
STG Membership	0.70	0.47	-6.931**

[a] Time served measured in months.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

Propensity score matching results. The next step involved entering each of the covariates (see Table 4.1) into a logit model using placement in the Restrictive Status Housing Program as the outcome variable. Participants (i.e., treatment group) and non-participants (i.e., comparison group) are then matched using the conditional probabilities that were calculated from the logit model (Apel & Sweeten, 2010). Table 4.3 presents results from the pre-matching independent samples *t* tests that were estimated to determine if statistically significant differences existed between RSHP participants and the comparison group. As shown in Table 4.3, after performing the matching procedure, the differences between RSHP participants and non-participants were reduced to non-significance. For example, prior to matching, RSHP participants and non-participants reported significantly different rates of lifetime assaults on other inmates. After matching, however, this difference between RSHP participants and non-participants was reduced to non-significance ($t_{385.99} = -1.695$).

Table 4.3 Post-Matching *t* tests for RSHP Participants and Non-Participants

	Matched Sample (*N* = 388)		
	RSHP Participants	Non-Participants	*t*-value
Age	31.05	31.41	0.551
Race/Ethnicity			
White	0.12	0.07	-1.905
Black/African American	0.09	0.10	0.349
Hispanic/Latino	0.72	0.78	1.402
Other	0.07	0.06	-0.619
Lifetime Offending			
Major Violations	6.28	6.57	0.619
Minor Violations	6.06	5.79	-0.414
Staff Assaults	0.37	0.43	0.954
Inmate Assaults	0.71	0.58	-1.695
Drug Violations	1.17	1.22	0.314
Arrest Type			
Property Offense	0.21	0.23	0.367
Drug Offense	0.14	0.16	0.560
Violent Offense	0.53	0.51	-0.405
Other Offense	0.12	0.10	-0.484
Education			
GED	0.51	0.47	-0.709
Mandatory Literacy	0.68	0.72	0.886
Prior Incarceration	0.91	0.93	0.235
Custody Level	2.61	2.58	-0.298
Time Served[a]	58.06	56.90	-0.364
STG Membership	0.70	0.68	-0.438

[a] Time served measured in months.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

Given that balance was achieved between the treatment and comparison group, the next step is to estimate the effect of placement in the RSHP on five types of institutional misconduct (i.e., major violations, minor violations, drug violations, inmate assaults, and staff assaults), in both the six and twelve-month follow-up. Prior to the presentation of RSHP effects, it should be noted that institutional misconduct during the follow-up periods was relatively rare, especially for the more serious forms of

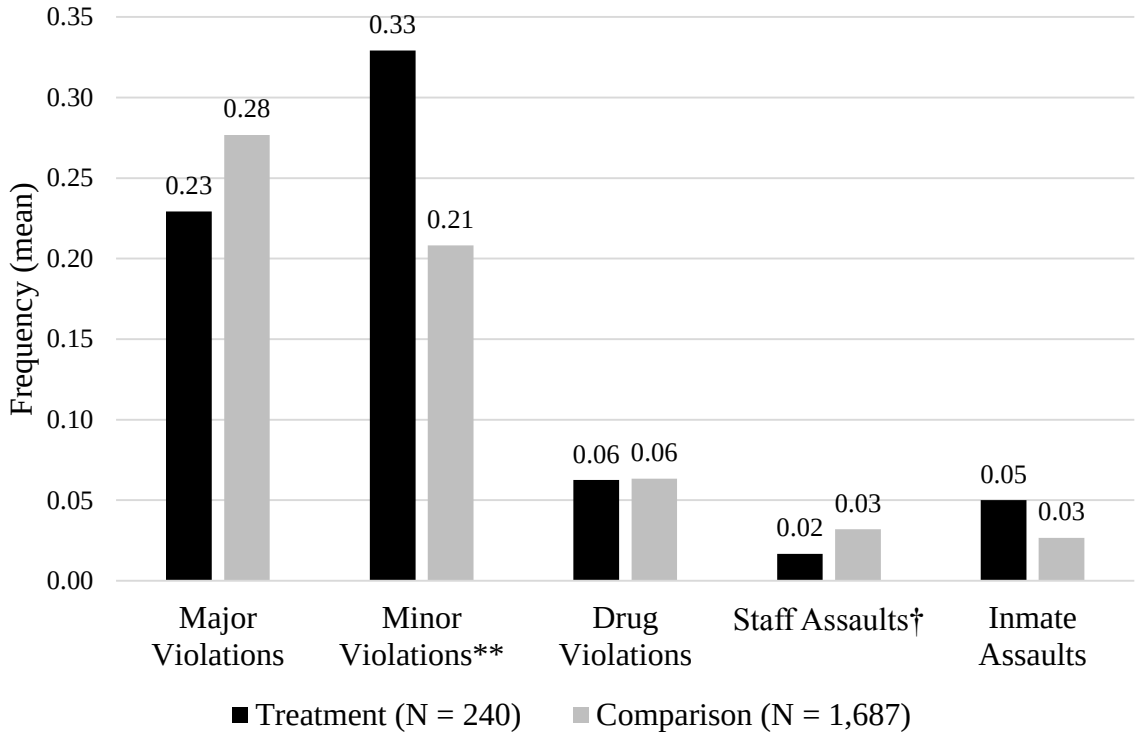
misconduct. Looking at the prevalence of the misconduct outcomes included in this dissertation, 24.7% of the sample had a major violation in the six-month follow-up (n = 96). By twelve-months, roughly one-third of the sample had a major violation (33.5%; n = 130). The prevalence of minor violations followed a similar pattern. At six-months 25.8% of the sample had a minor violation (n = 100). By twelve-months, however, the percentage of those with a minor violation increased roughly 15% (40.2%; n = 156). Drug violations were also relatively rare. Less than 10% of the sample had a drug violation during the six (7.5%; n = 29) and twelve-month follow-up (9.5%; n = 37). Having a staff assault violation was even less frequent. At six-months five inmates had a staff assault violation (1.3%). At twelve months, this increased to eleven inmates who had committed an assault on staff (2.8%). The prevalence of inmate assaults in the follow-up was also relatively rare. At six-months 4.1% of the sample had an inmate assault violation (n = 16). At twelve-months inmate assaults increased slightly to 5.9% of the sample (n = 23). The treatment effect of the RSHP that was estimated using independent samples t tests both before and after matching is presented below.

Average Treatment Effect on Six-Month Outcomes

The effect of RSHP placement on subsequent misconduct in the six-month follow-up is presented both before and after matching. Figure 4.1 shows the pre-matching distribution of misconduct for those in the treatment and comparison group. Prior to matching, statistically significant differences in misconduct outcomes emerged during the six-month follow-up. As shown in Figure 4.1 (see also Table 4.4), prior to matching, the rate of staff assaults within the six-month follow-up was higher for the comparison group (3%) than for the treatment group (2%; t = 1.65, p < .10). The rate of minor violations,

however, was significantly higher for the RSHP treatment group (33%) when compared to those in those in the comparison group (21%; $t = -3.79$, $p < .01$). No other statistically significant differences emerged prior to matching during the six-month follow-up.

Figure 4.1 Unmatched Six-Month Misconduct Outcomes Between Groups



†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

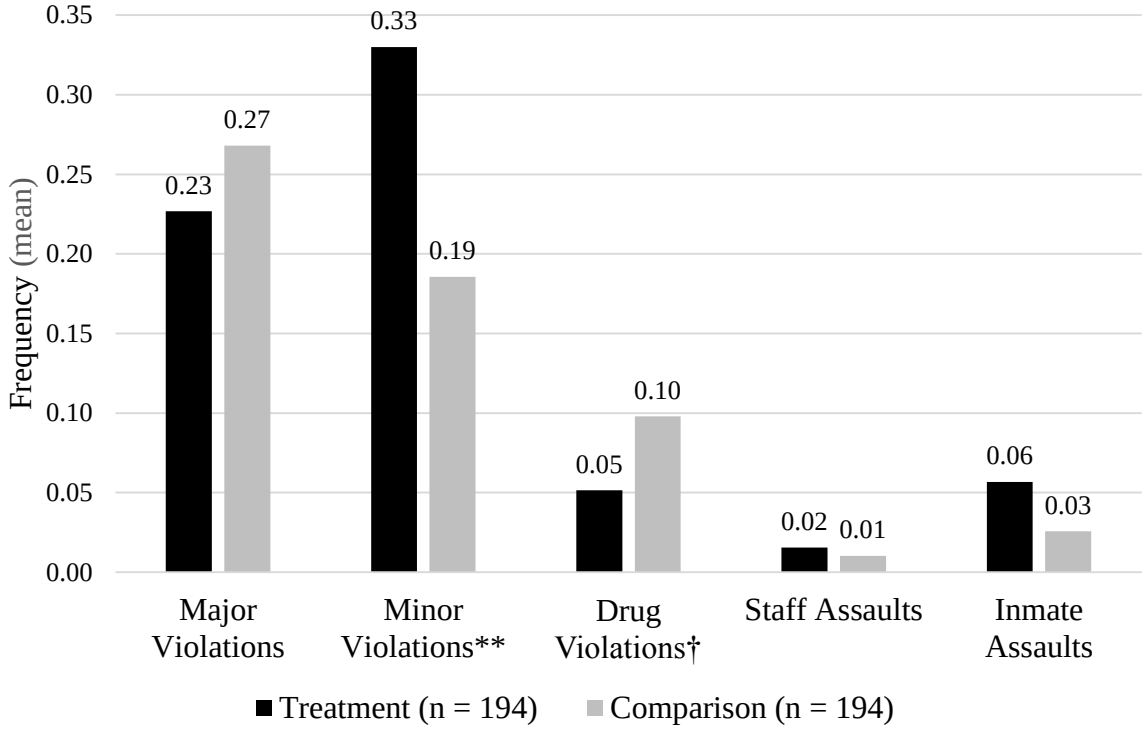
Table 4.4 Average Treatment Effect on Six-Month Misconduct Outcomes

Variable	Sample	Treatment	Comparison	Diff.	*SE*	*t*
Major Violation	Unmatched	0.23	0.28	-0.048	0.031	1.627
	Matched	0.23	0.27	-0.041	0.044	0.940
Minor Violation	Unmatched	0.33	0.21	0.121	0.032	-3.789**
	Matched	0.33	0.19	0.144	0.044	-3.287**
Drug Violations	Unmatched	0.06	0.06	-0.001	0.017	0.055
	Matched	0.05	0.10	-0.046	0.027	1.740†
Staff Assault	Unmatched	0.02	0.03	-0.015	0.009	1.645†
	Matched	0.02	0.01	0.005	0.011	-0.449
Inmate Assault	Unmatched	0.05	0.03	0.023	0.015	-1.594
	Matched	0.06	0.03	0.031	0.020	-1.533

†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

Figure 4.2 depicts the post-matching distribution of misconduct for those in the treatment and comparison group (see also Table 4.4 above). After matching, statistically significant differences emerged for two misconduct outcomes during the six-month follow-up. After matching on relevant covariates, the number of minor violations was significantly higher for the treatment group (33%) than the comparison group (19%; $t = -3.29$, $p < .01$). The number of drug related violations, however, was significantly higher for the comparison group (10%) than the treatment group (5%; $t = 1.74$, $p < .10$). No other statistically significant differences were observed between the groups after matching during the six-month follow-up.

Figure 4.2 Matched Six-Month Misconduct Outcomes Between Groups

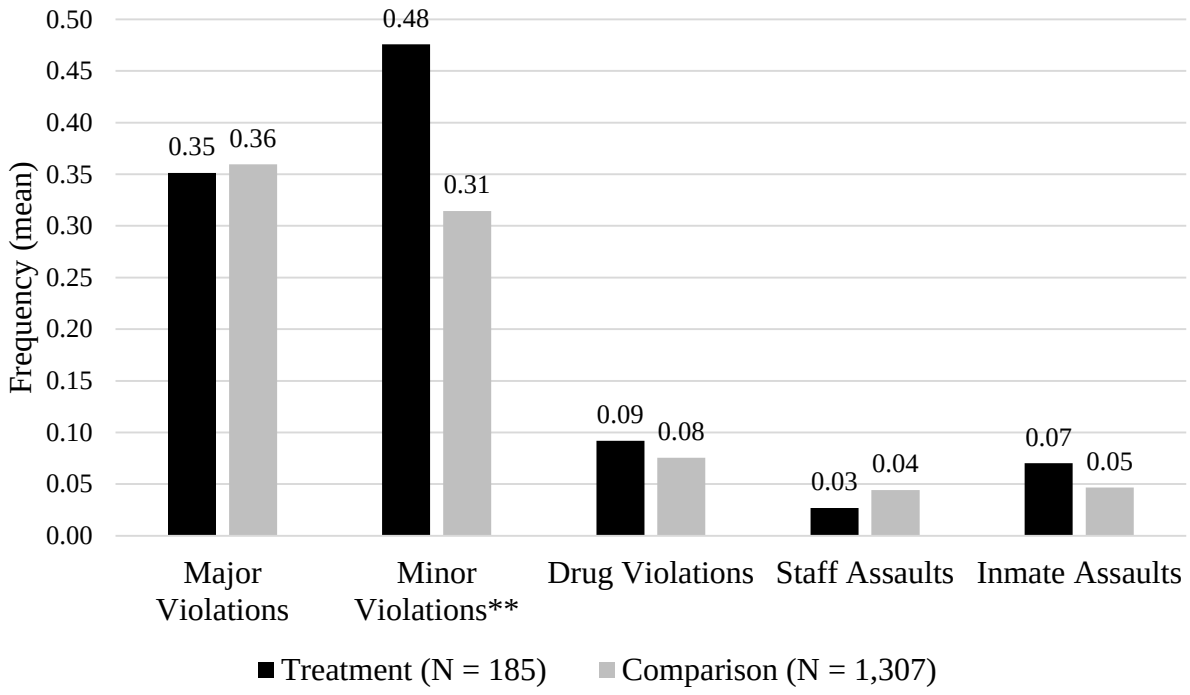


†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

Average Treatment Effect on Twelve Month Outcomes

The effect of RSHP placement on subsequent misconduct in the twelve-month follow-up is presented both before and after matching. Figure 4.3 shows the pre-matching distribution of misconduct for those in the treatment and comparison group (see also Table 4.5). Prior to matching, only one statistically significant difference in misconduct outcomes emerged during the twelve-month follow-up. Consistent with the six-month outcomes presented above, the rate of minor violations in the twelve-month follow-up was significantly higher for the RSHP treatment group (48%) than for the comparison group (31%; $t = -4.13$, $p < .01$). No other statistically significant differences emerged prior to matching during the twelve-month follow-up.

Figure 4.3 Unmatched Twelve-Month Misconduct Outcomes Between Groups



†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

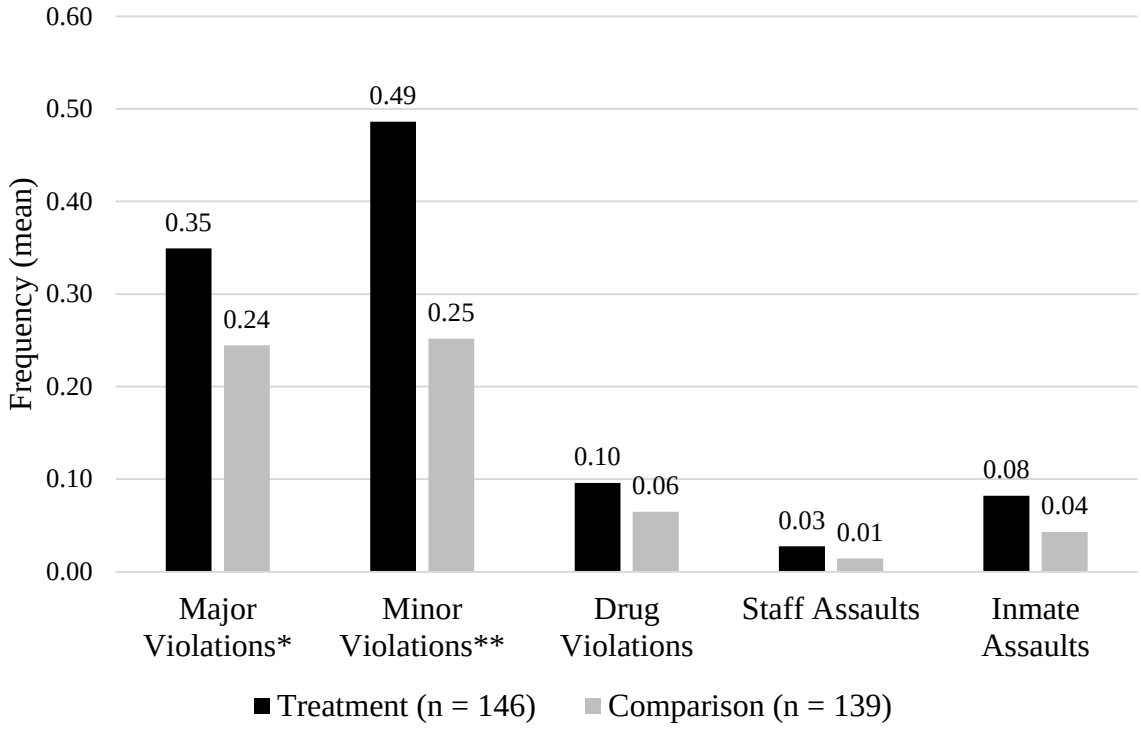
Table 4.5 Average Treatment Effect on Twelve-Month Misconduct Outcomes

Variable	Sample	Treatment	Comparison	Diff.	*SE*	*t*
Major Violation	Unmatched	0.35	0.36	-0.008	0.038	0.219
	Matched	0.35	0.24	0.105	0.054	-1.942*
Minor Violation	Unmatched	0.48	0.31	0.161	0.039	-4.134**
	Matched	0.49	0.25	0.235	0.056	4.220**
Drug Violations	Unmatched	0.09	0.08	0.016	0.021	-0.767
	Matched	0.10	0.06	0.031	0.032	-0.967
Staff Assault	Unmatched	0.03	0.04	-0.017	0.013	1.310
	Matched	0.03	0.01	0.013	0.017	-0.763
Inmate Assault	Unmatched	0.07	0.05	0.024	0.020	-1.196
	Matched	0.08	0.04	0.039	0.029	-1.363

†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

Figure 4.4 depicts the post-matching distribution of misconduct for those in the treatment and comparison group (see also Table 4.5). After matching, statistically significant differences emerged for two misconduct outcomes during the twelve-month follow-up. After matching on relevant controls, the rate of minor violations was significantly higher for the treatment group (49%) than the comparison group (25%; $t = 4.22$, $p < .01$). In addition, the rate of major violations was significantly higher for the treatment group (35%) than the comparison group (24%; $t = -1.94$, $p < .05$) during the twelve-month follow-up. No other statistically significant differences emerged after matching during the twelve-month follow-up.

Figure 4.4 Matched Twelve-Month Misconduct Outcomes Between Groups



†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two-tailed).

In summary, the results show that prior to matching, rates of misconduct, specifically, major violations and staff assaults, were significantly higher for the comparison group when compared to the treatment group in both the six and twelve-month follow-up. The treatment group, on the other hand, had significantly higher rates of minor violations in both the six and twelve month follow-up prior to completion of the matching procedure. After matching, however, results show that certain forms of misconduct are in fact, significantly higher for those who were placed in the RSHP. At six-months, those in the treatment group had significantly higher rates of both minor violations and inmate assaults. At twelve-months, those in the treatment group had

significantly higher rates of both minor violations and drug violations when compared to those included in the comparison group.

Multivariate Analyses

While the results presented above are informative, more precise estimates of the impact of the Restrictive Status Housing Program can be identified using multivariate analyses, specifically, logistic regression models for binary behavioral misconduct outcomes and negative binomial regression models for count measures of behavioral misconduct (Long & Freese, 2006; Menard, 1995).[22] Logistic regression models were used to examine five types of institutional misconduct: major violations, minor violations, drug violations, staff assaults, and inmate assaults during the six and twelve-month follow-up periods.

Logistic regression models for six-month misconduct outcomes. Table 4.6 shows the results of the logistic regression models measuring the effect of RSHP placement on six-month misconduct outcomes. The Wald χ^2 test statistics indicate that the models fit the data well for the five six-month misconduct outcome measures: major violations ($\chi^2 = 29.01$, $p < .05$), minor violations ($\chi^2 = 38.37$, $p < .01$), drug violations ($\chi^2 = 58.27$, $p < .01$), staff assaults ($\chi^2 = 360.28$, $p < .01$), and inmate assaults ($\chi^2 = 48.94$, $p < .01$). The far left-hand side of Table 4.6 presents the regression models of *major violations*. As shown, three covariates emerged as significant predictors of having a major misconduct violation. Specifically, being Hispanic/Latino reduces the odds of having a major violation in the six-month follow up ($B = -.535$, $p < .10$; odds ratio = .58).

[22] As noted in Chapter 3, two misconduct outcome measures, *staff assaults* and *inmate assaults*, were either 0 or 1 in both the six and twelve-month follow-up. Therefore, the negative binomial regression models only include major violations, minor violations, and drug violations.

In addition, those with more lifetime drug violations (B = .158, p < .10; odds ratio = 1.17) and those who were arrested for a property offense (B = 1.042, p < .01; odds ratio = 2.83) were significantly more likely to be found guilty of a major violation during this follow-up period.

Six covariates were found to be significant predictors of *minor violations* during the six-month follow-up period. Placement in the Restrictive Status Housing Program increased the likelihood of having a minor violation (B = .813, p < .01; odds ratio = 2.25) by a factor of 2.25. Being housed at a higher custody level at the time of the qualifying offense increased the odds of having a minor violation by a factor of 1.39 (B = .332, p < .10; odds ratio = 1.39). Age was negatively related to minor violations (B = -.076, p < .05; odds ratio = .93). Unlike the findings for major violations, those with more lifetime drug violations were less likely to have been found guilty of a minor violation (B = -.175, p < .10; odds ratio = .84). The same relationship was found for lifetime staff assaults (B = -.615, p < .01; odds ratio = .54). Last, being a member of a security threat group (STG) reduced the odds of a minor violation in the six-month follow-up (B = -.807, p < .01; odds ratio = .45). STG members were 2.24 times less likely to have a minor violation within six months.

Turning to the third misconduct outcome measure, *drug violations* during the six-month follow-up, a number of lifetime offending measures were found to be significant predictors of drug-related misconduct during the observation period. Those with a greater history of lifetime minor violations (B = -.059, p < .10; odds ratio = .943) and lifetime inmate assaults (B = -.920, p < .01; odds ratio = .398) were found to be less likely to be sanctioned for drug-related violations. Those with more lifetime minor violations were

1.06 times less likely to have a drug violation, while those with more lifetime inmate assault violations were 2.51 times less likely to have a drug violation. Two lifetime offending measures, however, were found to increase the odds of a drug violation during the observation period. Specifically, those with a greater history of major violations (B = .225, $p < .01$; odds ratio = 1.25) and drug violations (B =.351, $p < .01$; odds ratio = 1.42) were more likely to be found guilty of a drug violation. Three additional covariates were found to reduce the odds of a drug violation during the six-month follow-up. Having a GED reduced the odds of a drug violation by a factor of .332 (B =-1.101, $p < .05$; odds ratio = .332). Being housed in a lower custody level (B = -.751, $p < .05$; odds ratio = .472) and those who have served less time (B = -.727, $p < .10$; odds ratio = .985) reduced the odds of being found guilty of a drug violation during the six-month follow-up.

Table 4.6 also shows the results of the logistic regression models measuring the effect of RSHP placement on six-month *staff assault* outcomes. The critical measure of effectiveness is whether RSHP placement reduced future institutional violence. As shown in Table 4.6, seven misconduct outcome measures were found to be significant predictors of a staff assault violation during the observation period. Lifetime drug violations were found to increase the odds of a staff assault violation by a factor of 2.11 (B = .747, $p < .10$; odds ratio = 2.11). Lifetime inmate assaults, however, reduced the odds of a staff assault violation by a factor of .155 (B = 1.862, $p < .01$; odds ratio = .155). Arresting offense also emerged as significant predictors of this misconduct outcome. Those who were arrested for a violent offense (B = 14.63, $p < .01$; odds ratio = .226) were more likely to commit a staff assault during the six-month follow-up. Those arrested for a property offense (B = 14.861, $p < .01$; odds ratio = .284) were also more likely to commit

a staff assault during the six-month follow-up. Although seemingly contradictory, this finding is consistent with prior research that finds that those convicted of property offenses were more likely to commit violent offenses while incarcerated (see for e.g., Cunningham & Sorensen, 2007; Cunningham, Sorensen, & Reidy, 2005). Two institutional variables were also found to increase the odds of a staff assault. Prior incarcerations (B = 1.520, p < .05; odds ratio = 4.57) and being housed in a higher custody level (B = 1.152, p < .05; odds ratio = 3.16) increased the odds of a staff assault in the six-month follow-up by a factor of 4.57 and 3.16, respectively. Being a member of a security threat group actually reduced the odds of (B = -1.889, p < .10; odds ratio = .151) being found guilty of a staff assault during the observation period by a factor of .151.

The last misconduct outcome, *inmate assaults*, is presented in the last column of Table 4.6. As shown in Table 4.6, three covariates were found to be significant predictors of this type of misconduct. Consistent with the findings for major violations, being Hispanic/Latino reduces the odds of having an inmate assault violation in the six-month follow up (B = -1.319, p < .05; odds ratio = .267). Lifetime drug violations were also found to increase the odds of an inmate assault during the observation period (B = .375, p < .10; odds ratio = 1.45). Last, being housed in a higher custody level (B = .882, p < .05; odds ratio = 2.41) increased the odds of an inmate assault violation in the six-month follow-up by a factor of 2.41.

Table 4.6 Logistic Regression Models Measuring the Effect of RSHP Placement on Six-Month Misconduct Outcomes

	Major Violations			Minor Violations			Drug Violations			Staff Assaults			Inmate Assaults		
	b	*Odds Ratio*	z	*b*	*Odds Ratio*	z	*b*	*Odds Ratio*	z	*b*	*Odds Ratio*	z	*b*	*Odds Ratio*	z
Group (1 = treatment)	-0.251	0.778	-1.01	0.813	2.255	3.21**	-0.596	0.551	-1.25	-0.042	0.959	-0.05	0.611	1.843	1.01
Age	-0.031	0.97	-1.04	-0.076	0.927	-2.17*	0.019	1.019	0.37	-0.427	0.652	-1.55	-0.086	0.918	-1.19
Hispanic/Latino	-0.535	0.585	-1.74†	-0.341	0.711	-1.16	0.02	1.02	0.03	-1.843	0.158	-1.12	-1.319	0.267	-1.98*
Lifetime Offending															
Major Violations	0.049	1.05	1	0.085	1.089	1.62	0.225	1.252	2.61**	0.041	1.042	0.29	-0.142	0.868	-1
Minor Violations	0.027	1.027	0.94	0.006	1.006	0.24	-0.059	0.943	-1.65†	-0.047	0.954	-1	-0.003	0.997	-0.05
Drug Violations	0.158	1.171	1.75†	-0.175	0.84	-1.74†	0.351	1.421	2.61**	0.747	2.11	1.73†	0.375	1.455	1.74†
Staff Assaults	0.06	1.061	0.32	-0.615	0.541	-2.57**	-0.28	0.756	-0.73	-0.264	0.768	-0.4	-0.469	0.625	-0.94
Inmate Assaults	0.071	1.073	0.36	-0.254	0.776	-1.25	-0.92	0.398	-2.11**	-1.862	0.155	-2.87**	-0.279	0.757	-0.84
Arrest Type															
Property Offense	1.042	2.834	2.24**	0.544	1.723	1.15	1.542	4.672	1.35	14.861	0.285	12.38**	0.547	1.728	0.72
Drug Offense	-0.285	0.752	-0.49	0.397	1.488	0.78	-1.351	0.259	-0.72	--[b]	--	--	-1.122	0.325	-0.93
Violent Offense	0.547	1.728	1.23	-0.043	0.958	-0.1	0.863	2.369	0.74	14.635	0.227	12.49**	-0.705	0.494	-0.92
Education															
GED	-0.15	0.861	-0.52	0.045	1.046	0.16	-1.101	0.332	-2.35*	0.608	1.836	0.76	-0.303	0.738	-0.42
Mandatory Literacy	0.026	1.026	0.08	-0.289	0.749	-0.98	0.749	2.115	1.15	-1.566	0.209	-1.63	-0.875	0.417	-1.46
Prior Incarceration	-0.149	0.862	-0.86	0.028	1.028	0.15	0.029	1.029	0.1	1.52	4.573	1.92*	0.203	1.225	0.64
Custody Level	-0.11	0.896	-0.59	0.332	1.394	1.80†	-0.751	0.472	-1.94*	1.152	3.165	2.29*	0.882	2.415	2.20*
Time Served[a]	-0.004	0.996	-0.75	0.005	1.005	0.79	-0.015	0.985	-1.74†	0.026	1.026	0.97	-0.012	0.988	-0.84
STG Membership	0.205	1.227	0.64	-0.807	0.446	-2.65**	-0.727	0.483	-1.13	-1.889	0.151	-1.78†	0.648	1.912	0.78
Constant	-0.361	1.089	-0.33	0.44	1.109	0.4	-1.974	2.101	-0.94	-9.561	7.197	-1.33	-0.838	2.108	-0.4
N	388			388			388			328			388		
Log-Likelihood	-202.577			-200.332			-73.52			-17.48			-55.265		
Wald X^2	29.01*			38.37**			58.27**			360.28**			48.94**		

†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (b) and robust standard errors (SE).

[a] Time served measured in months.

[b] Drug-related arrests were omitted from the current analyses due to the limited number of individuals included in this group.

Logistic regression models for twelve-month misconduct outcomes. Table 4.7 shows the results of the logistic regression models measuring the effect of RSHP placement on twelve-month misconduct outcomes. The Wald χ^2 test statistics indicate that the models fit the data well for the five twelve-month misconduct outcome measures: major violations ($\chi^2 = 32.04$, $p < .05$), minor violations ($\chi^2 = 41.82$, $p < .01$), drug violations ($\chi^2 = 35.27$, $p < .01$), staff assaults ($\chi^2 = 53.56$, $p < .01$), and inmate assaults ($\chi^2 = 49.47$, $p < .01$). The far left-hand side of Table 4.7 presents the regression models of *major violations*. Four variables were found to be significant predictors of this misconduct outcome. Placement in the RSHP increased the odds of a major violation in the twelve-month follow-up by a factor of 1.68 ($B = .517$, $p < .10$; odds ratio = 1.68). Lifetime inmate assaults ($B = .493$, $p < .10$; odds ratio = 1.64) and being arrested for a property offense ($B = 1.192$, $p < .05$; odds ratio = 3.29) increased the odds of a major violation by a factor of 1.64 and 3.29, respectively. Achieving mandatory literary reduced the odds of a major violation during the twelve-month follow-up ($B = -.568$, $p < .10$; odds ratio = .566).

Five measures were found to be significant predictors of *minor violations* during the twelve-month follow-up. Consistent with the findings on major violations, placement in the RSHP increased the odds of being found guilty of a minor violation ($B = 1.164$, $p < .01$; odds ratio = 3.20). Two lifetime offending measures were found to reduce the odds of a minor violation. Lifetime drug violations ($B = -.268$, $p < .05$; odds ratio = .765) and lifetime staff assaults ($B = .439$, $p < .10$; odds ratio = 1.12) reduced the odds of a minor violation by a factor of .765 and 1.12, respectively. Achieving mandatory literary also reduced the odds of a minor violation ($B = -.621$, $p < .05$; odds ratio = .537). Consistent

with the six-month minor violation outcomes, being a member of an STG reduced the odds of a minor violation during the twelve-month follow-up (B = -.671, p < .05; odds ratio = .511).

The third misconduct outcome measure, *drug violations* during the twelve-month follow-up, is presented in the middle of Table 4.7. Compared to the six-month findings, only one lifetime offending measure was found to be a significant predictor of drug-related misconduct during the observation period. Lifetime major violations were found to increase the odds of a drug violation in the twelve-month follow-up by a factor of 1.18 (B = .169, p < .10). Two variables reduced the odds of a drug violation. Specifically, being housed in a higher custody level (B = -.849, p < .05; odds ratio = .428) and being a member of a security threat group (B = -1.02, p < .10; odds ratio = .361) reduced the odds of a drug-related violation. Table 4.7 also shows the results of the logistic regression models measuring the effect of RSHP placement on twelve-month *staff assault* outcomes. Only one variable emerged as a significant predictor of being found guilty of a staff assault during the observation period. Lifetime drug violations were found to increase the odds of an assault on staff by a factor of 1.70 (B = .528, p < .05; odds ratio = 1.70).

Turning to the last misconduct outcome, *inmate assaults*, there were four measures that were found to be significant predictors of this type of violent misconduct during the twelve-month follow-up. Consistent with findings from the six-month follow-up, being Hispanic/Latino reduces the odds of having an inmate assault violation (B = -1.60, p < .01; odds ratio = .202). Lifetime major violations reduced the odds of an inmate assault violation (B = -.433, p < .01; odds ratio = .648), while being arrested for a property offense increased the odds of an inmate assault violation (B = 1.916, p < .05;

odds ratio = 6.79). Last, achieving mandatory literary reduced the odds of an inmate assault violation (B = -1.817, p < .01; odds ratio = .162) during the twelve-month follow-up.

Table 4.7 Logistic Regression Models Measuring the Effect of RSHP Placement on Twelve-Month Misconduct Outcomes

	Major Violations			Minor Violations			Drug Violations			Staff Assaults			Inmate Assaults		
	b	*Odds Ratio*	z	*b*	*Odds Ratio*	z	*b*	*Odds Ratio*	z	*b*	*Odds Ratio*	z	*b*	*Odds Ratio*	z
Group (1 = treatment)	0.517	1.677	1.78†	1.164	3.204	4.12**	0.526	1.693	1.12	0.526	1.692	0.42	0.154	1.166	0.27
Age	-0.008	0.992	-0.3	-0.027	0.973	-0.84	-0.004	0.996	-0.09	-0.28	0.755	-1.57	-0.053	0.948	-1.15
Hispanic/Latino	-0.464	0.629	-1.4	0.03	1.03	0.09	0.224	1.251	0.34	-1.833	0.16	-1.61	-1.6	0.202	-2.57**
Lifetime Offending															
Major Violations	0.021	1.022	0.39	0.014	1.014	0.3	0.169	1.184	1.88†	-0.102	0.903	-1.11	-0.433	0.648	-3.87**
Minor Violations	0.054	1.055	1.58	0.044	1.045	1.51	-0.035	0.966	-0.78	-0.014	0.986	-0.18	0.077	1.08	1.38
Drug Violations	-0.088	0.916	-0.83	-0.268	0.765	-2.27*	0.175	1.191	1.34	0.528	1.695	2.22*	0.337	1.401	1.59
Staff Assaults	0.173	1.188	0.71	-0.439	0.645	-1.92†	0.107	1.112	0.25	0.54	1.716	0.48	0.287	1.332	0.72
Inmate Assaults	0.493	1.637	1.88†	0.113	1.12	0.48	-0.088	0.916	-0.2	-0.546	0.579	-0.5	0.476	1.61	1.23
Arrest Type															
Property Offense	1.192	3.294	2.16*	-0.147	0.863	-0.28	1.683	5.381	1.31	-0.918	0.399	-0.42	1.916	6.794	2.23*
Drug Offense	-0.455	0.634	-0.71	-0.387	0.679	-0.71	-1.309	0.27	-0.73	--[b]	--	--	--[b]	--	--
Violent Offense	0.804	2.235	1.59	-0.361	0.697	-0.79	0.929	2.532	0.67	-0.242	0.785	-0.17	0.806	2.239	1.01
Education															
GED	-0.199	0.819	-0.62	-0.07	0.932	-0.23	-0.486	0.615	-0.97	0.172	1.187	0.2	0.404	1.498	0.71
Mandatory Literacy	-0.568	0.566	-1.71†	-0.621	0.538	-1.93*	-0.374	0.688	-0.79	-0.272	0.762	-0.24	-1.817	0.162	-3.02**
Prior Incarceration	-0.17	0.843	-0.92	-0.122	0.885	-0.67	-0.184	0.832	-0.63	1.274	3.576	1.61	0.429	1.536	1.58
Custody Level	-0.345	0.708	-1.43	0.277	1.319	1.26	-0.849	0.428	-1.99*	1.14	3.128	1.33	-0.074	0.929	-0.16
Time Served[a]	-0.008	0.992	-1.31	-0.006	0.994	-0.91	-0.009	0.991	-0.77	0.019	1.019	1.01	0.012	1.012	0.92
STG Membership	-0.086	0.918	-0.25	-0.671	0.511	-2.05*	-1.02	0.361	-1.81†	-1.568	0.208	-1.27	0.442	1.556	0.69
Constant	0.154	1.122	0.14	0.643	1.138	0.57	-0.923	2.162	-0.43	1.266	5.323	0.24	-0.232	1.796	-0.13
N	285			285			285			238			238		
Log-Likelihood	-156.78			-165.749			-66.422			-21.687			-49.829		
Wald X^2	32.04**			41.82**			35.27**			53.56**			49.47**		

†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (b) and robust standard errors (SE).

[a] Time served measured in months.

[b] Drug related arrests were omitted from the current analyses due to the limited number of individuals included in this group.

Negative binomial regression models for six-month misconduct outcomes. As noted, this dissertation uses measures of both prevalence and incidence to measure failure (i.e., subsequent misconduct). The analyses now turn to incidence measures of misconduct in the six and twelve-month follow-up periods. Negative binomial regression models are employed to measure the frequency of three types of institutional misconduct in both the six and twelve-month follow-up periods. Specifically, these models examine the number of major violations, minor violations, and drug violations.[23] Table 4.8 shows the results of the negative binomial regression models measuring the effect of RSHP placement on six-month misconduct outcomes. The Wald χ^2 statistics indicate that the models fit the data well for the three six-month misconduct outcomes: major violations ($\chi^2 = 55.97$, $p < .01$), minor violations ($\chi^2 = 39.67$, $p < .01$), and drug violations ($\chi^2 = 109.04$, $p < .01$).

The first misconduct outcome measure, *major violations* within the six-month follow-up, is featured on the far left of Table 4.8. There are five variables that were significant correlates of this misconduct outcome. For example, RSHP participants had significantly less major violations ($z = -1.93$, $p < .05$; irr = .673). Younger persons had significantly more major violation in the six-month follow-up ($z = -1.83$, $p < .10$; irr = .954). Those who had more lifetime assaults on staff had significantly less major violations ($z = -1.80$, $p < .10$; irr = .790), while those who were incarcerated for a

[23] As noted, staff assaults and inmate assaults during the follow-up periods ranged from 0 to 1. Given the distribution of these misconduct outcome measures, they are not included in the following multivariate analyses.

property offense had significantly more major violations during the six-month follow-up period ($z = 2.65$, $p < .01$; irr = 2.65).

Table 4.8 also shows regression estimates for *minor violation* misconduct outcomes. As shown in Table 4.8, there were six variables that were significant correlates with the number of minor violations during the six-month follow-up. RSHP participants had significantly more minor violations during the observation period ($z = 2.13$, $p < .05$; irr = 1.50). Consistent with the major violation outcomes, younger inmates were significantly more likely to commit minor violations ($z = -1.99$, $p < .05$; irr = .940), while those with more lifetime staff assaults ($z = -3.33$, $p < .01$; irr = .528) and drug violations ($z = -1.74$, $p < .10$; irr = .858) had significantly less minor violations. Those who were housed at a higher custody level prior to placement in the RSHP (i.e., treatment group) or a qualifying act (i.e., comparison group), also had significantly more minor violations ($z = 1.79$, $p < .10$; irr = 1.31) while those who are members of a security threat group had less minor offenses during the six-month follow-up ($z = -2.56$, $p < .01$; irr = .529).

Turning to the last misconduct outcome measure, *drug violations*, there were seven measures that were significant correlates of this type of official misconduct. As shown in Table 4.8, RSHP participants had significantly less drug violations ($z = -1.67$, $p < .10$; irr =.509) when compared to those who did not go through the program. Four lifetime offending measures were found to be significant correlates of drug violations, albeit in differing directions. Those who have a greater number of lifetime drug violations ($z = 4.13$, $p < .01$; irr = 1.49) and major violations ($z = 2.45$, $p < .01$; irr = 1.18) had significantly more drug violations during the six-month follow-up. Those who had a larger number of minor violations ($z = -2.76$, $p < .01$; irr = .926) and inmate assaults ($z = -$

2.51, $p < .01$; irr = .366), however, had significantly less drug-related violations. In addition, those who did not have a GED had more drug violation violations (z = -1.82, $p < .10$; irr = .518). Lastly, those who were housed in lower custody levels prior to placement in RSHP or a qualifying offense had significantly less drug violations in the six-month follow-up (z = -1.96, $p < .05$; irr = .519).

Table 4.8 Negative Binomial Regression Models Measuring the Effect of RSHP Placement on Six-Month Misconduct Outcomes

	Major Violations			Minor Violations			Drug Violations		
	b	SE	z	*b*	SE	z	*b*	SE	z
Group (1 = treatment)	-0.396	0.206	-1.93*	0.408	0.192	2.13*	-0.674	0.403	-1.67†
Age	-0.047	0.025	-1.93*	-0.062	0.031	-1.99*	-0.023	0.05	-0.46
Hispanic/Latino	-0.445	0.243	-1.83†	-0.072	0.232	-0.31	0.044	0.545	0.08
Lifetime Offending									
Major Violations	0.038	0.037	1.01	0.059	0.038	1.56	0.167	0.068	2.45**
Minor Violations	0.018	0.019	0.95	0.025	0.023	1.08	-0.077	0.028	-2.76**
Drug Violations	0.101	0.081	1.25	-0.153	0.088	-1.74†	0.401	0.097	4.13**
Staff Assaults	-0.236	0.131	-1.80†	-0.637	0.191	-3.33**	-0.344	0.298	-1.16
Inmate Assaults	-0.008	0.157	-0.05	-0.053	0.142	-0.37	-1.003	0.399	-2.51**
Arrest Type									
Property Offense	0.974	0.368	2.65**	0.405	0.365	1.11	1.369	1.071	1.28
Drug Offense	-0.576	0.483	-1.19	0.258	0.396	0.65	-1.322	1.76	-0.75
Violent Offense	0.448	0.359	1.25	-0.075	0.371	-0.2	0.84	1.078	0.78
Education									
GED	-0.111	0.22	-0.51	-0.014	0.21	-0.07	-0.656	0.36	-1.82†
Mandatory Literacy	-0.106	0.257	-0.41	-0.009	0.229	-0.04	0.563	0.562	1
Prior Incarceration	-0.032	0.142	-0.22	0.012	0.132	0.09	0.124	0.285	0.43
Custody Level	-0.141	0.16	-0.88	0.269	0.15	1.79†	-0.654	0.334	-1.96*
Time Served[a]	-0.002	0.005	-0.35	0.005	0.005	0.99	-0.007	0.006	-1.13
STG Membership	0.202	0.268	0.76	-0.636	0.248	-2.56**	-0.442	0.544	-0.81
Constant	0.617	0.923	0.67	-0.02	0.977	-0.02	-1.204	1.967	-0.61
N	388			388			388		
Log-Likelihood	-299.255			-307.19			-82.561		
Model X^2	55.97**			39.67**			109.04**		

†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (b) and robust standard errors (SE).

[a] Time served measured in months.

Negative binomial regression models for twelve-month misconduct outcomes. Table 4.9 shows the results of the negative binomial regression models measuring the effect of RSHP placement on twelve-month misconduct outcomes. The Wald χ^2 statistics indicate that the models fit the data well for the three twelve-month misconduct outcomes: major violations ($\chi^2 = 57.52$, $p < .01$), minor violations ($\chi^2 = 61.78$, $p < .01$), and drug violations ($\chi^2 = 59.81$, $p < .01$). The first model in Table 4.9 shows the regression estimates for *major misconduct* in the twelve-month follow-up. Individuals who were arrested for a property offense ($z = 3.43$, $p < .01$; irr = 3.95) or a violent offense ($z = 2.54$, $p < .01$; irr = 2.59) had significantly more major violations when compared to the reference category for arrest. Those who had not achieved mandatory literacy were also more likely to have a greater number of major violation ($z = -2.39$, $p < .01$; irr = .579). Last, those inmates who had a higher number of prior incarceration experiences ($z = -2.29$, $p < .10$; irr = .777) and those from a higher custody level had significantly more major violations in the twelve-month follow-up ($z = -2.29$, $p < .05$; irr = .679).

Table 4.9 also shows the shows the results of the negative binomial regression models measuring the effect of RSHP placement on twelve-month *minor violation* misconduct outcomes. As shown in Table 4.9, there are four variables that were significant correlates of minor misconduct violations. RSHP participants had more minor violations compared to those in the comparison group ($z = 4.41$, $p < .01$; irr = 2.54). Those who had greater number of lifetime minor misconduct violations had significantly more minor violations during the follow-up ($z = 2.44$, $p < .01$; irr = 1.05). Those with a greater number of lifetime staff assaults ($z = -2.04$, $p < .05$; irr = .720) and drug violations ($z = -2.39$, $p < .05$; irr = .816), however, had significantly less minor violations. No other

variables were found to be significant correlates of this type of official misconduct during the twelve-month follow-up.

Turning to the last outcome presented in Table 4.9, *drug violations*, only two variables were significant correlates of drug-related misconduct violations. As shown in Table 4.9, those who had a greater number of lifetime major violations had significantly more drug-related violations during the twelve-month follow-up ($z = 2.44$, $p < .01$; irr = 1.21). Those who were housed in a higher custody level had significantly more drug violations ($z = -1.79$, $p < .10$; irr = .543). No other variables were found to be significant correlates of this drug-related misconduct during the twelve-month follow-up.

Table 4.9 Negative Binomial Regression Models Measuring the Effect of RSHP on Twelve-Month Misconduct Outcomes

	Major Violations			Minor Violations			Drug Violations		
	b	SE	z	*b*	SE	z	*b*	SE	z
Group (1 = treatment)	0.323	0.207	1.56	0.899	0.204	4.41**	0.659	0.408	1.62
Age	-0.007	0.02	-0.36	-0.03	0.022	-1.38	-0.009	0.043	-0.21
Hispanic/Latino	-0.377	0.232	-1.62	-0.12	0.248	-0.48	-0.188	0.51	-0.37
Lifetime Offending									
Major Violations	0.048	0.041	1.17	0.023	0.032	0.72	0.193	0.079	2.44*
Minor Violations	0.038	0.024	1.61	0.052	0.021	2.44**	-0.088	0.059	-1.49
Drug Violations	-0.137	0.09	-1.52	-0.203	0.085	-2.39*	0.181	0.125	1.45
Staff Assaults	-0.01	0.168	-0.06	-0.329	0.161	-2.04*	0.013	0.382	0.03
Inmate Assaults	0.225	0.193	1.17	0.133	0.157	0.85	-0.492	0.43	-1.14
Arrest Type									
Property Offense	1.373	0.4	3.43**	-0.069	0.333	-0.21	1.619	1.31	1.24
Drug Offense	-0.175	0.501	-0.35	-0.101	0.374	-0.27	-1.058	1.691	-0.63
Violent Offense	0.954	0.375	2.54**	-0.058	0.307	-0.19	1.125	1.372	0.82
Education									
GED	-0.124	0.229	-0.54	-0.19	0.201	-0.94	-0.091	0.418	-0.22
Mandatory Literacy	-0.547	0.229	-2.39*	-0.201	0.223	-0.9	-0.526	0.386	-1.36
Prior Incarceration	-0.252	0.138	-1.83†	-0.15	0.121	-1.25	-0.118	0.279	-0.42
Custody Level	-0.387	0.169	-2.29*	0.074	0.155	0.47	-0.611	0.341	-1.79†
Time Served[a]	-0.005	0.005	-0.96	-0.003	0.005	-0.6	-0.011	0.011	-1.07
STG Membership	0.271	0.257	1.05	-0.292	0.221	-1.32	-0.48	0.466	-1.03
Constant	-0.057	0.728	-0.08	0.491	0.822	0.6	-1.234	1.972	-0.63
N	285			285			285		
Log-Likelihood	-251.519			-310.438			-77.028		
Model X^2	57.52**			61.78**			59.81**		

†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (b) and robust standard errors (SE).

[a] Time served measured in months.

Conclusion

Table 4.10 provides a summary of the significant results from the logistic regression models measuring the prevalence of the behavioral outcome measures of interest. Turning to the first outcome measure, major violations, those arrested for a property offense were more likely to have a major violation in both the six and twelve-month follow-up. Those with more lifetime drug violations were more likely to have a

major violation in the six-month follow-up, while having more lifetime inmate assaults increased the odds of having a major violation. Minor misconduct outcomes are presented in the second row of Table 4.10. As shown, those with more lifetime drug violations and those with more lifetime staff assaults were actually less likely to have a minor violation in either the six or twelve-month follow-up. Being a member of an STG also reduced the odds of a minor violation in both follow-up period. STG membership also reduced the likelihood of a drug violation during the twelve-month follow-up, but had not effect on drug violations during the six-month follow-up. On the other hand, lifetime major violations were found to be positively related to drug violations in both follow-ups. Not surprisingly, having more lifetime drug violations increased the odds of a drug violation in the first follow-up. Being Hispanic/Latino reduced the likelihood of having a number of misconduct violations. Specifically, this group was less likely to have a major violation in the six-month follow-up and were less likely to have an inmate assault violation in either time period.

Turning to the most serious forms of institutional misconduct, staff and inmate assaults, Table 4.10 shows that lifetime drug violations increased the likelihood of a staff assault violation in both the six and twelve-month follow-up. At six-months, being arrested for a property or violent offense increased the odds of a staff assault violation. No other variables, however, were significantly related to staff assault violations in the twelve-month follow-up. In addition, those who were housed in a higher custody level at the time of their qualifying offense and those with prior incarceration experiences were more likely to have a staff assault during the first six-months. The last row in Table 4.10 presents the significant results for having an inmate assault violation. As shown,

Hispanic/Latino inmates were less likely to have an inmate assault in both follow-up periods. Consistent with staff assault outcomes, being housed in a higher custody level increased the odds of an inmate assault during the first follow-up. Again, a property arresting offense emerged as a significant predictor of having an inmate assault in the twelve-month follow-up.

The focus of this dissertation, however, is on the effect of placement in the RSHP. As shown in Table 4.10, placement in the RSHP increased the likelihood of having a minor misconduct violation in both the six and twelve-month follow-up. Placement in the RSHP also increased the likelihood of having a major misconduct violation during the twelve-month follow-up. There were no other significant effects of placement drug violations, staff assaults, nor inmate assaults in either follow-up period.

Table 4.10 Summary of Significant Logistic Regression Models Presented in Odds Ratios

Outcome	Six-Month Follow-Up	Twelve-Month Follow-Up
Major Violation	Hispanic/Latino (.56) (-) Lifetime Drug Violations (1.17) (+) Property Arrest (2.83) (+)	*RSHP Placement* (1.68) (+) Mandatory Literacy (.57) (-) Lifetime Inmate Assaults (1.64) (+) Property Arrest (3.29) (+)
Minor Violation	*RSHP Placement* (2.25) (+) Age (.93) (-) Lifetime Drug Violations (.84) (-) Lifetime Staff Assaults (.54) (-) STG Membership (.446) (-) Custody Level (1.39) (+)	*RSHP Placement* (3.20) (+) Lifetime Drug Violations (.77) (-) Lifetime Staff Assaults (1.12) (-) Mandatory Literacy (.54) (-) STG Membership (.51) (-)
Drug Violation	Lifetime Minor Violations (.94) (-) Lifetime Inmate Assaults (.40) (-) GED (.33) (-) Custody Level (.47) (-) Time Served (.96) (-) Lifetime Major Violations (1.25) (+) Lifetime Drug Violations (1.42) (+)	Custody Level (.43) (-) STG Membership (.36) (-) Lifetime Major Violation (1.18) (+)
Staff Assault	STG Membership (.15) (-) Lifetime Inmate Assaults (.15) (-) Lifetime Drug Violations (2.11) (+) Property Arrest (.28) (+) Violent Offense (.23) (+) Prior Incarceration (4.57) (+) Custody Level (3.16) (+)	Lifetime Drug Violations (1.70) (+)
Inmate Assault	Hispanic/Latino (.28) (-) Lifetime Drug Violations (1.45) (+) Custody Level (2.41) (+)	Hispanic/Latino (.20) (-) Lifetime Major Violations (.65) (-) Mandatory Literacy (.16) (-) Property Offense (6.79) (+)

Table 4.11 provides a summary of the significant results from the negative binomial regression models measuring the incidence of major violations, minor violations, and drug violations during the follow-up periods. At both six and twelve-months, being arrested for a property offense was positively related to the incidence of major misconduct violations. Hispanic/Latino respondents were less likely to have a major violation in the first follow-up but did not have any effect in the twelve-month

follow-up. At the twelve-month follow-up, there were a number of factors that increased the incidence of major violations. Being arrested for violent offense, having prior incarceration experiences, and custody level were all positively related to the incidence of majors in the twelve month follow-up. Consistent with the logistic regression models described above, lifetime drug violations as negatively related to the incidence of minor violations in both follow-up periods. This was also found to be the case when looking at lifetime staff assaults. Those with more lifetime staff assaults were significantly less likely to accrue minor violations across both follow-up points. Not surprisingly, having more lifetime minors increased the likelihood of accruing minors during the twelve-month follow-up. The last row in Table 4.11 presents the results for drug-related misconduct outcomes. As shown, those with a greater history of lifetime major violations were more likely to have drug violations across both follow-up points. At the same time, however, lifetime minor violations and lifetime inmate assault violations reduced the likelihood of drug violations during the six-month follow-up.

As mentioned above, the focus of this dissertation is on the effect of placement in the RSHP. As shown in Table 4.11, placement in the RSHP reduced the number of major violations during the six-month follow-up but had no significant effect in the twelve-month follow-up period. Placement in the RSHP also reduced the number of drug violations during the six-month follow-up, but consistent with the findings for major violations, there was no effect of placement on drug violations in the twelve-month follow-up. On the other hand, placement in the RSHP increased the rate of minor violations in both follow-up periods.

Table 4.11 Summary of Significant Negative Binomial Regression Results Presented in Incident Rate Ratios

Outcome	Six-Month Follow-Up	Twelve-Month Follow-Up
Major Violations	*RSHP Placement* (.67) (-) Hispanic/Latino (.64) (-) Lifetime Staff Assaults (.79) (-) Age (.95) (-) Property Offense (2.65) (+)	Mandatory Literacy (.58) (-) Property Arrest (3.95) (+) Violent Arrest (2.59) (+) Prior Incarceration (.78) (+) Custody Level (.68) (+)
Minor Violations	*RSHP Placement* (1.50) (+) Lifetime Drug Violations (.86) (-) Lifetime Staff Assaults (.53) (-) STG Membership (.53) (-) Age (.94) (-) Custody Level (1.31) (+)	*RSHP Placement* (2.54) (+) Lifetime Drug Violations (.82) (-) Lifetime Staff Assaults (.72) (-) Lifetime Minor Violations (1.05) (+)
Drug Violations	*RSHP Placement* (.51) (-) GED (.52) (-) Custody Level (.52) (-) Lifetime Minor Violations (.93) (-) Lifetime Inmate Assaults (.37) (-) Lifetime Major Violations (1.18) (+) Lifetime Drug Violations (1.49) (+)	Lifetime Major Violations (1.21) (+) Custody Level (.54) (+)

Results from the quantitative analyses in Phase 1 of this dissertation provides negative evidence of the effectiveness of the RSHP in reducing future institutional misconduct across a number of behavioral measures. These results, while informative, do not explain *why* the RSHP appears to have mixed effects. The next chapter of this dissertation, Chapter 5, presents the results from the qualitative analyses (i.e., Phase 2) of data gathered during semi-structured interviews with former RSHP participants and correctional staff and administrators who are responsible for the day-to-day operation of the program. The overall goal of Chapter 5 is provide contextual information that can be used to better understand the effects of program placement and to better understand the quantitative results of behavioral misconduct presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

PHASE 2 RESULTS

Phase 2: Contextualizing the Influence of the RSHP on Behavioral Outcomes

Results from the quantitative analyses of official misconduct outcomes suggest that placement in the RSHP leads to unintended effects when compared to a matched-comparison group of male inmates. These quantitative results, however, are limited in their ability to describe *why* the RSHP does not work. Rather than conclude the dissertation with a call to open the "black box" of the RSHP, Phase 2 examines the mechanisms through which the RSHP works or does not work by analyzing data collected during semi-structured qualitative interviews with correctional staff and former participants of the RSHP. The goal of the qualitative interviews is to provide contextual information that can be used to better understand the effects of program placement. The following sections will detail the themes uncovered from these semi-structured interviews. Correctional staff and RSHP participant responses (see Appendix B for brief overview of respondents) will be discussed independently below.

Correctional Staff Respondents

Descriptive statistics. The final sample includes a diverse range of correctional ranks and experience (N = 10). The final sample includes eight unique correctional ranks/positions ranging from the complex warden who was responsible for the original implementation of the RSHP to line staff who are responsible for the movement of participants throughout the unit.

Table 5.1 includes the basic demographic information for the correctional staff who consented to the interview. Every correctional staff member who was approached

for possible participation in the interview consented and agreed to participate. The sample of correctional staff who consented to the semi-structured interview included eight males (80%) and two females (20%). The average age of the sample was 45.5 years old with an average of 15.7 years working in corrections and an average of 26.40 months (or 2.2 years) in their current position.

The majority of the sample was Caucasian (*n* = 4; 40%), followed by Hispanic/Latino (*n* = 3; 30%), Black/African American (*n* = 2; 20%), and "Other" race/ethnicity (*n* = 1; 10%). The majority of the correctional staff respondents were married (*n* = 8; 80%). The educational attainment of the sample was diverse. Four respondents indicated that they had "some college" experience (40%), followed by three respondents who obtained a bachelor's degree (30%), one respondent with a graduate degree (10%), one with an associate's degree (10%), and one respondent with a high school diploma (10%). Three respondents indicated that they voluntarily accepted a position within the RSHP (30%), while the remaining respondents suggested that they were chosen for the work placement by senior correctional administrators (*n* = 7; 70%). Few correctional staff respondents received training specific to their placement within the RSHP (*n* = 3; 30%). When asked if they felt the RSHP was effective in reducing violent misconduct, half of the respondents (*n* = 5; 50%) believed that the program was effective. Thirty percent of the sample was unsure (*n* = 3) and twenty percent felt that, no, the RSHP was not effective in reducing violent misconduct (*n* = 2).

Table 5.1. Descriptive Statistics for Correctional Staff Respondents (*N* = 10)

Variables	Variable Description	*n*	Mean (%)	Min.	Max
Age	Age of respondent at time of data collection.	10	44.33	32	61
Sex					
Male	Respondent is male (0 = no; 1 = yes).	8	80	0	1
Female	Respondent is female (0 = no; 1 = yes).	2	20	0	1
Race/Ethnicity					
White	Respondent is White (0 = no; 1 = yes).	4	40	0	1
Black/African American	Respondent is Black/African American (0 = no; 1 = yes).	2	20	0	1
Hispanic/Latino	Respondent is Hispanic/Latino (0 = no; 1 = yes).	3	30	0	1
Other	Respondent is "Other" race/ethnicity (0 = no; 1 = yes).	1	10	0	1
Married	Respondent is married (0 = no; 1 = yes).	8	80	0	1
Educational Status					
High School	Respondent has a high school education (0 = no; 1 = yes).	1	10	0	1
Some College	Respondent has some college experience (0 = no; 1 = yes).	4	40	0	1
Associate's Degree	Respondent earned an associate's degree (0 = no; 1 = yes).	1	10	0	1
Bachelor's Degree	Respondent earned a bachelor's degree (0 = no; 1 = yes).	3	30	0	1
Graduate Degree	Respondent earned a graduate degree (0 = no; 1 = yes).	1	10	0	1
Corrections Experience	Number of years experience working for a correctional department.	10	15.7	3	37
Position Experience	Number of months experience working in their current position.	10	26.4	1	84
Voluntary RSHP Placement	Respondents placement in the RSHP was voluntary (0 = no; 1 = yes).	3	30	0	1
Training	Respondent received training specific to work in the RSHP (0 = no; 1 = yes).	3	30	0	1
Program Efficacy					
Yes	Yes, RSHP reduces violent misconduct (0 = no; 1 = yes).	5	50	0	1
No	No, the RSHP does not reduce violent misconduct (0 = no; 1 = yes).	2	20	0	1
Don't Know	Unsure of whether the RSHP reduces violent misconduct (0 = no; 1 = yes).	3	30	0	1

As a means to better understand the underlying mechanisms by which the RSHP operates, the following sections illustrate the nuances of the program by focusing on five a priori themes: 1) staff perceptions on the differences between the RSHP and traditional placements in maximum custody, 2) identification of the positive aspects of the RSHP, 3) identifying important challenges in the management of the RSHP, 4) evaluating the efficacy of the RSHP in reducing violent misconduct, and 5) identifying future directions for the RSHP.

Identifying differences between maximum custody and RSHP. As noted in Chapter 3, the RSHP as implemented by the ADC maintains many of the punitive elements of traditional segregation. At the same time, the program attempts to move beyond traditional restrictive housing by providing incentives for inmates to complete programming and remain discipline-free. Correctional staff were asked to identify the differences between the RSHP versus other job placements in maximum custody. It was clear that the punitive aspects of the program were perceived as critical to the program's effect on the behavior of participants. As noted, the RSHP involves an intense and rigid programming structure that is designed to change assaultive behavior, enhance social skills, expand thinking processes, and provide support in understanding the importance of pro-social values and relationship building (ASPC-F, 2014). Unlike many traditional forms of disciplinary segregation, however, the RSHP includes a number of therapeutic elements (e.g., group classes, self-study packets, and ETV modules). At the same time, participants are expected to practice rigid adherence to rules and regulations. It is not clear, however, the extent to which the RSHP differs from traditional maximum custody placements.

There were several themes that emerged from the correctional staff accounts on the differences between the RSHP and other maximum custody placements. First, was the recognition that the population of inmates who are housed in the RSHP are high-risk, requiring enhanced security and attention. Six out of the ten respondents specifically highlighted that differences lie in the amount of attention and needs the population requires, while at the same time describing an "understanding that these [RSHP participants] were highly assaultive inmates" (Assistant Warden—a 61 year old male with 37 years of correctional experience). For example, a Deputy Warden— 54 year old female with 26 years of correctional experience—described the RSHP population in the following way:

> These inmates have shown the propensity for violence, they have done some pretty serious things, death of another, serious injury of another inmate, serious injury of staff, or they escaped. These are some of the worst inmates in the system, and so to work with them and get them to comply with the program and teach them there is a different type of way doing things instead of impulsively, maybe getting them to slow down and look at what they are responsible for, is something that this program has taught them. We do that on a day to day basis in lower custody, because we are prepping them to get into the society, to be our neighbors in fact. But this also, just because they did something really bad, eventually they will be our neighbors in one way or another. So, if we can give them pro-social skills, if we can get them learn how to handle different things, just give them more tools for life situations.

This idea was reiterated by an Associate Deputy Warden—a 53 year old male with 18 years of correctional experience—who stated:

> There is more focus on those individuals because in order to be in a restrictive housing you have to cause a serious assault to staff or weapon or "rat packing" what we call [multiple inmates attacking a single-victim], stuff like that. Multiple on one and stuff like that with serious injuries and stuff like that.

Others describe how, in addition to the added perception of a propensity for violence, the RSHP participants have more needs that require increased supervision and resources on

behalf of correctional staff. A Grievance Coordinator—37 year old male with 9 years of correctional experience—described the added paperwork and attention required when the participant is first transferred to the program:

> Why they're different? They are going to come here with more needs and, because sometimes they come here after hours, if their property might come missing, so you are going to help them resolve their issues. Try to locate specific things but besides there being more reports, we have to do for them R.O.D. [Regional Operations Director] for their administrators.

Another staff member, a Correctional Officer II—32 year old male with 10 years of correctional experience—highlighted the initial difficulty of adjustment to the rules and regulations amongst new RSHP participants as particularly difficult when compared to other maximum custody populations:

> This one [RSHP] is a little, they're a little bit more needy but they're also new to the rules, they're not used to having to follow rules, so it's kind of new to them. They kind of go against us in the beginning and then when we explain to them what we are doing, okay, I understand. Okay, uncover your lights so I can see it, I just want to see it, you know. You cover your light, you want me to, you want my attention, you basically tell me, okay, I need to look in your cell, see what's going on, what's up, usually just walk by and just say okay, you're living and breathing flesh, cool, you're good to go, you're good to go.

Second, in addition to the recognition that the RSHP targets highly problematic and assaultive inmates, correctional staff emphasized the need to isolate the inmate and capture their attention by significantly reducing privileges and using incentives in an attempt to promote prosocial behavior. As will be described in follow sections, the need to isolate and "get physical control before anything else" (Deputy Warden—a 54 year old female with 26 years of correctional experience) emerged not only as a difference in working with RSHP participants but also as a primary strategy to reduce violent misconduct within the institution. A Regional Operations Director— a 56 year old male

with 36 years of correctional experience—described the significant restrictions on privileges in the RSHP as a means to incentivize adherence to the institutional rules and regulations:

> When they first go in there they don't have a television, they get a book to read, religious materials, they don't even get phone calls. So, it's very tight and down, why? It gets their attention and then they see, "Wait a minute, if I program, okay, guess what? I can call my loved one" Next thing you know eventually I get into Step 2, I'll get my privileges back as far as I might be getting a television because we offer programming on the television as well as face-to-face in class. So, its, that's kind of thing that really shows the difference between the two. One is long term custody and control strategy, the other is a very short but intense focused program that really gets their attention and gets them to redirect their energies.

An Assistant Warden—a 61 year old male with 37 years of correctional experience—while emphasizing the need to isolate the inmate, also describes the balance that is needed between restrictions and programming:

> We had to ensure that we had a safe and secure environment. We had to capture the inmate's attention right away. It is a short program in only 120 days, which isn't a lot of time. We needed his full concentration and attention. It is also a balance. You don't want to go too restrictive that it interferes with the program, but at the same time, 120 days isn't a lot of time to get one's attention.

Last, correctional staff, namely those whose main responsibilities centered on supervision of the unit by enforcing rules and regulations (as opposed to programming or classroom instruction) emphasized the added labor and resources that are needed to run the RSHP. These "security" or "line" staff, when asked to identify differences between the RSHP and other maximum custody work placements, focused less on the programmatic elements and instead focused on amount of resources that are needed to manage the RSHP population. When asked, a Sergeant—a 41 year old male with 8 years of correctional experience—described the added labor required by the RSHP:

> Labor intensive, they are two on one escorts everywhere they go. So, all times you have two staff members, hands on escort inmate, direct showers, and medical down to the receiving gate where we need to as a 2-on-1 escort [two correctional staff for every inmate]. If they are double bunked, it is two officers and a sergeant with a TASER, in order to do any movement within the unit. So, labor intensive, yes, it is pretty labor intensive, to get to staff. Because you only have one officer assigned down to that entire cluster of restrictive housing. A lot of the times we will have the Baker cluster [officers from another unit] come over and assist us, we do rec. [recreation] turns, shower turns and medical turns.

The number of staff required to complete daily movements in the RSHP was also described by a Correctional Officer II—a 49 year old male with 4 years of correctional experience:

> It's different in [RSHP], you know, you as an officer we have these things that we can't do, like moving one restrictive housing inmate from a cell to maybe medical or, you have to have two officers. A sergeant, if it's two, if it's a double-bunk cell, we need two officers and a sergeant. I guess the difficulties is getting used to, them getting used to how things are done here as opposed from the yard that they came from.

The resources needed to maintain a safe and secure environment that houses previously violent inmates was consistent across line staff. Another Correctional Officer II—a 33 year old male with 3 years of correctional experience—described the differences in working with the RSHP population:

> I mean every cluster [housing unit] is different, if you want to just talk about restrictive housing, I mean there is a reason why they're restrictive and there is a reason why you have to have 2 officers, 1 sergeant to moving around or just 2 officers in part movements or anything that we have to be pertaining in any moves. We take our jobs serious, we make sure everybody is safe, I want to make sure everything is done correctly per policy. It's just goes back to how you carry yourself and how you do things around what you're doing. As long as you know what you're doing you shouldn't have to worry about any issues that you have to worry about.

Correctional staff described a number of differences between work in the RSHP compared to other placements in maximum custody. Staff responses centered on the

recognition that the population of inmates who are housed in the RSHP are high-risk, requiring enhanced security, attention, and resources. In terms of the environment, however, it appears that the RSHP is similar to that of traditional maximum custody units. A Regional Operations Director—a 56 year old male with 36 years of correctional experience—describes how the privileges afforded to RSHP participants are significantly reduced in order to capture the individual's attention and to incentivize rule-abiding behavior. The respondent continues by stating:

> The traditional max setting quite frankly is like being in limbo in prison, you're in a very confined area with no real opportunities for a lot of physical contact with others. It's not isolation, we don't do solitary confinement isolation but you're incapacitated to a degree that we can be assured you're not going to hurt somebody else if you can help it and until that behavior changes that's where they stay. So, there are, some people will stay there for a long time. Restrictive housing program is just that, very structured program that gives them incremental opportunities to improve their quality of life, to improve privileges and gain more privileges.

Positive aspects of the restrictive status housing program. Given the negative findings of the quantitative analyses of official misconduct and the added resources and procedures needed to operate the RSHP, the underlying mechanisms that appear to be working with the RSHP should be identified and maintained moving forward. The next section describes the correctional staff perceptions of the positive aspects of the RSHP. The sample of correctional staff focused on a number of positive aspects of the program. More specifically, staff highlighted the positive behavior change that resulted from the structured program, while others focused on the punitive and deterrent-based aspects of the program as being a positive impetus for behavior change.

A number of correctional staff highlighted the positive behavior change that resulted from structured program. For example an Assistant Warden—a 61 year old male

with 37 years of correctional experience—described how the RSHP allowed participants to respond in a more pro-social way to their emotional issues by sharing a story about one former RSHP participant:

> What it did well was help them [inmates] understand that they could understand and deal with emotional issues in a productive way. The Director [ADC Director Charles Ryan] toured himself and went through the unit. A very tattooed guy told the Director that the program was a great program and if he had had something like this in medium custody he wouldn't be sitting where he is. There are many times when there would be a group assault and you are expected to participate. That was the first group, an altercation between blacks and Hispanics. Who then had classes and learned together and then were in class next to people who once wanted to assault them.

Another correctional staff member, a Correctional Officer II—49 year old male with 4 years of correctional experience—describes how the classroom time and socialization is a positive aspect of the program:

> Well, the inmates are pretty much behaving, I think allowing them the time that they have to spend, socialize with one another is helping them. We still have to keep a close eye on them what's going on in the pods. But I think for the most part allowing them to develop social skills is helping.

Others, however, focused on the intense structure that the RSHP provides. Two correctional staff members described how the intense and rigid structure of the program led to positive changes in behavior. For example, a Deputy Warden—a 54 year old female with 26 years of correctional experience—described how the rigid rules and expectations led to change, again highlighting the need to separate the participants from the general population:

> It teaches them self-restraint, self-discipline where they know every morning I have to get up and make my bed. I have to have myself clean, I have to be in compliance, and I need to speak to people in a manner that is not disrespectful. You don't have to be overly polite, and I say professional, if they are not professionals, but in a professional manner. With calm courtesy, I think that is what it teaches them. They have to know, your behavior has consequences.

> Sometimes we are not here to punish him, but we do have to make sure that other population is safe so we have to remove them, and then reteach them how to play nice in the general population area.

The design of the program as leading to behavior change was also described by an Associate Deputy Warden—a 53 year old male with 18 years of correctional experience:

> It has a lot of structure and it's intensive, so it doesn't let the inmate think about nothing else, think about, and they do a lot of programming where they write about themselves and they don't share it with anybody else but once you put it on paper like, I believe that it hits them.

As noted above, the segregation that the RSHP provides not only captures the participant's attention, but it also allows them to overcome traditional barriers to programming, such as the inmate code and prison politics. Many of the program topics, such as self-control, feelings and emotions, are considered indicators of weakness, and thus deter many from engaging in meaningful rehabilitation (Carceral, 2004). The RSHP, however, allows the participants to focus on the program without the influence of prison politics. When asked to identify the positive aspects of the program, a Regional Operations Director—a 56 year old male with 36 years of correctional experience—responded:

> I think it provides structure, it provides ways for an inmate to change his behavior without losing face if you will, maintaining their status amongst the large group of people in the prisons yard. There's a certain façade that they put up, that they have to maintain as far as their demeanor and that whole persona that they develop in prison here. It strips away a lot of that because of how it confines him, how it focuses and channels their energies and helps them channel that. Then of course, the programming itself gives them actual skills for how to change their thinking and how to manage themselves in stressful situations.

A number of correctional staff focused on the punitive aspects of the program as being a positive impetus for behavior change. A total of four correctional staff respondents described the punitive aspects of the program. Two of the staff members who

are involved in the programming-side of the RSHP, for example, describe discipline and incentives as the positive aspects of the program. A Grievance Coordinator—a 37 year old male with 9 years of correctional experience—described the role of discipline and privileges:

> Well it goes a mile I guess, discipline in there, because like you say we get the privileges, that you are under privileges, as a gradual increase of privileges depending on their behavior so for those four minimum months, they kind of behave because they want their TV, they want their more store, they want to have their visits.

A Correctional Officer III—a 39 year old female with 6 years of correctional experience—highlights the different privileges and incentives that are perceived as positive aspects of the RSHP:

> More phone calls, more visits with their family, those are huge incentives. But keep in mind, visitation or phone calls, are incentives, are privileges. You don't get to have those if you continue to victimize people, where you're currently at, and those on the street. Well ways that we reiterated to the population look, that's a privilege not a right...your behavior is first and foremost how you should be acting, if you want those things, then you've got behave. I don't think that they have a say, the inmates sometimes they don't have a say.

Two security staff members echoed the sentiment of the program staff described above by focusing on how the RSHP acts as a deterrent for participants given its punitive orientation. The respondents again highlight the highly punitive nature of the RSHP compared to traditional maximum custody placements. For example a Sergeant—a 41 year old male with 8 years of correctional experience—describes the shock that results from placement in the RSHP:

> It is a good check, you know what I mean? 120 days of lockdown with no TV, and they only come out of the cell three days a week for two hours. Some of these guys have come from an open yard, and they have been on open yard for a long time. Then some of them have done max. times [maximum custody] but short stunts. So, now you go from an open yard where you have all the life and luxury

> and everything that you want to, "Bam." Now you are on lock down, you don't move, you don't go anywhere, you don't get any property, and you get a sack lunch compared to three meals on an open yard. No store, and they are like dude, this sucks, I'm not coming back.

This idea was reinforced by a Correctional Officer II—a 32 year old male with 10 years of correctional experience—who said a positive aspect of the RSHP was:

> Most definitely rehabilitating inmates is making them not want to be here, they want to comply to all the rules so they can get the heck out of here, that's their thought, I hear it every day. Can't wait till I get the heck out of here.

As described by the correctional staff, the RSHP has a number of beneficial and positive aspects that the respondents believed led to behavior change. Reasons for these changes varied amongst the sample. Staff highlighted the positive behavior change that resulted from structured program, while others focused on the punitive aspects of the program as being a positive impetus for behavior change.

Identifying important challenges in the management of the RSHP. The above discussion illuminates a number of challenges that are faced by correctional administrators and staff who work and manage the RSHP. The following section will describe correctional staff respondent's perceptions of the most important difficulties they experience during their day-to-day involvement in the program. One respondent, an Assistant Warden—61 year old male with 37 years of correctional experience—who was involved in the initial implementation of the RSHP, emphasized the challenge of designing a program that struck a balance between punitiveness and rehabilitation. When asked to identify the most important challenges, the respondent stated:

> We didn't want to set up such a restrictive environment that the inmate would feel resentful and not engage in the program. We wanted them to know that we supported them but changes had to be made. We would provide the resources to

> make change. The biggest was the amount of face-to-face and case management time. It took a large amount of resources.

This Assistant Warden mentioned the need not only for a balanced approach to disciplinary segregation but also the resources that were necessary to operate this style of housing. When asked to identify the most important challenges, four correctional staff respondents indicated that staff, specifically the lack of staff, were the most critical elements that contributed to difficulties in the management of the program. The lack of available correctional staff is a concern for those working with the RSHP, but also a widespread concern in the Arizona Department of Corrections overall. A Regional Operations Director—a 56 year old male with 36 years of correctional experience—describes the current situation and its effect on the delivery of programming, like the RSHP:

> Staffing is a big issue, we as an agency are well over 900 vacant correctional officer positions. So, being able to maintain consistent staffing in that program can be very challenging because folks look for other work...I think the overall staffing approach, I don't have an answer for you, that's probably one of the things that would keep me up at night is having enough quality staff to do all the things that we need to do. We're really challenged with that right now.

The lack of staff was felt by correctional staff who were responsible for the day-to-day operation of the program as well. When asked to identify the most important challenge faced while working in the RSHP, a Sergeant—41 year old male with 8 years of correctional experience—replied:

> The most difficult for me was not enough officers to assist with anything that we have to get done, our duties, or daily duties due to the fact that if we have to do a move or we have to move an inmate from the shower back to their house or from the house back to their shower. Or from the house to the rec. [recreation] pen, from the rec vice versa, you know, or classes or medical or dental, or anything that has to do pertaining to medical. It's slightly difficult because you don't have the officers right there because they're doing other things, you got to understand

> that, and we are busy doing other things. So, that's what I think it's the most difficult for me that I've seen challenging working in that area and getting my job accomplished and getting it done accomplished on certain times with no issues, no problems and attend to everybody's needs as per policy.

The lack of staffing resources reduced the RSHP correctional staff's ability to deliver other services to the participants in the program. Instead, the limited resources were devoted to tasks related to inmate movements and the maintenance of a safe and orderly unit. A Correctional Officer II—49 year old male with 4 years of correctional experience—describes this situation:

> ...sometimes we are short here on staff and you know, if they have what's coming to them it has to be done. So, some areas might lose an officer for a while to handle that area. Some work might not get done in the way that it should be because of it.

This also contributes to less resources being devoted to other areas in the prison. Given the resources necessary to operate the RSHP, some felt as though it detracted from their ability to manage and provide services to other persons who are incarcerated by the ADC. A Regional Operations Director—56 year old male with 36 years of correctional experience—summarizes this concern:

> Sometimes to have a real robust staffing for the program is to the detriment of being able to make sure that all the other inmates in that entire unit are able to get their out of cell program, their out of cell activities and things like that. So, it's a very fine line that's struck, I think in terms of the communication process and getting the inmate's attention that comes down to staffing as well as training and redirection of follow up, having a strong supervisory presence there to reinforce to the staff what needs to be done and how on a daily basis.

An Associate Deputy Warden—53 year old male with 18 years of correctional experience—reiterates this idea and highlights the added difficulty of working with participants of the RSHP:

> Being in such a lockdown area there is always a lot of movement. So, that's shutting down part of a wing to get the inmates to and from where they're going. Sometimes staffing, sometimes we get staff that aren't qualified or haven't been trained and they have to work together to achieve the goals. If you get people with that, working overtime they don't have a stake in the unit so, it's a little bit difficult. But we try to manage especially the restrictive housing with regular staff from our unit.

Both of these respondents suggest that the lack of staffing also affects the integrity of the program and the ability to secure compliance and motivating change amongst participants. Five respondents described motivating change and securing compliance as the most important challenges that are faced while working in the RSHP. For example, a Regional Operations Director—56 year old male with 36 years of correctional experience—specifically highlighted the need to maintain a program that emphasizes respect and a willingness to abide by authority as an important challenge, especially in a population that has a history of serious institutional violence:

> With the population it's being able to get the message to them in such a way that develops respect for and adherence to authority that's difficult in virtually any environment but even more so, there because they have earned their way there for being violent and not following rules. So, getting their attention to be able to submit to authority is a big challenge.

The ability to secure compliance was threatened by the highly punitive and restrictive nature of the RSHP. Several correctional staff members described how the RSHP and its significant restrictions adds to the difficulties in securing compliance amongst this population. For example, a Correctional Sergeant—41 year old male with 8 years of correctional experience—specifically highlights how the limited privileges and significant restrictions lead to resentment. The respondent lists a number of restrictions that in his view, limit their ability to deliver programming and motivate change. When

asked to identify the most important challenges faced working within the RSHP, the respondent replied:

> Dealing with pissed off inmates, because they are uprooted from their unit where they have life and luxury of store property phone calls, shower ready, and then they come down to a lockdown unit where everything is stripped of them, they can't write letters. They don't have any other property, they don't have their addresses, they don't get phone calls until they start coming up in step. They don't get store, they get $10 with the store and that is on hygiene only as a step one. Their electronics are taken away, and they are in a lockdown setting after an incident occurred, and they don't know why they are there. It is very challenging for the inmate, and challenging for us because we are dealing with the behaviors, we are trying to make them understand "look, you are in this program, you are going to do this program". Anything from this point forward is going to affect you and this program on getting out.

Efficacy of the RSHP program in reducing violent misconduct. With the positive aspects of the program identified, as well as identification of important challenges in the oversight of the RSHP, the analyses now turn to correctional staff perceptions of the efficacy of the program by specifically asking respondents if they believed that the RSHP reduces levels of violent misconduct. As shown in Table 5.1, half of the correctional staff felt that yes, the RSHP reduces violent misconduct (n = 5), while three staff respondents were unsure (30%), and two did not believe that the program reduced violent misconduct (20%). Those who felt that the RSHP reduced violent misconduct had a variety of explanations. One correctional staff member simply stated that they have personally recognized a reduction in violence: "In our situation here at [Unit] I don't believe that we've had any major issues in the restrictive housing area thankfully..." (Correctional Officer II—a 53 year old male with 4 years of correctional experience). An Associate Deputy Warden—53 year old male with 18 years of correctional experience—not only observed a decrease in the number of violent incidents,

but also the seriousness of those incidents when asked if the RSHP reduces violent misconduct:

> I believe it does, I haven't seen that many serious violent staff assault or stuff like that or even on an inmate. Where before you would see helicopter rides where inmates would be air-evacuated on a regular basis. In my opinion I believe that they have calmed down.

A Correctional Sergeant—41 year old male with 8 years of correctional experience—observed that he had not seen a lot of participants return to the program, suggesting that the RSHP does in fact work to reduce violent misconduct. This respondent again highlighted the punitive structure of the RSHP in deterring former participants from engaging in violent misconduct in order to not return to the program. The Correctional Sergeant stated:

> Statistics show, that's what really going to show but, I see some inmates come back, like retreads [those who return to programming/unit following misconduct], they will come back into the program, but not very many, I have seen them come back in other programs. I think it challenges them, it really does to where they are locked down all the time and they are like, "Man, I don't want to come back here, this sucks." Hopefully it stays that way, and it continues on but, like I said every inmate is different. They are going to react different, but that's the term where we kind of step up and we help them understand, "Look, you are stuck here, this is how it is going to be." Make them understand that it is not going to change, it is not going to get any better, we are not going to help you out, you get what you get, and that's the end of the day. I guess in that regard, it kind of helps them understand like "all right, I'm going to suck it up, and I'm going to deal with it". But at the end of the day, when they graduate, they are like, "Man, I am not coming back, like I hate this program it sucks like, no, I'm good." I think it has its up and down, but overall I think it does good.

Others, however, were more skeptical of whether or not the RSHP reduces violent misconduct. For example, an Assistant Warden—61 year old male with 37 years of correctional experience—said that "through a period of time and with enough inmates to

go through it" the program would reduce violence. This, however, came with the caveat that there are forces within the prison that contribute to rates of violent misconduct:

> What you need to understand about violence is that it comes from STG's [security threat groups], you need to address that. You need to control those outside forces. You need to change the individual and also the STG's.

This sentiment was reiterated by two correctional staff members who did not feel as though the RSHP reduced violent misconduct, partly because of the effects of security threat groups. In the view of these officers, the rules and codes that security threat groups enforce require expressions of violence. Individuals are at times required to perpetrate violence. If they do not abide by these expectations, the inmate themselves could be subjected to victimization. When asked if the RSHP reduced violent misconduct, a Grievance Coordinator—37 year old male with 9 years of correctional experience—responded:

> Reduced violence, I don't really think so, because like you say, most of the jobs, most of the inmates don't just assault inmates cause they want to, because they have to. We can't understand their politics even though we have been trying for years; how they run stuff in the prison, the gangs and stuff, it is pretty hard to control.

The requirement that individuals engage in violent misconduct or risk personal repercussions was reiterated by a Correctional Officer III—39 year old female with 6 years of correctional experience—who describes a recent interaction with an inmate:

> I have been told multiple times, I don't know about you, but it is not a choice, if you are going to participate in the riot or not, it is not a choice...so I will say, put yourself in that situation where there is a riot you have to act, or you're going to get assaulted, you are going to get kicked out of the yard, PC'd up to protected custody.

Relatedly, others talked about how the program has to address years of socialization. The same Correctional Officer III—a 39 year old female with 6 years of correctional

experience—described the relatively short nature of the RSHP and its inability in that time period to overcome prior socialization experiences:

> ...you've got to get them to have patience, but then again 4 months of programs is not going to change 15 years of way life. Most of these guys started their criminal activities when they were teenagers, so it is kind of hard to change them in 4 months.

A Grievance Coordinator—37 year old male with 9 years of correctional experience—also doubted the program's ability to reduce violent misconduct given the troubled histories of those who are incarcerated. He suggests that a negative upbringing that is characterized by violence socializes individuals to respond with violence later in life. When asked if the program reduced violence, the Grievance Coordinator responded:

> No, not typically, a lot of time it's, because they really don't want the violence. They really don't. They have dealt with it their entire lives, if you go back statistically and you look at their mental health, or their wellbeing as a child, it is abuse or some sort of problem that started at a very young age, or lack of attention and care from their caregivers. Where that maybe, that it started there, they really don't want it, but they don't know how to get out of it. They just continue to act the way that they have always known rather than learn a different behavior on how they should react. When you put them in here, it is the same type of situation, we can try and teach them, and we will but that doesn't necessarily mean that it sinks in because they are still surrounded by it. We get to see the behavior, but we get to go home or we don't to have to stay here with it, whereas they are. Restrictive housing as far as the 30 days is concerned and how long they get their privileges taken away, I think that teaches more patience than anything, which is not a bad thing, it is a good thing, don't you think?

Three correctional staff members were unsure as to whether or not the RSHP reduced violence (30%). All three of the officers stated that there were individual-level differences amongst inmates that better explain violent misconduct and the choice to refrain from violence. When asked if the RSHP reduces violent misconduct, a Deputy Warden—54 year old female with 26 years of correctional experience—drew a balance

between deterrence and the individual's calculation of the benefits and subsequent consequences of engaging in violent misconduct:

> I honestly don't know, I do know that we give them tools to build different ways of handling stuff, but I don't know if it really reduces it. I know locking up inmates doesn't deter their innate behavior, they have to learn a new way to deal with things. Or just come to the conclusion on their own that the pay off, for doing the violence is not worth what happens in the consequence. I don't know honestly if it is a determinant or a pre-cursor to minimize the violence.

Another correctional staff member, a Correctional Officer II—32 year old male with 10 years of correctional experience—who was unsure if the program reduced violence, said that it was based on the individual and described how small things can lead to a violent incident:

> Reduces level, that's hard to say, it's based on the individual because I would say he can be calm, cool, and collective in the yard, maybe have a bad day, lash at someone so yeah. It can be something simple, it can be maybe he didn't get a cookie on a tray, he feels like he's being mistreated. A lot of guys like to use race cards with me a lot. "It's because I'm white, it's because I'm black". I'm like how does that apply? But it happens, it's funny but it does happen. If they don't get what they have come to them they feel like they're being cheated and then it ignites rage you know, anger, it's like one letter away from danger you know.

Another Correctional Officer II—a 33 year old male with 3 years of correctional experience—also did not know if the RSHP reduced violence. The respondent suggests that even in the presence of multiple officers, violent incidents still occur. He again highlights the idea that these events vary based on the individual and the situation:

> Yes and no, yes, pretty much when you have 2 officers and the sergeant present just by us physically there. Whatever issue there is just dissipates. However, depending on inmates how they carry themselves and how they are mentally, physically and spiritually speaking here, if they, whatever they decide to do at that point and they have an opportunity, believe me they'll take it. It doesn't matter how many officers are there. So, to me to answer that I will say depending on situation on the time or the day.

Perceptions of whether or not the RSHP reduces violent misconduct was decidedly mixed amongst the correctional staff who were interviewed. While the majority of the sample did in fact think that the RSHP was effective in reducing violent misconduct, their explanations for the effect varied from the elements of the program to the punitive nature of the experience to anecdotal evidence. Others, however, did not believe the RSHP effectively reduced violence. To some, there are many competing forces, such as security threat groups, within the prison environment that require and necessitate violence, regardless of program involvement. To some, human agency and individual-choice were better predictors of violent misconduct. In light of these mixed-perspectives, the analyses now turn to the correctional staff perceptions on the direction in which the RSHP should progress moving forward.

Identifying future directions. Accounts from interviews with correctional staff and administrators highlight a number of positive and negative aspects of the RSHP that help to explain the null and/or negative behavioral outcomes associated with placement in the RSHP. While some may view these results as evidence to eliminate the program, the simple fact is that restrictive housing and disciplinary segregation represent a critical tool for managing serious violent misconduct. Many correctional officials feel that some type of response is needed when inmates engage in serious violence—the safety and security of staff and other inmates largely depends on it. The most useful approach moving forward then, is identifying the best ways to respond to serious institutional misconduct and assessing whether the RSHP can accomplish those goals. As noted previously, correctional staff included in Phase 2 have extensive experience in corrections and with working the RSHP. Their insights into the best ways to respond to institutional

misconduct and violence can then be used and implemented in the RSHP moving forward. Several themes emerged amongst the correctional staff respondents when asked to identify the best ways to respond to serious violent misconduct. As mentioned above, the need to secure and maintain physical control over the individual who previously engaged in violence was critical. For example, a Regional Operations Director—56 year old male with 36 years of correctional experience—emphasized the need to separate and to exert increased control over their behavior:

> Well first, you have to get physical control before you do anything else... So, the faster you're able to get physical control of the situation the less likelihood of it escalating and getting out of control. Once you have done that, you have to figure out what you're going to do from there and how to recover from that incident so that it doesn't continue on and on and repeat itself. So, it requires getting involved to the degree that you have to be intrusive with the population, you have to go search and make sure that there's no weapon, there's no contraband that can hurt others.

The importance of physical control, however, was balanced against the need to address the cause of the violence through the use of incentives and programming. For example, a Deputy Warden—54 year old female with 26 years of correctional experience—highlights the need to maintain orderly and safe facilities by separating the troublesome inmates from the general population:

> You have to secure, you have to separate them from general populations because we are responsible for all the inmates not just one. But then he also has to be shown or she, has to be shown that, "Okay, you have done this behavior, these are the consequences," but some day if your behavior changes and you program, and you learn a different way of dealing with things, then maybe you can have more freedoms, and more accessibility to things. It is not an overnight process, it is not a quick process, it is something that has to be consistent, and it has to be thought out, and shown, and demonstrated.

An Assistant Warden—61 year old male with 37 years of correctional experience—reinforced the need to obtain control using restrictive housing environments, but at the

same time highlights the critical importance of programming, such as cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT):

> You need to put the necessary controls in place to create a safe and secure environment. That may mean that you put some people in a more restrictive environment. You need to control. Then you need to get their attention and start to identify what the issue is and start to program based on those issues. CBT has been incredible and really seems to help, going to be more effective with inmates. To connect some of that you want to incentivize program participation and cooperation so that the inmate can better understand and start to internalize that.

Second, the importance of programming and positive reinforcement was identified by a number of correctional staff members. The operationalization of these themes, however, differed between correctional staff respondents. To some, providing reinforcement of positive behavior was the best way to reduce violent misconduct. For example, a Correctional Officer II—32 year old male with 10 years of correctional experience—simply said: "Positive reinforcements, you always want to stay positive with these guys, keep them busy, give them what they have in coming and simple." The ability to occupy an individual's time was reemphasized by a Grievance Coordinator—37 year old male with 9 years of correctional experience—who also emphasized the need to balance deterrence and punitiveness with opportunity. He said: "I don't know maybe..., have them do jobs, maybe having more besides just taking those stuff away which might mean nothing to them." Two respondents specifically felt as though the RSHP program was the best way to respond to serious violent misconduct. An Associate Deputy Warden—53 year old male with 18 years of correctional experience— for example, replied: "In my opinion I think this restrictive housing works...now at least the inmates have the opportunity to program, to get training, set clear expectations..." A Correctional Sergeant—41 year old male with 8 years of correctional experience—reinforced support

for the RSHP but mentioned a number of additional programs that could be incorporated to further reduce violent misconduct:

> I think the program in itself is doing a good job, I think there may be some other treatment groups, or treatment programs for anger management and some other things that could be implemented into the program...I would say the programming side of things might help it, but some of them choose to keep themselves here longer because of disciplinary reasons. So, it goes, it can go either way, but I think overall, I think programming giving them some classes based on whatever their offenses were may help.

Third, two correctional staff respondents emphasized their own role in reducing violent misconduct, namely the need to carry out daily routines in a manner that is fair and respectful. A Correctional Officer II—49 year old male with 4 years of correctional experience—for example, described how communication and de-escalation were critical in reducing violent incidences to occur:

> Depending on the level of the situation, I guess you know, meet them at the level that they're on, except one that you can, in a situation where you can talk them down, let's talk them down, talk it out, keep them talking until they relax. If it's a situation where you can't talk them down then deal with it at that level.

Relatedly, the modeling of prosocial behavior and fair treatment was described by a Deputy Warden—54 year old female with 26 years of correctional experience— who said:

> We are taught that inmates are model of our behaviors, and so we try to get the staff to model respect professionalism, and courtesy. The simple thing is, "good morning," "thank you," and "please," are things that we take for granted and sometimes these guys in lock up haven't heard that in a long time, and knowing how to interact with someone beside an inmate or an officer. It is very challenging for these guys...

Correctional staff described a number of approaches believed to be effective in reducing violent misconduct, namely the need to secure and maintain physical control while at the same time providing opportunities to change through work placements and

programming. Others believed, however, that positive reinforcement and procedurally fair and just treatment were the best ways to address and reduce violence. Collectively, however, it is important to note that correctional staff reemphasized the caveat that regardless of these improvement and best practices, there are elements of the prison environment and individual-level factors that undermine the approaches described above. As summarized by the Deputy Warden—54 year old female with 26 years of correctional experience— quoted above who said: "...you are always going to have that special group that is going to be violent no matter what you do." Relatedly, a Grievance Coordinator—37 year old male with 9 years of correctional experience—described the role prison politics plays in undermining their ability to truly reduce violence:

> What is the best way? That is a hard one because sometimes taking their stuff away really doesn't mean much to them, and most of these acts of violence, there is a bunch of politics going on DOC with the inmates. They are told to do this, assault this inmate, if not you are going to, we might do something to their family. So sometimes they just do it [commit a violent act] because it is a "job" they have been chosen to do.

Restrictive Status Housing Program Participants

A total of thirty-four individuals were approached for possible participation in the study, resulting in a cooperation rate of 73.53% (25/34). The interviews were conducted in seven different units across three separate prison complexes (i.e., ASPC-Florence, ASPC-Eyman, and ASPC-Lewis).[24]

Descriptive statistics. Table 5.2 includes the descriptive statistics for the former RSHP participants who were found guilty of a major violation (i.e., "Violators") after

[24] These units include ASPC-Eyman - Browning Unit (*n* = 8), ASPC-Eyman- Special Management Unit I (*n* = 2), ASPC-Eyman - Rynning Unit (*n* = 2), ASPC- Florence- Central Unit (*n* = 10), ASPC- Florence-Kasson Unit (*n* = 1), and ASPC-Lewis- Stiner Unit (*n* = 1).

completion of the RSHP (*n* = 10). Respondents in the violators group were, on average, 28 years old and had spent on average 167.4 days housed in the RSHP. Reasons for placement in the RSHP varied. The majority of the violators were placed in the program as a result of an assault on staff (50%), followed by participation in a riot (40%), and inmate assaults (10%). All violators were currently housed in either a maximum (50%) or close custody unit (50%). The vast majority of the violators sample was Hispanic/Latino (*n* = 8; 80%), followed by Black/African American (*n* = 1; 10%), and Native American (*n* = 1; 10%). The majority of this group was suspected of being a member of a security threat group (*n* = 9; 90%). Those in the violator group had on average 39.7 months of prior experience being housed in segregation with the number of prior commitments to the Arizona Department of Corrections ranging from 0 to 3 prior commitments (mean = 1.00). The group also had significant histories of institutional misconduct. On average, these violators had 8.6 lifetime major violations and 11.9 lifetime minor violations.

Table 5.2 also includes the descriptive statistics information for the former RSHP participants who were *not* found guilty of a major violation (i.e., "Non-Violators") after completion of the RSHP (*n* = 15). Respondents in the non-violators group were, on average, 30.9 years old and had spent on average 136.4 days housed in the RSHP. Reasons for placement in the RSHP varied. The majority of the non-violators were placed in the program as a result of an assault on staff (46.7%), followed by participation in a riot (33.3%), and inmate assaults (20.0%). Non-violators were currently housed in a maximum (33.3%) or close custody unit (60.0%). Only one respondent was housed in a medium custody unit (6.7%). The vast majority of the non-violators sample was Hispanic/Latino (*n* = 11; 73.3%), followed by Black/African American (*n* = 2; 13.3%),

and White (*n* = 2; 13.3%). The majority of this group was suspected of being a member of a security threat group (*n* = 12; 80%). Those in the non-violator group had on average 33.3 months of prior experience being housed in segregation with the number of prior commitments to the Arizona Department of Corrections ranging from 0 to 2 prior commitments (mean = 0.60). The group also had significant histories of institutional misconduct. On average, these non-violators had 6.3 lifetime major violations and 6.0 lifetime minor violations.

Table 5.2 Descriptive Statistics for RSHP Participant Respondents.

		Violators (n = 10)			**Non-Violators** (n = 15)		
Variables	Variable Description	**Mean (%)**	**Min.**	**Max.**	**Mean (%)**	**Min.**	**Max.**
Age	Age of respondent at time of data collection.	28	23	35	30.9	21	45
Race/Ethnicity							
White	Respondent is White (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0	0	1	13.3	0	1
Black/African American	Respondent is Black/African American (0 = no; 1 = yes).	10	0	1	13.3	0	1
Hispanic/Latino	Respondent is Hispanic/Latino (0 = no; 1 = yes).	80	0	1	73.3	0	1
Native American	Respondent is Native American (0 = no; 1 = yes).	10	0	1	0	0	1
Placement Offense							
Assault on Staff	Respondent was placed in RSHP for an assault on staff (0 = no; 1 = yes).	50	0	1	46.7	0	1
Inmate Assault	Respondent was placed in RSHP for an inmate assault (0 = no; 1 = yes).	10	0	1	20	0	1
Participation in a Riot	Respondent was placed in RSHP for participating in a riot (0 = no; 1 = yes).	40	0	1	33.3	0	1
Days in RSHP	Number of days the respondent was housed in the RSHP.	167.4	127	224	136.4	124	232
Current Custody Level							
Medium	Respondent is housed in a medium custody unit (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0	0	1	6.7	0	1
Close	Respondent is housed in a close custody unit (0 = no; 1 = yes).	50	0	1	60	0	1
Maximum	Respondent is housed in a maximum custody unit (0 = no; 1 = yes).	50	0	1	33.3	0	1
STG Membership							
Suspected	Respondent is suspected of being a member of an STG (0 = no; 1 = yes).	90	0	1	80	0	1
Validated	Respondent is a validated STG member (0 = no; 1 = yes).	10	0	1	0	0	1
None	Respondent has no officially designated STG membership (0 = no; 1 = yes).	0	0	1	20	0	1
Prior Commitments	Number of prior commitments to ADC.	1	0	3	0.6	0	2
Segregation Experience	Length of segregation experience prior to RSHP (in months).	39.7	0	96	33.3	0	108
Lifetime Violations							
Major Violations	Number of lifetime major violations.	8.6	5	15	6.3	2	14
Minor Violations	Number of lifetime minor violations.	11.9	2	33	6	0	17

To better understand the underlying mechanisms by which the RSHP operates the following sections center on the perceptions of former participants of the RSHP. Like the correctional staff perceptions described above, the following sections illustrate the nuances of the program by focusing on four primary themes: 1) participant perceptions on the differences between the RSHP and traditional placements in maximum custody, 2) identification of the positive aspects of the RSHP, 3) evaluating the efficacy of the RSHP in reducing violent misconduct, and 4) identifying future directions for the RSHP.

Identifying differences between maximum custody and RSHP. Former RSHP participants were asked to identify the differences between placement in the RSHP versus other placements in maximum custody.[25] The majority of the former RSHP participants had spent time in maximum custody or segregation prior to their placement in the program or were currently being housed in this environment and are thus able to speak to the differences between placement in the RSHP and other maximum custody placements. Overall, 68% of the RSHP participants (n = 17) had prior experience in segregated housing environments, averaging roughly 34.6 months, or 2.89 years, housed in segregation.

The majority of those who have experience in these housing environments described the RSHP as being worse than or the same as prior/current placements in segregation (70.59%; n = 12). Ricky[26]—a 34 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who

[25] As noted previously, maximum custody placement, as managed by the Arizona Department of Corrections, is synonymous with agreed upon definitions of restrictive housing or segregation (see for e.g. Beck, 2015). Maximum custody placement in the ADC is characterized by single-cell housing, limited opportunities for out-of-cell time, and escorted movements in full restraints within the institution (Director's Order #801, 2017).

[26] Pseudonyms are used for all inmate respondents for the purpose of confidentiality. Pseudonyms were developed using a random name generator. "Violator" refers to those former RSHP participants that had a

was placed in the RSHP for a group assault—described the usual process following a serious act of institutional violence: "Usually they just put you in the hole and leave you there until you re-class. Put you in the hole for a little bit and then send you to Central [close custody unit] or Browning [maximum custody unit]". When asked what the differences were, he replied: "Everything. They didn't let us have nothing in there [RSHP]. Nothing. In the hole they let us have property. They didn't let us have mail or legal work or nothing." Like Ricky, Erik—a 30 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—focused exclusively on the restriction of property as the primary reason why placement in the RSHP was worse than traditional placements following an act of institutional violence. Erik describes the restrictions placed on the RSHP participants:

> Well, they [RSHP] don't give you property they just give you state issue hygiene and they pretty much, that's to be expected cause it's restrictive housing. One thing I didn't like was every time you leave your cell they want to strip you and search your cell. Even though we got nothing. No books. That shit hygiene. It's petty, you are in restrictive housing. They don't want you to do nothing so we turn to things to keep us busy.

The significant restrictions on property and movement, to some, led to severe mental deterioration. When asked how placement differed from previous placements in restrictive housing, Simon—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—described the mental deterioration that he experienced while housed in the RSHP:

> It's excessive, it's too long. I was there 8 months. Obviously you should get a punishment for fucking up. It fucked me up psychologically. I was laughing and crying in my cell, I was like what the fuck. You are in a cell and they strip you of all your property. You can't even shop store or get books. They restricted books!

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major violation following completion of the RSHP, while the term "Non-violator" refers to those former RSHP participants that did not have a major violation following completion of the RSHP.

> You could only have one book. I would knock that out in two days. Then you got the rest of the week to wait for that cart [library cart]. I understand punishment. But that was like psychological warfare. It fucked with me. To fuck with someone's head like that is too much.

The restriction of property was described by every participant that felt that placement in the RSHP was worse than traditional placements in restrictive housing. Others, while highlighting the restrictions on property, believed that in the end, the RSHP was not that different from other restrictive housing placements. One respondent who was currently housed in restrictive housing, Nicholas—a 27 year old White non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an inmate assault—compared his current placement to his time in the RSHP: "Well if you were to come to where I am at now, the only thing that is different now is that I have my property and I can order store. I'm able to wear my own clothes and not the jumpsuit. Other than that nothing has changed." Armando—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—initially describes the RSHP as being different than traditional restrictive housing, but upon reflection, describes some of the similarities between the two settings:

> Way different. Once you get in there [the RSHP] you have nothing for 30 days, in a jumpsuit all the time, 2 man escorts. Like you are in the way. It's crazy. Seg. [segregation] is kinda the same, rec. [recreation] has small cages, food comes to you, property comes to you. Only thing you look forward to is shower and rec. But it's better in a single cell. I am still working on things. Been like a little roller coaster ride in here.

Others, however, felt as that placement in the RSHP was better or a more positive experience than prior/current placements in segregation. Overall, 29.41% of those with prior experience believed that it was better in RSHP (n = 5). The reasons for the perception were consistent across respondents. The inclusion of programming made the experience more positive. Ricardo—a 25 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was

placed in RSHP for a staff assault—summarized the experience as follows: "Restrictive housing [RSHP] is programming, enhanced security is discipline." He continued by saying that in the RSHP "...you get the face-to-face contact with other inmates and get to go to class and break down thoughts and values. You know? In enhanced security you don't get any programming. The only thing you can do is talk to a COIII, there are no classes." Francisco—a 40 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in RSHP for participating in a riot—agreed saying that "well, this one [RSHP] was programming. They was teaching you to think right. I do think it was a positive thing. It was programming you know? Wish it was out there [on the yard] and you didn't have to get locked down to have it." Another respondent, Albert—a 40 year old Black/African American non-violator who was placed in RSHP for a staff assault—described how the environment, specifically the use of single-person cells, reduced tension and allowed him to focus on himself. When asked to describe the differences between the RSHP and other placements he responded:

> The whole purpose is cause you don't get along with others. But with a cellie [cellmate] you're stuck there. I have my issues, they got their shit. It's a powder keg. You locked down 24/7. I did two years of that. It's not bad being all by yourself cause you can do your own program. They putting you in a one man cell with another guy in here. It's better by yourself. You don't have to regulate yourself. It would be liked being locked in a closet or bathroom with another person all day.

When asked to describe how placement in the RSHP differed from previous placements in segregation, many believed as though the program was far more punitive than traditional placements in segregation following an act of serious institutional violence. Several themes emerged from these accounts, namely the significant restriction of property, and the "petty" nature of rule enforcement during their placement. Others,

however, viewed the program as a more positive experience than traditional segregation. The reason for this centered on the availability of programs and the ability to interact and socialize with others.

Positive aspects of the restrictive status housing program. Many of the respondents believed as though the placement in RSHP was far worse than the alternative housing placement that would have occurred in response to their violent misconduct. At the same time, however, respondents identified a number of positive aspects of the program. The next section describes former RSHP participant perceptions of the positive aspects of the RSHP. The section continues with a focused examination of positive aspects of the different program elements, namely the group counseling, self-study modules, and the ETV modules. As with the correctional staff interviews, the goal of this line of questioning was to identify the underlying mechanisms that appear to be working with the RSHP. A number of themes emerged when respondents were asked to broadly identify what they think that the RSHP does well.

First, there were ten respondents (40%) that believed as though there was nothing that the RSHP does well. For example, when asked to identify what the RSHP does well, Ricky—a 34 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a group assault—summarized the experience as follows: "Nothing. That program sucks, especially cause we don't have our property." Several respondents highlighted the fact that the RSHP is a temporary placement, only lasting a short duration of time. Donald—a 32 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault with a weapon—replied: "Honestly nothing cause, you figure they just separate them for a little while then they put them back in population. Some people might be like,

"I don't want to go through that," but really it's nothing." Another respondent, Darin—a 24 year old White non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—described how after the program, participants are moved to another unit, inferring to the fact that there is nothing to look forward to after completing the program: "Nothing really. Just you have to do the program and you go back to Central or SMUI to get locked down for 2 and a half years."

Others believed that the program was only good in that it kept officers safe. Simon—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—describes how the restrictions placed on participants increases officer safety. He said: "The only thing I see good about that program is to keep the officers safe. We are always locked in the cell. When we leave they chain us. Medical you are on a gurney facedown. The only thing it's good for is officer safety." Erik—a 30 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—reflected on his experience in the RSHP and describes the control that is exerted over participants:

> Well, I personally didn't see anything good about it. But stepping back you are psychologically making you think they are in control. They kidnap you. I am not kidding. They did a knuckle check and rolled me up right away. Got sent to CB-5 [Cell Block 5; name of the building where the RSHP participants are housed]. They make it seem like they are in control and can handle things. That's what they want you to think. You strip when we want, we search when we want. To make them seem in control.

Overall, 12 former RSHP participants (48%) described aspects of the program in which they believed were positive. Two primary themes emerged from these accounts. Six respondents specifically highlighted how the punitiveness of the program acted as a strong specific deterrent. For example, Cecil—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator

who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—said: "Basically it will put you in your place cause you came from the yard and then you got nothing in RSHP. Yeah, it gets your attention." Others described how the mandatory nature of the program forced participants to engage in programming and to exhibit rule-abiding behavior out of fear of receiving a misconduct violation resulting in a lengthier time to program completion. Samuel—a 24 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for his participation in a riot—replied: "I guess man, um, it's like we didn't have a choice, it was mandatory for us. The thing that worked was I was scared to get a ticket. I didn't want to be there, I wanted to get out in four months." Bryan—a 30 year old Black/African American non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—describes how his placement led to self-reflection and change:

> It was a good experience and it [unreadable] helped me realize what was important and what I lost. When I was in Tucson I had all I want, I was from Tucson. But now I am not getting as many visits. She [his mother] is older. I am like, dang, everything I did was selfish. It put a wedge and strain between us for her to come see me. And that hurt. It's all family, those people matter. Those visits matter, cause for me it keeps me grounded with everything I have to deal with in here.

Charles—a 31 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—described how the setting of the program, namely the extensive lock-down deterred participants from engaging in misconduct while at the same time providing an opportunity for self-reflection and change:

> What's good about it is when you are sitting in your cell by yourself for so long it gives you time to think. No one wants to be in the hole. It helps people reflect what they did. Sometimes you be in there like, dang, I shouldn't have done that. I don't want to come here cause it's boring. Prison is boring itself, but when you are locked down 23 hours, it sucks; it makes you think. Some people need that.

Like Charles, others believed that the fact that the program is mandatory and subject to rigid expectations of behavior, motivated change amongst participants. For example Nicholas—a 27 year old White non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting another inmate—replied: "Well, they, I don't know they pretty much force you to do shit. You have to program, go to rec. [recreation], shower. It forces you to do things some people might not do. They make you learn through a TV and it helps to have a visual to learn." Others believed that the RSHP provided programming that was effective in changing the attitudes and behaviors of participants. Overall, six participants (24%) believed that the programming provided in the RSHP provided them with the tools necessary to make a change. For example, Marcus—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for his involvement in a group assault—replied: "It gets people to get straight. I truly believe that and the people who went through when they got out they were different. They got out and were different cause they had to do the packets." Respondents believed as though the opportunity to engage in programming while isolated from the general population allowed them to reflect and have time to focus. Gilberto—a 30 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—described some of the specific changes he experienced: "It helps you think before you act and communicate better. Help you be patient and talk better with others. Communication skills and patience." Francisco—a 40 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was also placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot— believed that the RSHP was working. He replied: "It does its job when it is meant for the right person and it helps out when you want to better yourself. From a thing that happened I went to a place where I could have a moment of silence and have time to think." Engaging in

programming also allowed respondents to be more social. Ricardo—a 25 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for a staff assault—described his own experience and the positive change he experienced: "Well, I can only speak for myself. For me what worked was being more social. Before I wasn't talking much. The program allowed me to socialize and be around people."

While a number of positive aspects of the program were identified by former RSHP participants, at the end of the day, many respondents believed as though it was up to the individual to change, describing how any amount of programming will be ineffective if the individual is not motivated or does not want to change. Roy—a 35 year old Native American violator who was placed in the RSHP for his participation in a riot—reinforces this theme. He said: "Tell you the truth, I just don't care. If it's there, it's there. We put ourselves through it. If I am going to do something wrong, I know I am going there. For me it don't matter, doesn't matter what program." Like Roy, Xavier—a 45 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was also placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot— believed as though any programming, especially forced or mandatory programming would be ineffective without an individual choosing to change and engage in meaningful programming. When asked to describe if there was anything the RSHP does well, he replied:

> Not that I can think of. Some of that stuff if, maybe if you paid attention to it, it might do something for you. But people only do that if they want to. You can't have someone go for a GED [general education diploma] if they don't want it. They will just sit there and talk and hang out. Their thinking is we will let you earn our stuff back, but that's our stuff that we already have coming. Force someone to do something and what do they do? The opposite.

RSHP program elements. In addition to broad perceptions of what the RSHP does well, former program participants were also asked to describe specific components of the program, namely the group counseling, self-study packets, and ETV modules, and to reflect on what they found useful about these required program elements. Respondents were asked whether or not they participated in these program elements while housed in the RSHP and to describe their opinions and whether or not they found these useful.

Group counseling. All respondents who were interviewed indicated that they had participated in group counseling while housed in the RSHP ($N = 25$). Again, in contrast to many traditional forms of restrictive housing for disciplinary purposes, the RSHP requires participants to complete six group counseling programs that address topics like social values, self-control, responsible thinking, substance abuse, and feelings and emotions (ASPC-F, 2014). The majority of the former participants who were interviewed ($n = 18$; 72%) found that the group counseling provided in the RSHP was useful, while seven participants (28%), felt as though the group counseling was not useful.

When asked their opinion on the group counseling provided and whether the counseling was useful, several respondents indicated that they wished the programming was offered in other units, not just in response to a serious act of violent misconduct. For example, Francisco—a 40 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was housed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—said: "I wish you didn't have to go there to get that and have it out there. It was useful cause you added to your tool box. Take stuff you didn't know and add it to it. I am more positive than I used to." Many respondents believed that the ability to socialize and interact was the most useful component of the group counseling sessions. For example, Ricardo—a 25 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who

was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—simply said: "Socializing was really useful. It's so much better than sitting in a cell alone." Another respondent, Andres—a 31 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for his participation in a riot—describes how the group sessions were a release from the monotony of being locked-down:

> Well, to be honest, it was like a release. Well, it was more of a release cause you got out of your cell but not a release cause of the class stuff. I mean, we laughed and stuff, even though we were locked into desks. But yeah, I think it works. It was good to get out of the cell and stuff. It was good thinking time. It was cool that they pulled us out, cause we have a certain way of thinking in here.

Samuel—a 24 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—agreed and said: "Yeah it was very useful because it's miserable in the cell so when they take you out its refreshing and when you are in the group, I was in with some friendly faces and we got to talk until the COIII came."

Being in the group setting also provided exposure to different viewpoints and life experiences that allowed participants to reflect and apply what they learned in their current lives. For example, Alejandro—a 23 year old Black/African violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—described his experience in the group setting:

> We went through everything. You think you don't have a problem in another area but you do. It's helpful, it brings you to a realization about what you do. I am not saying it's whatever, but my lifestyle is rugged. Unless I am in a classroom that stuff isn't even a conversation. When I am in class, if you pay attention, it's good.

At the same time, the group allowed participants to focus on programming without the interference of outside forces. One respondent, Nicholas—a 27 year old White non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an inmate assault—described how his

placement in the RSHP allowed him to think differently and provided an opportunity to focus on programming. When asked if the group counseling provided in the RSHP was useful, Nicholas replied:

> It all depends. Cause where I was at with being part of the Aryan Brotherhood [security threat group] and where I am at now, it opened my eyes to new things and new ways of doing things. I picked up little gems, little things I could use. There was some things I didn't know. But I was doing something else at that point so I was focused on other stuff. If you listen and read and actually do the work it's helpful.

Like Nicholas, positive mentorship and role models were also described by Armando—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for a staff assault—as he described how the programming became useful when others around him began to buy-in to the program: "At first I didn't care, I had five years to go. Then I, you know, started to see my own people, like "hey this is good stuff here." When I saw the older guys, I started it and it was stuff I could use on the streets. I still kinda use it today."

Overall those who found the group counseling useful indicated that they perceived a number of positive behavioral changes. Bryan—a 30 year old Black/African American non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—described how the program allowed him to "slow down" and avoid interactions that could result in violence. He said:

> They give you some tools to use, sometimes you don't think. It's about slowing down mentally. When things start to escalate with another person it helps you stop and avoid that higher and higher levels of disrespect. Think about what you do before you do it. It's about slowing down the process.

Cecil—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was also placed in the RSHP for a staff assault—reinforced Bryan's opinion, while at the same time suggesting that again, individual choice and agency is key: "It all depends on if you want to learn, but for me, it

helped me. I can't speak for everyone but me it helped, like when you get mad just how to take a breath and not act on the moment and look at the bigger picture not just the moment."

While the majority of respondents found that the group counseling provided in the RSHP was useful, a number believed that it was not. Several themes emerged from these accounts, namely that the program lacked quality instruction and meaningful content. Xavier—a 45 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—described how he just went through the motions to complete the program's requirements: "I didn't find it useful. To me it was just an annoyance, and I can speak for everyone who went through them. You just do it to get it over with." Several respondents believed like the lack of quality instruction and oversight reduced the usefulness of the group counseling sessions. For example, Albert—a 40 year old Black/African American non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—said: "It was pretty much self-study. They don't even look at the book. You could do anything. Ain't you going to read and interact me on it? They [correctional staff] just mark it complete." Darin—a 24 year old White non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—echoed Albert's sentiment by saying: "It's nothing I have never done before. It's just repeating them over. I know what I did was wrong so I just did the class and the paper work. To be honest, the class was just to get out and socialize a bit. The group don't really care about the classes."

Self-study packets. In addition to participating in group counseling, participants are expected to complete self-study packets. It was clear from the former participant accounts that there was significant overlap between the content covered in the group

sessions and the self-study packets. Bryan—a 30 year old Black/African American non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—describes the process:

> ...the way they did it was you get the packet, they talk the subject, then they tell you to do the packet and bring it back to class and we will talk about it and we would review the lesson as a group and then got to have conversation back and forth. It's a cool thing cause everyone could put in their input.

All respondents who were interviewed indicated that they had completed self-study packets while housed in the RSHP (N = 25); however, as described below, the degree to which participants meaningfully engaged in the packets varied. Several primary themes again emerged from the former RSHP participant accounts. When asked their opinion of the self-study packets and whether or not they found them useful, the majority of respondents indicated that they found the self-study packets were useful (n = 14; 56%), six respondents had mixed opinions (24%), while five respondents did not feel as though the self-study packets were useful (20%).

Those respondents that felt as though the self-study packets were useful perceived that completing the packets allowed them to develop new skills. Marcus—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a group assault—said:

> I enjoy them. Well like I said it teaches you how to take care of your personal values and stuff. Teaches you a different mentality and something different than what you learn in prison. I have been down 12 years. All I know is prison, but when things come up [packets/classes] it's like, "damn this is interesting."

Equipped with these skills, respondents believed that they were better able to avoid prior mistakes, negative situations, and even violent interactions. For example, James—a 21 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on

staff—said: “They are helpful because when you go back you got something to do and when you actually do it you keep it and next time if something happens you can react on it.” Francisco—a 40 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—agreed saying: “Yes. I found it useful cause they are teaching you to be a better person and thinking to be a better person and make different decisions and how to listen instead of jumping off. Yeah, I found it very useful.” To others, the skills obtained from completing the packets increased their perception of success once they are released. Armando—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—replied: “It was good, it was helpful and you can take that with you when you go to the streets. Personally, when I get out to use those skills. It might help me keep out of prison. If you want to learn it it’s good stuff. If you want it...”

Others, however, felt that the packets were useful, not because of their content, but because they broke up the monotony and boredom of being housed in a restrictive setting with limited access to personal property. When asked for his opinion on the self-study packets, Alejandro—a 23 year old Black/African American violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault of staff—replied: “When you are in your cell you just sit there, especially without a TV, you just sit there and get mad and depressed. It gives you something to do and gives you something to think about. It makes you look at yourself. Class makes you face the truth.”

While the majority of respondents felt as though the self-study packets were useful, there were others who did not feel as though they were useful or had mixed opinions on their usefulness. Those who believed that the self-study packets were not

useful described how they did not engage meaningfully in the packets. Instead, the packets were completed just so they could advance through the program. Ricky—a 34 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for his participation in a group assault—when asked his opinion of the packets replied: "Nah, I was just doing the packets so I could get my steps. Really I would just run through them. You know what I mean?" Others believed that the packets were not useful because they perceived that there was no oversight or quality check of the materials. Simon—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—described the process: "If they [program staff] just saw it was filled out they passed. I just wrote whatever and wrote dumb answers and turned it in. They didn't read nothing." Xavier—a 45 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—like Simon, shared his frustration with the self-study packets and the requirements of the RSHP:

> They were giving us the same packets over and over again. Lots of stuff don't matter, has to do with getting out, which is not for everyone [respondent is serving a life sentence]. If you go through some of it you might find something that makes sense but at the same time you are forcing them to do it. If it's a yes question, you say yes. Just tell them what they want to hear. But are you getting anything from it?

For those respondents who expressed mixed opinions on the usefulness of the self-study packets, human agency and individual choice was a central theme in whether or not the packets led to meaningful change. Roy—a 35 year old Native American violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—for example, when asked his opinion of the self-study packets replied:

> Gave me something to do. Just like I said it depends on the person. Me, myself personally, there are only a few things I learned. I still do these at the house right

> now. We still have these same classes here at STG [security threat group] lock down. The stuff I did like, some things are just bull, you know?

Others felt that the packets were not relatable and thus, were not perceived as useful. For example, Samuel—a 24 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—described his frustration with the self-study packets:

> I find them good man, but, man they're like, how do you say, they are really like none of it applied to me because there are people really wrong in the head, but it makes it seem everyone is like that. There was questions I couldn't respond to. They assume you are guilty of being a drug addict and violent person and I wasn't like that. Going off assumptions "cause since you drink alcohol…" They shouldn't assume we are all those people.

Victor—a 23 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was also placed in the RSHP for his participation in a riot—agreed saying: "Yeah and no. It's about the questions they ask and sometimes those questions you can't relate to. If they do more studies on inmates, their background. Different races had different experiences and they can't all relate to things in that book."

Educational television modules. The third primary programmatic element of the RSHP involved completing educational television modules (ETV). Upon completion of Step 1 of the RSHP, participants who advance to Step 2 are "allowed a television (either a loaner or their own) so that they can participate in educational TV programming and for recreational use after programming has been completed" (ASPC-F, 2014, p. 4). There again appeared to be significant overlap between program elements. Several respondents described how the ETV modules were supposed to line up with material that was covered in the self-study packets. Erik—a 30 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—explained: "They tell you, hey, once you get Step 2 you get a TV and watch the program channel and you watch for the packets. The program

and the packets didn't line up and the packets made pretty much no sense." Others, however, did not know what the purpose of the ETV programs were. Charles—a 31 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—when asked if he completed the ETV modules replied: "I remember seeing it, but I don't know if it was to help with classes or what. I never really did it, just glanced at it and said whatever. But I don't remember having them say watch this or that or nothing. I don't remember that." Like Charles, Nicholas—a 27 year old White non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an inmate assault—described his frustration with the lack of involvement and oversight of the ETV modules: "You have to do them for the packets. But there is a lot of people who don't watch it and the COIII is supposed to review them. But they just look to see if you wrote something." It was clear from the respondent's accounts that the ETV modules were not a consistent element of the RSHP. When respondents were asked whether or not they completed ETV modules while housed in the RSHP only twelve respondents (48%) indicated that they completed ETV modules while thirteen respondents (52%) said that they did not participate in or complete the modules.

While the ETV modules did not appear to be a central element of the program, just under half of the former participants who were interviewed did complete these modules. Those respondents were then asked to provide their opinion of the ETV modules and whether or not they found them useful. Most of the respondents who said that they completed ETV modules found them to be helpful (n = 7). For example, Frankie—a 36 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—replied:

> It's like another part of the program. You got it to do your packets but you also got it [TV] cause you were doing good. That was good, it's different, it was...you are by yourself and it's almost like a one-on-one. It's like they were speaking to you. My thoughts, yeah, I enjoyed that. It was a cool way for someone to learn. It's not just sitting in a class, which can be boring. You have your headphones and you can be more attentive to what is on.

Cecil—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was also placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—agreed:

> The one good thing is that they have a loaner TV. Most guys can't afford a TV so it was cool that they did that. Well some stories I found useful. Like yeah, I can relate to that. Like forgiving others and like when you commit a crime it shows you the other side. Makes you look back on staff and look different when someone explains it, it makes you look back at it different. You have to send some people to prison, those that make a living off it [crime]. Here you have to say please and thanks and get respect. And stealing in here is a no-no. You go to the streets with a new way. You say please and thank you, you know? You leave here with that.

Like Cecil and Frankie, respondents highlighted a number of positive outcomes that they developed while completing the ETV modules. For example, Alejandro—a 23 year old Black/African American violator who was housed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—replied:

> When I first got it they had videos of people with problems, like substance use and anger, and it was kinda like being in class. But it made you feel a certain kind of way, cause damn I am one of those people. It's an example on the TV of real people with real problems. If you wasn't paying attention in class you would to that.

Others, however, did not find the ETV modules as useful (n = 5). When asked their opinion of the modules, several respondents described their frustration and inability to relate to the programming that was provided. Victor—a 23 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participation in a riot—for example, described his experience:

> All of those videos, like I said, don't relate. They were all adults [respondent is 23 and has been incarcerated since 16]. A lot of us come here as kids. If they would have videos of young adults, then you can actually like man, it opens your eyes up a lot more. You can see yourself cause they are the same age. There were some, let's see, the abuse program one I think about alcoholics and I know people like that and it kinda hit me. I used to see a lot of that growing up. Once I saw that video I was like, damn, I made the right route not being an alcoholic from what I seen.

Participant perceptions of the efficacy of the RSHP in reducing violent misconduct. With the positive and negative aspects of the programmatic elements identified by former RSHP participants, the analyses now turn to participant perceptions of the efficacy of the program by specifically asking inmate respondents if they believed that the RSHP reduces levels of violent misconduct. When asked if they believed that the RSHP was an effective way to reduce violent misconduct, only seven respondents believed as though the program was effective (28%). Those respondents who believed the program was effective described how the program developed pro-social skills. For example, Marcus—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for a group assault—described why he believed the RSHP was effective: "It teaches you how to think before you react and it gives you examples. Before you fuck someone up, it makes you think, then I got it. I ain't gonna mess it up. It teaches you a lot. That's what the program is all about." Like Marcus, Samuel—a 24 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—replied: "I think so man, I think so, just because you have time to think, reevaluate and reflect and you are being rehabilitated so yeah, it's pretty effective. A lot of the individuals didn't want to go back and I felt the same."

Others, like many of the correctional staff respondents, focused on the punitiveness of the program working as a deterrent. These respondents described how the structure of the program and the limited privileges forced them to change their behavior because they did not want to return to that environment. James—a 21 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—said: "Yeah, cause when you lose something you are forced to be there. I had opportunities [to engage in violence] but didn't want to go back there afterward so I didn't." Charles—a 31 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for his participation in a riot—agreed with James, and describes how privileges, especially visits, motivate positive behavior. When asked if he believed the RSHP reduced violence Charles replied:

> I would think so cause like I said it makes you think like, damn, I could still be on the yard, walking around, still getting visits. That's why people do good. Visits, if you take that away people will wild out. They miss that. That's what makes people good and when you don't have that it opens your eyes. Kinda glad I went to that program. It kinda helped me out. Made me set some goals.

Others believed, that while the program provided some positive elements, the ability to affect violence across the entire correctional population would be difficult given the limited resources available in the Arizona Department of Corrections. For example, Gilberto—a 30 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participation in a riot—said: "In a way, yeah. Like I said it helps people control anger and communicate. But as far as the whole state, it would take a lot of time but for individuals who go through, yeah. It helps them not want to go back to that program!" Francisco—a 40 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was also placed in the RSHP for his participation in a riot—described his mixed feelings of the program and his desire to have

more programming outside of the RSHP: "It can be. Like I get it's got some good. It's got some good, it's just the way they go about it. I just wish the program were outside the restricted area so you can be a better man and not just get in trouble *then* get the programs."

The vast majority of respondents, however, felt as though the program was not an effective way to reduce violent misconduct (n = 18; 72%). Several themes emerged from these responses. Respondents, for example, felt as though the program was too punitive and was not managed in a way that could lead to meaningful change. Albert—a 40 year old Black/African American non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—described his frustration with the program and why he doesn't believe it is effective:

> No, cause they don't, it ain't surrounded about issues of violence. The program creates more issues than it helps. The COIII don't want to do the classes, they do other stuff. The COIII don't program and passes it off. We usually had several other COIII's. We had to interact with another COIII that isn't your caseload so they don't know your issues, your file. They can't help.

Like Albert, Simon—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—described how the program is too restrictive and will not reduce violent misconduct:

> No. Like I told you, locking someone in a cell like that is not going to change their outlook. Most times it's probably going to make it worse. Like me, after I went to restrictive housing I was slammed down for 2015 to 2017. Just slammed down. Like yeah, I was avoiding minor tickets, but now I think fuck that. I get in trouble for *stopping* a fight. If I am going to be locked down like that I am going to make it worth it.

Erik—a 30 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—further described how a deterrent-based strategy, like the RSHP, is not an appropriate way to address misconduct. He said:

> No, like I told ya, hell nah. On my way from CB-5 to Browning [maximum custody unit] I got in a fight. I didn't care about the program. I, from the inmate point of view, I just didn't care. It's useless. It restricts you of your property but nothing else. The officers grabbing you, the searching, nothing is productive in that program.

Like the correctional staff respondents described previously, the vast majority of inmate respondents, however, felt as though the program was not effective in reducing violence due to the nature of the prison environment, namely prison politics. When asked if the RSHP was an effective way to reduce violent misconduct, Ricardo—a 25 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—replied:

> "To an extent it does. Prison politics interferes with it. It depends. Those who are not into politics, they probably do alright. But some follow two rules, DOC [department of corrections] and prison politics. The politics can get in the way of what the program was trying to do."

Many, like Ricardo, felt as though prison politics and the prison environment necessitates the use of violence. For example, Nicholas—a 27 year old White non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting another inmate—described how the program was ineffective and how violence in prison is normalized, as a result of politics and expectations of behavior:

> It didn't stop me. The reason I say that, I spent almost a year there. I had to do it twice. I got found with a weapon and I got in a fight in class. Right after the class I got in a fight with my cellie [cellmate]. Prison is a place where violence happens. It's an everyday thing. It's like saying hi to your neighbor every day. It's normal. You got gangs, sex offenders, personal issues. That's what starts it, it's the atmosphere here. You may not want to fight but sometimes you get forced to do stuff. I honestly went through the motions and maybe picked up some. It's a way of life in here. You can't look weak in here. You might have to carry out

violence to make sure it doesn't happen to you...it's normal.

Many respondents described how violence in prison is inevitable, regardless of the amount of programming that is available. Victor—a 23 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—describes how violence is normal and at times expected:

> No, I mean, like I said no matter where you go there is always going to be something, like an assault. It's not like you want to but you are forced to do it. If someone comes and says something you are expected to stand up. The same with the CO's [correctional officers]. They talk how they want and if your people hear it they are like "you are going to let him talk to you like that?" A lot of us don't want that but we have to cause that is what it is.

This idea is complicated by the fact that these respondents believed that people, especially those in the prison environment, are just naturally violent. Xavier—a 45 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—describes his thoughts on why the RSHP is ineffective at reducing violence:

> How is it? What are they doing to reduce it? People are naturally violent. Prison is naturally violent. Some situations you can walk away from, others you can't. You can only mind your business to a certain extent. Would it stop me from getting in trouble? No, cause sometimes you are put in situations you have no control over.

Armando—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for a staff assault—agreed and said: "No, it's prison. People have nothing to lose in here. People are doing life, 20 years. People have no family and are institutionalized. Programs won't stop that. But for me I am used to being locked down, but yeah it's not going to change nothing." It is clear from these accounts that former RSHP participants do not generally believe the RSHP is an effective way to reduce violent misconduct. But what, if anything, can reduce violence in the opinions of former RSHP participants?

Identifying future directions for the RSHP. Accounts from interviews with former RSHP participants highlight a number of positive and negative aspects of the RSHP that help to explain the null and/or negative behavioral outcomes associated with placement in the RSHP. Coupled with the fact that the majority of respondents did not believe as though the program was an effective was to reduce serious violent misconduct, the most useful approach moving forward then, is identifying areas of improvement as perceived by those who have gone through the program. These former participants were asked to identify areas in which the RSHP can be improved moving forward. A number of themes emerged from these responses. Several respondents did not provide any improvements for the program. Instead, they felt like the program should be discontinued. For example, when asked what areas the RSHP needs improvement, Erik—a 30 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—replied:

> Shut it down. Just leave you in the hole, really. Same packets I did in the hole, I did at RSHP to get out. Then when I got to SMUI [maximum custody unit] I had to do it again. What's the point of doing 120 days without property just to do the same programs in max. custody?

Ricky—a 34 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for a group assault—agreed simply saying: "They shouldn't even have that program. Put them in the hole."

Improvements identified by former RSHP participants varied. To some, improvements centered on the physical environment where the program was operated as well as the correctional staff who oversaw the program. Rather than speaking to the elements of the program (e.g., group classes), these respondents felt that the physical

environment detracted from the effectiveness of the program. Bryan—a 30 year old Black/African American non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—described his negative experience in the RSHP:

> You should always be considerate about the necessities for each individual inmate in their cells. The temp. of the cells. The way it's facing [CB-5; the building that housed the RSHP] it soaks all the heat. At the time they didn't allow fans. Before it wasn't even a possibility. They should just consider that. The weather was bad in there. It was monsoon season and it was so hot. I went from hot to cold in there. The walls just soak it up. They give you jumpsuits and make you wear them. That wasn't necessary. They need to be considerate about the conditions. This is where we live, it's not like we got a choice. Nothing we can control. If it's hot, we can't do nothing. Then it's up to the CO [correctional officer] to give you tickets or not.

Nicholas—a 27 year old White non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for an inmate assault—agreed with Bryan saying:

> ...I had issues with access to the library, books, being able to read. They only had one cart with the same books. Being able to have access to cleaning supplies. Instead of having one phone have two. Being able to have 2 phones. The wait time and the showers. Just waiting there for people all the time. Waiting for water when its 110 degrees at rec. [recreation]...

Consistent with the correctional staff accounts described above, the availability of staff and the need for increased resources was highlighted by a number of respondents when asked to identify areas in need of improvement. For example, Gilberto—a 30 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—replied:

> Well like I said, more participation on behalf of the COIII's, that's the biggest issue. Some of them would leave and go on vacation for 2-3 weeks and it stops. No kites [written request sent to the prison staff], nothing. At RSHP we had two so they could fill in but even that wasn't consistent.

Ricardo—a 25 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—agreed saying:

> Hmm, tough question. Maybe more staff that are higher ranking as well. We only did COIII [correctional officer III]. Higher level staff, sergeant, lieutenant, warden, should participate and get to know the people in the program. They would understand us more and they can better understand the way we think and the reasons why we do what we do. It's complicated. We have DOC [department of corrections] and prison rules. The RSHP allows you to escape that. But yeah, have officers participate themselves. We can also work with officers to see how they think, too.

To others, identified improvements centered on the punitiveness of the program and the lack of privileges that were available in the RSHP. Specifically, these respondents described how the behavior requirements were overly strict and punitive. For example, Francisco—a 40 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for his participation in a riot—described how easy it was to fail in the program:

> Losing a step was very easy. That's why you have to try really hard. It [steps] affects your visits, your calls, your store. It's tough. The outside is what makes a person *be*. Like me, it's my family. If I had problems I would want to speak to them. But when you are stuck and can't do that it will drive you crazy.

Simon—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—agreed with Francisco saying:

> The first thing is the fact that they prolong your graduation for minor things. That's the thing I take away. You are here for four months, they need to stop nitpicking. They get you for not making your bed. Restarting the program for stupid shit. Like I am here for 1 year cause I didn't have my shirt on? That's shit. If he assaults somebody, then yeah. But not for that small shit. Put people in for longer for a clothes line?

This was complicated by the fact that respondents did not have access to many privileges to incentivize behavior. Alejandro—a 23 year old Black/African American violator who was also placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—for example, described the lack of privileges and property as areas in need of improvement:

> I don't know it's just, uh, well...when it came to store there was only certain things you could order. Allow us regular store, we were deprived of that. Don't

> know if that is a discipline thing. Oh, and it's hot in there with the jumpsuits. So hot. Let us wear regular clothes and the property, give us our property. Those are the main things. Just little things. Store, regular clothes, the jumpsuit alone.

This also was apparent after completing the program. Andres—a 31 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—described his own experience:

> ...As far as someone's commitment there. What's the purpose of going through and graduating a program just to get slammed down to a 5 [maximum custody level] right after? You should be able to do something better than you were before. Like with me, I did everything and successfully completed and now I am here with no counseling and in a place worse than before. Like why did I ever do the program and graduate? You gain nothing from it. You go into the same setting or worse.

The remaining respondents, when asked to identify areas in need of improvement, focused on socialization and the desire to have more contact with others. Like Andres and Alejandro, Armando—a 28 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was housed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—again comments on the lack of privileges, but at the same time identified the need for more socialization:

> Better, order more store [commissary] for them. They only allow you $5 a week. Better, more programming. Let them come out, table time, socialize together. When you are stuck in your cell staring at the walls it messes with you. Even though we did something bad, we need to socialize. If we are locked up we get mad, it breaks you down. Let them go to rec. [recreation], work out, but I know they won't do that cause we are violent people.

To some this meant more time in the unit and being allowed more unstructured time to socialize. For example, Shaun—a 25 year old Hispanic/Latino violator who was also placed in the RSHP for an assault on staff—replied: "Maybe some pod time to get out of the cell. They put some other people in there, not sure if it was us [RSHP], but they should let us come out of our cell and socialize a bit more."

To others it meant more structured time engaged in programming. James—a 21 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for assaulting a staff member—described his desire for more classroom time: "Probably I would say like more classes, not just going there for one hour a day then twenty-three lockdown. Have classes longer so we are not wasting our time." Charles—a 31 year old Hispanic/Latino non-violator who was placed in the RSHP for participating in a riot—described how he would like more one-on-one interactions with program staff while at the same time acknowledging the difficulties in the request. When asked to identify areas in need of improvement he replied:

> I think just, uh, one-on-one's. I think that would be that. Pull people once a week, ya know? What else would help? Um, I think that's about it. There isn't much you can really do. Cause you are suppose to be a hard program cause you want people to learn. If you start giving people this, this, this, they will think it's easy. You want people to not go to that program. But yeah, one-on-one's would be good. You only go out for rec. [recreation], shower, class and that's it. Sometimes you would be locked in for 48 hours without getting out. That can mess with your mind.

Conclusion

The overall goal of this chapter was to provide contextual information that can be used to understand the effects of program placement and to better understand the quantitative results of behavioral misconduct presented in Chapter 4. This chapter examined the mechanisms through which the RSHP works or does not work by analyzing themes identified through analyses of qualitative data collected during semi-structured interviews with correctional staff and former participants of the RSHP. There were a number of themes that emerged from the qualitative interviews with correctional staff and former participants that can help explain why the RSHP did not have its intended effects.

Punitiveness. While the RSHP as implemented by the ADC incorporates a number of therapeutic and programmatic elements, it was clear from both the correctional staff and former participant responses that the program maintained many of the punitive elements of traditional placements in restrictive housing. Correctional staff emphasized the belief that the population of inmates who are housed in the RSHP are high-risk, requiring enhanced security and attention when compared to populations in a traditional restrictive housing setting. They also believed that some sort of punitive response was needed when an individual engages in serious violent misconduct within the institution. The perception of the RSHP participants as a dangerous, high-risk group also meant that correctional staff perceived a need to isolate the inmate and capture their attention by significantly reducing privileges and using incentives in an attempt to promote prosocial behavior.

At the same time, former RSHP participants felt as though the program was too punitive and was not managed in a way that could lead to meaningful change. The majority of former RSHP participants who had experience in these housing environments described the RSHP as worse than or the same as prior/current placements in restrictive housing. These respondents focused exclusively on the restriction of property and lack of privileges as the primary reason why placement in the RSHP was worse than traditional placements following an act of institutional violence. This ultimately led to the perception by former participants that the program was too punitive and was not managed in a way that could lead to meaningful change.

While the majority of RSHP participants believed the program was far too punitive to motivate real change, there were others who viewed the program as a positive

experience. The reason for this centered on the availability of programs and the ability to interact and socialize with others. At the same time, correctional staff emphasized the need to secure and maintain physical control while at the same time providing opportunities to change through programming. Correctional staff also believed that positive reinforcement and procedurally fair and just treatment were the best ways to address and reduce violence and that those elements should be improved moving forward. In the end, both correctional staff and former participants of the RSHP highlighted how the punitiveness of the program acted as a strong deterrent to rule-breaking behavior. Correctional staff and former participants agreed that the rigid expectations of behavior and the punitiveness of the program, when compared to traditional placements in maximum custody following an act of serious violence, deterred participants from engaging in violence and misconduct both during and after the program.

Inconsistent service delivery. The need to secure and maintain physical control of the RSHP participants in addition to providing opportunities for change through programming required a lot of resources. In fact, the majority of correctional staff felt as though the RSHP lacked the resources necessary to operate the program effectively. The lack of staffing and resources in the RSHP, in the opinion of both correctional staff and former participants, reduced the program staff's ability to deliver consistent and effective services to program participants. Instead, the limited resources were appropriated to the movement of inmates and the maintenance of a safe and secure housing unit through the enforcement of rules and regulations, rather than on the programmatic elements such as group counseling. Correctional staff described frustration in their ability to manage the

RSHP population while at the same time being required to conduct group classes and oversee participant progress through the program. Correctional staff also believed that the limited resources that were devoted to the program reduced their ability to manage other inmates and units within the facility.

Like the correctional staff, former RSHP participants, described how the program in their view, lacked fidelity and commitment by the correctional staff who managed the day-to-day operation of the program. Former participants consistently described how the program materials were meaningless due to the lack of oversight from the program staff. These respondents also described how placement in the RSHP meant that they were housed in the single-cells for the majority of the time and would only attend classroom programming, for example, once a week for an hour or less. This may be partially due to the limited resources that were available in the program. Overall, both the former RSHP participants and correctional staff identified the availability of staff and the need for increased resources as significant areas in need of improvement in the RSHP.

Motivation and compliance. Correctional staff, like the former participants, believed as though the lack of available resources and staff affected the integrity of the program and worked to reduce motivation and meaningful engagement in the program materials amongst the participants. Next to the need for more resources to effectively manage the program, correctional staff described the difficulty in securing compliance and motivating meaningful participation as one of the main challenges faced in the day-to-day operation of the RSHP. Partly due to the lack of resources, staff felt that they were unable to provide consistent and quality programing which they believed led to disengagement on behalf of the participants. At the same time, former RSHP participants

described how in addition to the perceived lack of oversight from program staff, the involuntary nature of the program led to resistance and animosity. It was clear from the accounts of both staff and former participants that there had to be some level of motivation on behalf of the participant in order for the program to be effective.

In addition, correctional staff and former participants alike, believed as though it was up to the individual to change. Both groups described how any amount of programming will be ineffective if the individual is not motivated or does not want to change; especially in a program, like the RSHP, that only lasts a short duration of time. Both correctional staff and former participants felt that, regardless of the resources and integrity of the program, it was up to the individual to change. The role of choice and human agency continued to emerge as both a perceived predictor of violent misconduct as well as in determining meaningful participation in programming.

Influence of external prison environment. Human agency and choice, however, was perceived as unlikely as there are external pressures within the prison environment that at times, necessitate violence. Both correctional staff and former participants described how the prison environment is subject to a variety of competing forces, such as security threat groups and the inmate code, which at times requires and necessitates violence, regardless of program involvement and individual decisions to change. These forces, in the eyes of the two groups, resulted in individuals being required or forced to engage in violent misconduct or risk personal repercussions (e.g., physical victimization). Former participants and correctional staff described that while many do not want to engage in violence, there were times in which they had no choice. This was true even

amongst those who described positive change and meaningful engagement in the RSHP materials.

In light of this reality, correctional staff and former RSHP participants highlighted the importance of structure and separation from the general prison population as necessary to facilitate meaningful change. While some respondents believed as though the involuntary nature of the program reduced motivation and compliance, they also described how a mandatory program actually forced individuals to engage in *some* level of programming. This ultimately meant that participants needed to be isolated from forces in the general prison population, such as the inmate code and the perceived influence of security threat groups, in order to meaningfully engage in the program and to take steps toward individual-change.

Comparing former RSHP violators and non-violators. It is also interesting to note that there did not always appear to be substantial differences between those former participants that had a major violation (i.e., Violator) following placement in the RSHP when compared to those who did not have a violation (i.e., Non-Violator). Table 5.3 provides a breakdown between violators and non-violators on the a priori themes described in this chapter.

As shown in Table 5.3, only one violator (10%) believed that placement in the RSHP was a more positive experience compared to traditional placements in segregation following an act of serious institutional misconduct or violence. This was fairly consistent with the non-violator sample, where only four respondents (26.6%) felt the RSHP was more positive. When asked to identify specific positive aspects of their placement in the program, four violators (40%) provided an example of a positive aspect

of the program. Non-violators, on the other hand, were more likely to respond with a positive example. Overall, just over half of the non-violators identified some positive aspect of the RSHP (53.3%; *n* = 8).

Turning to specific components of the program, the majority of each sample felt that the group counseling provided in the program was useful. For violators, only three respondents (30%) believed that the group counseling was not useful. This was consistent amongst the non-violators sample where four respondents (26.7%) believed that the group counseling was not useful. Opinions of the self-study packets, however, were more mixed amongst each sample. Only one respondent with a violation (10%) felt that the self-study packets were not helpful, while three violators (30%) were unsure. On the other hand, just over half of the non-violator sample believed that the self-study packets were useful (53.3%; *n* = 8).

The last column in Table 5.3 presents the breakdown amongst the two samples in their opinion of whether the RSHP is effective in reducing serious violent misconduct. Overall, the majority of each sample did not believe that the program was effective (72%; *n* = 18). Amongst violators, only three respondents (30%) believed that, yes, the program was effective. This was consistent amongst the non-violator sample where only four respondents (26.6%) felt the RSHP was effective in reducing serious violent misconduct.

There were a number of themes that emerged which may explain why there does not appear to be significant differences between those who had a major violation after completing the RSHP and those who did not. As noted above, human agency and choice appeared to be the main motivator for those who both meaningfully engaged in the program and for those who remained misconduct free. This appeared to be a central

difference between the violators and non-violators included in the sample, especially in regard to meaningful completion of the self-study packets. Those who remained misconduct free described how they made a conscious choice to both meaningfully engage in programming and to refrain from misconduct. There were others, however, that actively resisted programming and subsequent change. These are those respondents who described "going through the motions," "writing whatever," and doing the "bare-minimum" to progress through the program's steps. Complicating the matter, even amongst those who made the decision to change, there were those who felt as though the prison social environment, at times, necessitated the use of violence. These individuals, while recognizing their desire and need for change, believed they had no choice but to engage in and respond to certain situations with violence. In the end, when evaluating the efficacy of a program, it is critical that research measures the level of engagement, motivation, and desire for change amongst those who are placed in the program.

Table 5.3 Comparison Between Former RSHP Participant Violators and Non-Violators

Alias	Group	Better than Traditional Segregation?	Identified Positive Aspect of RSHP	Group Counseling Helpful?	Self-Study Packets Helpful?	ETV Modules Helpful?	RSHP Reduces Misconduct?
Ricardo	Violator	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Armando	Violator	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Alejandro	Violator	N/A	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Simon	Violator	No	No	No	No	N/A	No
Gilberto	Violator	N/A	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Roy	Violator	Undecided	No	No	Undecided	N/A	No
Samuel	Violator	N/A	**Yes**	**Yes**	Undecided	N/A	**Yes**
Shaun	Violator	N/A	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Erik	Violator	No	No	No	Undecided	N/A	No
Donald	Violator	Undecided	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Andres	Non-Violator	Undecided	**Yes**	**Yes**	Undecided	No	No
Albert	Non-Violator	**Yes**	No	No	No	N/A	No
Francisco	Non-Violator	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Bryan	Non-Violator	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	N/A	No
Victor	Non-Violator	N/A	**Yes**	**Yes**	Undecided	No	No
Xavier	Non-Violator	No	No	No	No	N/A	No
Charles	Non-Violator	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	N/A	**Yes**
James	Non-Violator	N/A	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	N/A	**Yes**
Marcus	Non-Violator	N/A	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Frankie	Non-Violator	Undecided	Undecided	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Felipe	Non-Violator	N/A	Undecided	**Yes**	**Yes**	N/A	No
Darin	Non-Violator	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	N/A	No
Ricky	Non-Violator	No	No	**Yes**	No	N/A	No
Cecil	Non-Violator	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	Undecided	**Yes**	No
Nicholas	Non-Violator	Undecided	Undecided	No	No	No	No

The final chapter of the dissertation, Chapter 6, will explore the implications of the results of this dissertation in more detail and will discusses potential reasons for the mixed-effect of the RSHP placement on future institutional misconduct. Based on these explanations the final chapter of the dissertation will also put forth a series of program recommendations that could be incorporated into the RSHP moving forward. Chapter 6 will close with a discussion of the limitations of the current research.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

The use of restrictive housing in U.S. prisons in response to violent misconduct is a contentious issue. While prior research suggests that placement in restrictive housing tends to have a minimal effect on outcomes such as recidivism (see for e.g., Butler et al., 2017; Clark & Duwe, 2017; Lovell et al., 2007; Mears & Bales, 2009), much less attention has been paid to the effect of placement on other behavioral outcomes such as institutional misconduct (see for exception, Butler et al., 2018; Labrecque, 2015; Morris, 2016). Further, as Meyers and colleagues (2018) have argued, "discussions of whether placement in restrictive housing is 'good' or 'bad' creates a missed opportunity to critically and objectively evaluate the practice" (pp. 13-14). Equally important for future correctional policy, there is limited information on alternative approaches to restrictive housing for handling inmates who have engaged in serious violence within the institution (Meyers et al., 2018). With estimates of up to 100,000 inmates being held in segregated units in 2014, and the mixed evidence of the behavioral and psychological effects of these placements, the absence of reliable information and lack of rigorous, theoretically-informed outcome evaluations of alternative approaches is a significant problem. This dissertation aimed to improve upon prior research.

The purpose of the current dissertation was to determine whether a restrictive housing program, designed for those who engage in serious violent misconduct, impacted the future behavioral outcomes of inmates. There were two research questions that guided the research:

1) What are the behavioral outcomes associated with completion of the RSHP?

2) What are the mechanisms by which the RSHP affects behavioral outcomes?

Guided by these questions, the research presented here builds upon the limited knowledge base on restrictive housing and segregation by focusing on overcoming existing limitations in prior research. This dissertation contributes to the literature through the use of a quasi-experimental design with treatment and comparison groups being balanced on numerous covariates to better understand the effects of placement in a restrictive housing setting that includes therapeutic program elements. To date, there are few studies of the effects of placement on behavioral outcomes such as institutional misconduct. This study includes measures of the incidence and prevalence across five different types of institutional misconduct. In addition, this study is one of the first to incorporate a mixed-method research design that used qualitative analyses to contextualize the results from the quantitative analyses of behavioral outcomes. Last, the study includes the perspectives of correctional staff and administrators who work in a restrictive housing unit that incorporates programming and therapeutic elements and who have been largely absent from prior research on the effects of restrictive housing placements.

As described in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, results from this dissertation suggest that placement in the RSHP has a null and at times, adverse effect on the prevalence and incidence of future institutional misconduct. While the RSHP as implemented by the ADC incorporated more therapeutic elements when compared to traditional placements in restrictive housing, it appears as though placement in the program did not produce significant behavioral effects amongst participants. Those who were placed in the RSHP

were more likely to have minor violations during both follow-up periods and were more likely to have a major misconduct violation in the year following completion of the program.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Interviews with correctional staff and former RSHP participants suggest several broad explanations as to why placement in the RSHP may lead to these effects. These explanations are somewhat consistent with prior research on violence reduction programs in prison that have produced null or negative results (see for example, Butler et al., 2018; Lambert et al., 2007; Strah et al., 2018). The following sections discuss these possibilities while providing suggestions for correctional agencies looking to improve their treatment of violent offenders in a restrictive housing setting.

Inclusion criteria. There is reason to believe that placement in the RSHP was ineffective partially due to the involuntary nature of the program. It has been suggested that forcing an individual to engage in treatment may lead to animosity and an increased resistance to meaningful program participation (see generally, Sherman, 1993). Existing evidence suggests that there needs to be at least some level of motivation amongst participants for treatment programs to be effective (Lambert et al., 2007; McMurran, 2009; Prendergast et al., 2002). This is a relatively common finding in other treatment literatures, especially in the area of mandated substance abuse treatment (see for e.g., De Leon et al., 2000; Farabee et al., 1999; Hiller et al., 2002; Majer et al., 2015).

As described in Chapter 5, this theme was evident in the correctional staff and former participant accounts of the program. In fact, next to the need for more resources to effectively manage the program, correctional staff described the difficulty in securing

compliance and motivating meaningful participation as one of the primary challenges faced in their day-to-day operation of the RSHP. Former RSHP participants also described their lack of motivation given that the program was involuntary. This contention was partially due to the perceived lack of oversight from program staff by former participants. It might be that the length of the program needs to be extended given its involuntary nature (Lambert et al., 2007). As it currently operates, the RSHP can be completed in a minimum of 120 days or be extended until the participant satisfies the requirements of each program step (ASPC-F, 2014, pp. 3-4). It may be that the length of the program needs to be extended to allow for a greater chance of change in commitment and motivation. At the same time, however, this could result in increased resentment and resistance over time without the inclusion of structured incentives. This is especially true in a restrictive housing setting that was described by some participants as significantly more punitive than traditional placements in segregation following an act of institutional violence.

Policy recommendation #1. Correctional agencies who implement restrictive housing units that include programming in response to violent misconduct should evaluate the participant's progress through the program using measures of content and quality in the materials completed by participants. Advancement through a program should be dependent upon the *meaningful completion* of program materials rather than simply whether they completed the materials or attended the class. This, however, requires adequate and qualified staffing that can oversee the day-to-day progress of individual participants. In addition to providing quality programming, these staff should work to engage and motivate the participants using structured incentives and more

individualized treatment plans. One option would be to incorporate motivational interviewing training for officers who oversee these types of programs. Motivational interviewing is a type of communication style that focuses on individual clients and seeks to address participant's own reasons and motivations for cognitive and behavioral change (Mann, Ginsburg, & Weekes, 2002). These techniques are aligned with the responsivity principle of effective correctional intervention and have been found to be effective in increasing engagement and retention in treatment (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; McMurran, 2009; National Institute of Corrections, 2004).

Measuring change. A limitation of this study is that it is solely focused on behavioral outcomes, specifically official counts of institutional misconduct. It could be that the RSHP improved other areas such as agreeableness, future orientation, or self-control. As noted in Chapter 3, the RSHP attempts to "prompt real change in the thought processes and values of participating inmates" (ASPC-F, 2014, p. 2). As described by both correctional staff and former participants, there were in fact participants who participated in the program that, while they may have not refrained from all forms of misconduct, believed that the program help them change their thinking patterns. A number of the participants and staff described how the program allowed participants to "slow down and think" before engaging in violent misconduct. Former RSHP participants and correctional staff alike described how there was real change that occurred amongst some of the participants. Most of this evidence, however, was anecdotal and not fully supported by the quantitative analyses.

Policy recommendation #2. Success can and should be measured in a number of ways. While there were former participants that epitomize non-success by continuing to

engage in serious violent misconduct, there were also participants who, despite their prior offending history, remained misconduct free after completing the program. Correctional agencies implementing alternative responses to violent misconduct should not only measure behavioral changes, as was done here, but also try to incorporate evaluative measures of pro-social cognitions or changes in personality. Measurement of these changes may help better explain the differences between those who violate after the program and those who do not.

Translation of program into practice. As described in Chapter 5, both correctional staff and former participants of the program agreed that the program was far more punitive than traditional placements in segregation following an act of violent misconduct. To participants, this punitiveness centered on the lack of access to personal property, incentives for good behavior, as well as significant restrictions on movement throughout the facility. These participants described how the restriction of property was the primary difference between placement in RSHP and other placements in restrictive housing settings. To staff, this punitiveness was necessary in order to "get the inmate's attention" following an act of violence; some sort of punitive response was needed after an individual physically assaulted another person, staff or inmate, within the institution.

Policy recommendation #3. While it may be initially necessary to secure compliance through a deterrence-based approach, the RSHP could be improved upon with the inclusion of more incentives for rule-abiding behavior. As it currently operates, the RSHP enforces strict restrictions on movement and property throughout the stages of the program. It may be that the incentives provided as one progresses to each step are not enough to truly motivate an individual to change. Moving forward, programs like the

RSHP may be improved with the inclusion of more structured incentives for rule-abiding behaviors. This could include low cost modifications such as allowing inmates access to more personal property as they progress through the program.

Resource availability. The RSHP as implemented by the ADC appeared, at times, to lack a consistent delivery of service. As noted in Chapter 2, few correctional agencies function in a way that facilitates the delivery of effective treatment programs (Gendreau, Goggin, & Smith, 1999). This appeared to be the case in the RSHP. While the components of the program were based on known concepts of behavior change, such as cognitive behavioral therapy, the delivery of service may have impacted outcomes. It is also possible that the materials used in the program need to be reassessed, as many of these programs have yet to be subjected to rigorous empirical evaluation. Based on the former participant accounts described in Chapter 5, many of the respondents believed as though the RSHP lacked oversight from correctional staff. These participants felt that there was no quality check or meaningful engagement by the program staff into the materials (e.g., self-study packets) that the participants were required to complete. Instead, respondents described simply filling out and completing the required materials just to advance through the program. This was complicated by the fact that participants did not always relate to the materials provided, causing them to mentally disengage from the program. At the same time, correctional staff overwhelmingly identified the exorbitant amount of resources that were necessary to manage the participants of the RSHP while at the same time delivering quality programming. The staff experienced frustration in their inability to both manage the highly restrictive movements of

participants throughout the unit with the added expectation of providing quality programming.

Policy recommendation #4. While an obvious recommendation would be to allocate more resources to the program, correctional agencies, like ADC, do not necessarily have the resources that may be required to deliver a program to a population of inmates who have lengthy misconduct histories and those who have previously engaged in serious violence. For example, a Regional Operations Director who was interviewed for this dissertation noted that the ADC is currently operating with "well over 900 correctional officer positons" that are vacant. It was also noted in Chapter 5 that many of the correctional staff believed as though the increased resources needed to operate the RSHP detracted from their ability to oversee other units within the prison. This places correctional agencies, like ADC, in a very difficult position. In the face of significant resource and budget deficits, programs like the RSHP become secondary to the goals of maintaining the safety and security of the institution via inmate supervision and rule enforcement. Moving forward, programs like the RSHP would benefit from the inclusion of peer-mentors, or those who have shown successful progress in the program. These untapped assets can be used to fill the resource gap describe by both samples in this study. A mentorship program in which successful graduates and participants assist struggling graduates could improve outcomes not only for the mentee but also for the mentor (Cook et al., 2008).

Consideration of extraneous forces. A criticism of treatment approaches, especially in the context of the prison environment, is that treatment programs often target individual offenders for change and pay little attention to the context and

atmosphere in which the individual exists. As articulated by Cullen and Gendreau (2000), "a reasonable concern is whether such programs will work if offenders are simply returned to the community that caused them to become criminals in the first place" (p. 150) (see also Wright et al., 2012). This may have been the case with the RSHP. Both correctional staff and former participants described how the prison environment and the politics dictating behavior within correctional institutions at times necessitate the use of violence (see for e.g., Clemmer, 1940; Irwin & Cressey, 1962; Sykes, 1958).

Former participants and correctional staff alike described how there were situations that occur in the prison environment that "force" individuals to engage in violent or disruptive behavior. These respondents believed that those in the prison must maintain an aggressive personality and reputation in order to reduce their likelihood for victimization. Maintaining this reputation often required violent retaliation (Copes, Bookman, & Brown, 2013). One example of this comes from the large number of participants who were placed in the RSHP for their participation in a riot. Former participants and correctional staff described that when a collective disturbance occurs, individuals are expected to participate and defend their own racial group. Failure to participate, they claimed, would result in severe repercussions in the form of physical victimization by those in their own racial group for not adhering to expected codes of conduct. To correctional staff, these expectations of behavior were intricately intertwined with the role of security threat groups (STGs) within the institution. Security threat groups include those individuals who are most likely to conform to the politics of the prison environment (e.g., convict code) and are the most likely to engage in misconduct within the institution (DeLisi et al., 2004; Gaes et al., 2002; Griffin & Hepburn, 2006).

It may also be possible that placement in the RSHP following an act of serious institutional misconduct led to increased surveillance of former participants upon their arrival to a new housing location. This includes the possibility that relatively negligible rule violations amongst former participants were taken more seriously by staff. This, for example, could explain why those who completed the RSHP were more likely to accrue minor violations during the six and twelve-month follow-up periods. Staff ultimately could have been less tolerable of rule violating behavior amongst a group of inmates who had undergone an intensive program. It may also be that the increased resources needed to operate the program resulted in resentment amongst staff who were further burdened by a lack of resources that were instead devoted to the RSHP rather than the normal operation of the facility.

Policy recommendation #5. One potential solution to this would be the incorporation of aftercare services or "booster sessions" for those who complete the program (Meyers et al., 2018)—especially when considering the differences in minor and major misconduct violations during the six and twelve-month follow-ups. Consistent with principles of effective offender intervention, relapse prevention in the form of booster sessions, are necessary as program effects diminish over time (Cullen & Gendreau, 1989; Gendreau, 1996). This approach includes providing safe avenues for inmates to disengage from their participation in security threat groups without fear of repercussion. Correctional administrators may also benefit from the inclusion of security threat group members that are targeted for intervention in programs like the RSHP. Research suggests that programs that target STG members can be effective in reducing subsequent misconduct (see for e.g., Di Placido et al., 2006).

Implications for Criminological Theory

While the discussion above describes a number of reasons why the RSHP does not have its intended effect on behavioral outcomes, it may also be that the program rests on weak theoretical foundations. It may be that the program as implemented by the ADC, while incorporating several forms of programming, does not address the reasons *why* individuals engage in violence within correctional institutions. It may be that the characteristics of people and their immediate social environment might impact decisions to engage in violent misconduct.

Deterrence and principles of effective correctional intervention. As noted above, while the RSHP incorporates some of the elements of the principles of effective correctional intervention, the program maintained many of the deterrence-based and punitive elements of traditional placements in restrictive housing. As described in Chapter 2, there is limited evidence that punitive and deterrence-based programs are effective in reducing misconduct or in generating other positive changes for participants (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000; Lipsey & Cullen, 2007). While it may be necessary to obtain secure control over an individual following an act of institutional violence, deterrence-based approaches should be balanced with the incorporation of therapeutic elements. These therapeutic elements should also be empirically and theoretically-relevant for the targeted population. There has been decade's worth of research devoted to the explanation of why violence occurs with correctional facilities. Unfortunately, disciplinary programs, like the RSHP, at times neglect these causes. It is critical that correctional agencies implementing alternative treatment approaches in response to violent misconduct design their programs in a theoretically sound way to address the

specific reasons why individuals engage in violent misconduct. Agencies seeking to implement programs like the RSHP would be well-suited to shift the focus from a deterrence-based approach to one that follows the principles of effective correctional intervention during the design and subsequent targeting of participants for treatment.

Deprivation model. As described in Chapter 2, the deprivation model posits that violence and misconduct are adaptive responses to the "pains of imprisonment" (Sykes, 1958). These pains of imprisonment include the loss of personal liberties and autonomy that exist outside of correctional facilities. Due to these significant restrictions, an oppositional culture develops that rewards violence and opposition to authority. It was clear from the accounts of former RSHP participants that the restriction of personal property, autonomy, and punitiveness of the program led some to withdraw and actively resist the programming that was being offered. Participants, if anything, believed as though their placement in the program deprived them above and beyond the traditional response to an act of violent misconduct. They also described a lack of incentive to actively engage in programming if it did not benefit them meaningfully. Respondents described how adherence to the program's rules and regulations did not always lead to privileges and opportunities that mattered. Instead, they were given what they already believed they deserved or were owed.

Programs, like the RSHP, can be a useful management tool that can work to reduce the "pains of imprisonment" and increase the likelihood of meaningful participation on the program's components. It is critical that these programs move beyond keeping participants occupied, but rather provide structured opportunities for actual change (McCorkle, Miethe, & Drass, 1995). This means that programs, like the

RSHP, should work to reduce, or ideally, eliminate, known "pains" of participants and work to provide programming that addresses those deprivations. Incentives and privileges can be structured in a way that reduces the deprivation felt by those who are incarcerated. These assessments would be most effective when they are developed on a case-by-case basis as needs vary across individuals. This strategy should ultimately result in a more pro-social and rule abiding behavior and a greater likelihood for self-directed motivation for change amongst participants.

Importation model. While correctional administrators may be able to lessen the deprivation felt by those under their control, it is more challenging to address socialization experiences and attitudes of inmates that were developed prior to placement in a correctional facility. Under the importation model, the values and attitudes held by those entering prisons are the leading predictors of violence and misconduct (Irwin, 1980). Unlike the deprivation model, which can be used to identify the primary deprivations that increase the likelihood of violent misconduct, the variables proposed under the importation model are less amenable to change. For example, age is the strongest known correlate of misconduct and offending more generally (Farrington, 1983; Flanagan, 1983; Gendreau et al., 1997). Waiting until someone ages out of crime and misconduct, however, is not a realistic policy and one that could lead to long-term confinement of troublesome inmates.

Instead, correctional agencies seeking alternatives to restrictive housing in response to serious violent misconduct should target those individuals who are at the highest risk for subsequent violence. The known correlates of misconduct articulated under the importation model and the principles of effective correctional intervention

provide a useful blueprint for the identification of those who are best suited for a targeted intervention. This includes those who are younger and who have a lower educational level. It also means that programs like the RSHP should target those individuals who have a lengthier history of institutional offending and those who are most centrally involved in security threat groups or gangs within the institution. Rather than targeting every individual who engages in an act of serious misconduct, correctional administrators and staff should target those individuals who, theoretically, have the greatest likelihood to engage in violent misconduct in the future.

Administrative control model. The results from the qualitative analyses of interview data with correctional staff and former participants also have implications for the administrative control model of prison misconduct. Under this model, characteristics of the facility or unit, such as inadequate training and reduced staffing, increase the likelihood for both collective and individual-level misconduct (DiIulio, 1987). The breakdown in the ability to manage the RSHP while providing effective programming was a primary concern for not only the correctional staff who work in the program but also for the individuals who participated in the program. Staff described their inability to both maintain a safe and orderly unit while providing effective programming. In addition, based on these accounts, it was not always clear whether or not the staff who were tasked with providing programming were adequately trained to either conduct or respond to the needs of a high-risk population. Partially as a result of inadequate staffing and training, former RSHP participants described frustration with the perceived lack of oversight and quality instruction by program staff. These participants could simply "go through the motions" of the program and advance steps without actually engaging meaningfully in

the components of the program. The signal that the unit is understaffed and inadequately trained led to a perceive breakdown in the control of the unit. This breakdown led some former participants to disengage from programming and may have reduced the likelihood that the program would actually have an effect on subsequent behavior.

Programs like the RSHP that are aimed at providing an alternative response to serious violent misconduct should ensure that the program and the unit in which it operates are equipped with an adequate number of staff that can manage both the increased restrictions of movement, as well as administer consistent and effective programming. Moreover, these staff should be providing training in a number of areas, such as in program administration and instruction, as well as training geared to recognizing and responding to the needs of a population that previously engaged in violent misconduct. Programs that fail to do so might signal administrative breakdown that could lead to resistance and even increased rates of misconduct.

Opportunities for Future Research

There are a number of limitations in this dissertation that warrant further discussion. First, the current dissertation is limited in its generalizability to other correctional agencies and institutions. Data in this dissertation were collected from one correctional agency in a single state. It is not clear to what extent the findings here can be generalized to other agencies or jurisdictions. Relatedly, this dissertation explored the behavioral outcomes amongst a sample of male inmates and thus cannot speak to the generalizability or applicability of the results to a female sample of inmates who have engaged in violent misconduct. Prior research has found that females are less likely to engage in violent misconduct while incarcerated, suggesting that there are different

structural conditions and expressions of violence that occur between genders (see for e.g., Harer & Langan, 2001).

Second, this study focuses on official behavioral measures of misconduct. It is critical, given the evidence of significant psychological distress caused by placement in segregated housing environments, especially long-term placement, that future research continue to include outcome measures related to participant's mental health (Smith, 2006). As noted in Chapter 3, this limitation is somewhat minimized in the current research given that placement in the RSHP is contingent upon the participant having a mental health score that does not require a "mental health intervention" (e.g., placement in a mental health unit; Directors Instruction #326, p. 6). This does not mean, however, that those who are placed in the program do not have the potential to experience psychological distress associated with their placement. This distress, in fact, was described by a number of former RSHP participants. Future research should include measures of mental health taken before, during, and after participation when examining future outcomes associated with placement in restrictive housing. Correctional agencies seeking to implement alternative strategies to restrictive housing would be well-suited to continually monitor the mental health of those who are targeted for intervention and intervene when necessary.

Third, this dissertation does not constitute a true experiment in that there was no randomized placement. Instead, this study used a quasi-experimental approach that balanced RSHP participants and a matched-comparison group on a series of known covariates. A potential problem with the propensity score matching approach used in this dissertation is the possibility of unmeasured covariates that could have influenced the

matching procedure used and in the end, may have affected the results generated from these analyses. While the matching approach used in this dissertation relied on a number of theoretically-relevant covariates, it is possible that unmeasured covariates could explain the results presented here. In the current dissertation there were a number of covariates that were unavailable (e.g., victimization, STG embeddedness) that could call into question the results due to improper matching.

Lastly, this dissertation focused solely on official measures of institutional misconduct. Like the mental health considerations described above, future research examining the effect of placement in a restrictive housing unit that incorporates programming should explore other outcomes such as self-reported offending, changes in emotion, cognitive thinking, agreeableness, or future orientation (Giordano, Cernovich, & Rudolph, 2002; Maruna, 2001). Future research should explore these outcomes in addition to other factors that have been associated with the likelihood of institutional misconduct such as social support and relationships with one's social networks (Cochran, 2014; Cullen, 1994; Jiang & Winfree, 2006; Siennick, Mears, & Bales, 2013). Limitations aside, this study is one of the first to examine institutional behavioral outcomes associated with placement in a restrictive housing unit that includes programmatic elements following a violent misconduct infraction.

Conclusion

Restrictive status housing is, at times, an unfortunate necessity in corrections. Just as those who are incarcerated may need to be removed from society, there are those within the prison setting, especially those who engage in violence within the institution, who may need to be removed from the general population. The key, then, is to devise a

form of restrictive housing that does no additional harm to inmates and one that incorporates elements that are known to be effective in changing behavior over the long-term.

As correctional agencies continue to search for strategies to address serious institutional misconduct, outcome evaluations of alternative approaches should not only continue to identify "what works" but also what does not work and for who (French & Gendreau, 2006; Strah et al., 2018). While there has been a great deal of research conducted on the effects of these placements, researchers using different methodologies and samples tend to find varying effects of placement in restrictive housing. Qualitative studies on the effects of placement in segregation, for example, are limited in their ability to draw comparisons to other populations and settings. How should these described effects be compared to the entire body of research in this area?

At the same time, quantitative studies examining placement effects are limited in their ability to dissect individual differences between those who are exposed to a restrictive housing setting. It may be that the null effects of placement described in prior research may simply mean that there are those who do not have negative experiences while in placement, or who may even do better, and some that do significantly worse after their placement. Research should be able to identify who, under what conditions, does better or worse in these environments. The issues surrounding placement in segregation are divisive and complicated. Future research should move beyond broad debates about the practice and instead focus on identifying individual and contextual differences amongst those who are housed in these environments.

This study moves beyond those limitations in a number of ways. The research presented here employed a mixed-methods approach including a longitudinal, quasi-experimental research design that matched former RSHP participants to a comparison group of inmates who were eligible for placement in the program but received an alternative placement. In addition, this dissertation incorporated qualitative data culled from in-depth, semi-structured interviews with correctional staff and former participants of the RSHP. This study found that placement in the RSHP did not lead to improved behavioral outcomes amongst those who completed the program. In fact, those placed in the program fared worse on a number of behavioral misconduct outcomes when compared to a statistically-matched comparison group. There were a number of reasons why this might be the case. Qualitative interviews with program staff and former participants suggest that the program was overly punitive and deterrent based, lacked sufficient resources and consistent delivery of service, had difficulty securing motivation and compliance, and did not always attend to the underlying causes of why individuals engage in serious violent misconduct. Findings from this dissertation show that not all experiences in restrictive housing are the same, and not all inmates experience their placement in the same ways.

The current debate over restrictive housing and segregation mirrors earlier correctional debates in assuming that all restrictive housing placements are the same and that all those who are housing in these environments will be similarly affected (see for e.g., Martinson, 1974). What is clear, is that a correctional policy that involves long-term placement in segregation following an act of serious violent misconduct will likely lead to adverse outcomes and exorbitant costs for correctional agencies. In the end, restrictive

housing in response to serious misconduct can and should be designed to do no further harm to those who placed in these environments. The inclusion of programming in restrictive housing that equips participants with the skills and behaviors needed to refrain from continued misconduct may be the best bet for correctional agencies moving forward.

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APPENDIX A

RULE VIOLATIONS IN THE ARIZONA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

CLASS A VIOLATIONS
Aggravated Assault (Inmate on Inmate) – Assault on another inmate • Resulting in serious physical injury to another inmate, or • Discharge, use of or threatening exhibition of a deadly weapon or dangerous instrument, or • Resulting in temporary but substantial disfigurement, loss or impairment of any body organ or fracture of any body part. "Serious physical injury" includes injury that creates reasonable risk of death or which causes serious and permanent disfigurement, serious impairment of health or loss or protracted impairment of the function of any bodily organ or limb (i.e., broken bones, knife wounds, internal injuries, eye injuries, etc.).
Assault on Staff (that involved Serious Injury) – "Serious Injury" requires urgent and immediate medical treatment and restricts the staff's usual activity, medical treatment should be more extensive than mere first-aid, such as the application of bandages to wounds; it might include stitches, setting of broken bones, treatment of concussion, loss of consciousness, etc. • Exclude assaults that throwing liquids, blood, waste, chemicals, and/or urine, unless the throwing assault resulted in serious injury.
Participation in a Riot – A person in the custody of the Department who is a participant in a riot.
Assault (Sexual) – Intentionally or knowingly engaging in sexual intercourse or oral sexual contact with any person without the consent of such person.
Arson – Knowingly causing a fire or explosion**,** which results in physical damage to the prison facility.
Attempt to Commit a Class A Offense – Engaging in conduct with the intent to aid or commit a Class A offense under this classification.
Escape – Knowingly escaping, or attempting to escape, from the custody of an adult correctional facility including outside work crews, work camps, transport vehicles, and outside hospitals.

Conspiracy to Commit a Class A Offense - To agree with one or more persons to engage in a Class A offense under this classification and to agree at least one of them shall engage in conduct constituting an overt act in furtherance of the offense.

Kidnapping/Taking of a Hostage – Restraining another person with the intent to

- Hold for ransom, use as a shield, use as a hostage, or
- Inflict death, physical injury or a sexual offense on the victim, or
- Place the victim or third person in reasonable apprehension of imminent physical injury.

Manslaughter – Recklessly causing the death of another, or intentionally aiding another to commit suicide.

Murder (1st Degree) – With pre-meditation intentionally causing the death of another.

Murder (2nd Degree) – Without pre-meditation intentionally causing the death of another.

Promoting Prison Contraband – Knowingly conveying contraband to any person confined in a correctional facility, or making, obtaining or possessing contraband while confined in a correctional facility or while being transported or moved.

Threatening or Intimidating (Gang Activity) – Threatening or intimidating by word or conduct, to cause physical injury to another or damage to the property of another in order to promote, further or assist in the interests of or cause, induce or solicit another person to participate in criminal gang activity, criminal syndicate or racketeering.

Possession of a Weapon –

- Knowingly making, obtaining or possessing a weapon while confined, transported or moved.
- Weapons include any device capable of physical injury, including explosives.

Possession of Communication Device – Knowingly making, obtaining or possessing a communication device while confined, transported or moved.

Includes wireless communications devices, multimedia devices, any separate components which may aid in the use of wireless devices and/or multimedia storage devices (i.e., cell phones, charges, mobile chargers, cell phone batteries, and any other item which staff reasonable determines may aid in the use of wireless devices and/or multimedia storage devices), computers.

Filing of Vexatious Grievances –

- Repeated filing of grievances solely or primarily for the purpose of harassment.
- Grievances filed without substantial justification, defined as groundless or not made in good faith pursuant to A.R.S. § 12-349(F).
- A pattern of making unreasonable, repetitive and excessive requests for information.

CLASS B VIOLATIONS

Aggravated Refusal of an Assignment –

- Refusal of any assignment for the purpose of obstructing racial integration.
- Refusal of any assignment.

Assault on Inmate –

- Intentionally, knowingly or recklessly causing physical injury to another inmate,
- Intentionally placing person in reasonable apprehension of imminent physical danger,
- Knowingly touching another person with the intent to injure, insult or provoke such person.

Assault on Staff that Did Not Involve Serious Injury –

- To be considered a non-serious injury means the injury DID NOT require urgent and immediate medical treatment and did not restrict staff's usual activity. Medical treatment was basic first- aid, such as the application of bandages to wounds; it DID NOT include stitches, setting of broken bones, treatment of concussion, loss of consciousness, etc. (which would be considered "serious" injury).

- Includes knowingly touching staff with the intent to injure, insult or provoke such person, if it resulted in no injury or non-serious injury as described above.

Assault on Staff by Throwing Substances – Inmate throwing or spitting liquids, blood, waste, chemicals, urine, etc., which involved non-serious injury or no injury.

- Note: If this violation resulted in serious injury, then the inmate should be charged with 02A, Assault on Staff that involved Serious Injury.

Attempt to Commit a Class B Violation – Engaging in conduct with the intent to aid or commit an offense under this classification.

Bribery – With corrupt intent, offers, or agrees to confer any benefit to an employee of the Department, private prisons or contractor with the intent to influence the employee's opinion, judgment or exercise of discretion in the performance of their duties.
Harassment - Displaying conduct directed at a specific person causing them to be seriously alarmed, annoyed or harassed.
Conspiracy to Commit a Class B Violation – To agree with one or more persons to engage in an offense under this classification and to agree at least one of them shall engage in conduct constituting an overt act in furtherance of that offense.
Criminal Damage – Destroying, damaging, defacing, tampering, or altering property of another, including but not limited to drawing or marking any building, walls, or surfaces with unauthorized messages, signs or symbols.
Disorderly Conduct – Engaging in violent or seriously disruptive behavior including unreasonable noise, abusive or offensive language, offensive gestures or protracted commotion that disrupts the orderly operation of the institution.
Disrupting an Institution Count and/or Being Out of Place – Disrupting an institution count by purposely interfering with staff, or failing to be in an assigned bed or location for count; failing to be in an assigned area; being out of place in an unauthorized area.
Extortion – Knowingly obtaining or seeking to obtain property or services by means of a threat to do future physical injury, cause damage to property, or theft of property.
False Reporting – Stating a false, fraudulent or unfounded report or statement or to knowingly misrepresent a fact for the purpose of interfering with the orderly operation of the institution, which may be written or oral.
Forgery – Falsely making, altering, or completing any written document; possession of any false or forged document, identification material or written document.
Fraud – Pursuant to a scheme to defraud, knowingly obtaining any benefit by means of false or fraudulent pretenses.
Gambling – Possession of gambling devices, including dice, unauthorized cards, poker chips; participating as a player or organizer of any gambling activity; participating in or possession of materials related to betting and pools; benefiting from gambling activity; maintaining gambling related debts.
Homicide (Negligent) – Causing the death of another with criminal negligence.

Indecent Exposure – Intentional exposure of genitals, buttocks, pubic region or female breasts (areola or nipple); unauthorized nudity.

Influencing a Witness – Threaten a witness or offer, confer or agree to confer any benefit to a witness or a person believed to be a witness to influence testimony, or knowingly induce a witness to unlawfully withhold any testimony or testify falsely.

Obstructing Staff – Obstructing, delaying, or otherwise preventing staff from conducting official duties; includes obstructing any investigation.

Possession of Drug Paraphernalia – Possession of any materials used to plant, grow, manufacture, produce, process, prepare, test, pack, conceal, inject, ingest, inhale, or otherwise introduce into the system any drugs, narcotics, stimulants and depressants, including unauthorized use of paint and/or glue.

- Paraphernalia includes, but is not limited to, syringes, needles, and any property altered to violate this rule.

Possession or Manufacture of Intoxicating Substance – Having possession or control over illegally brewed or fermented intoxicating beverages or the materials used to manufacture such substance.

Promoting Prison Contraband – Knowingly conveying contraband to any person confined in a correctional facility.

- This violation is for inmates who are not in possession of contraband, but who are found to have planned or otherwise promoted introduction of and/or conveyance of any unauthorized article.

Resisting or Disobeying a Verbal or Written Order – Failing to obey any verbal or written order and Department policy or directives issued by a staff member, to include the refusal of any housing assignment.

Rioting – Two or more persons who, acting together, recklessly use or threaten force or violence to disrupt the orderly operation of the institution.

Sexual Contact – Intentionally or knowingly engaging in sexual contact, which includes kissing, masturbation or any contact that can be construed as sexual in nature.

Stalking (Inmate to Inmate) – Intentionally or knowingly engaging in a course of conduct that would cause another to reasonably fear for their safety or death or the safety or death of an immediate family member.

- Course of Conduct: Includes directing verbal, written or other threats express or implied, to a specific person on two or more occasions over a period time.
- Immediate Family Member: Means a spouse, parent, child or sibling or other person regularly residing in the person's household for the past six months.

Stalking (Inmate to Staff) – Intentionally or knowingly engaging in a course of conduct that would cause another to reasonably fear for their safety or death or the safety or death of an immediate family member.

- Course of Conduct: Includes directing verbal, written or other threats express or implied, to a specific person on two or more occasions over a period time.
- Immediate Family Member: Means a spouse, parent, child or sibling or other person regularly residing in the person's household for the past six months.

Tampering with a Public Record – Knowingly, with intent to defraud or deceive, make, complete, present, alter or insert a false entry on a written document which is a public record or a copy of a public record, with intent for it be taken as genuine. Record, register, file or offer for recordation, registration or filing with a government office or agency a writing which has been falsely made, altered, or contains a false entry, false statement or false information.

Tampering With Restraints – Removing or attempting to remove any restraint devices including handcuffs and leg irons without authorization, and/or the possession of any tool or device to alter or remove restraints, and/or compromise locking mechanisms, to include handcuff keys.

Tampering with Security or Safety Devices – Damaging, tampering with, manipulating, or altering any security device including but not limited to, locks, window bars, fencing, surveillance cameras, communication equipment, fire alarms, sprinklers, and fire suppression equipment.

Tattooing, Brands, Scarifications and Piercings – Altering one's own body or the body of another by branding, scarification, mutilation, tattoo or piercing; possession of any articles used in tattooing including unauthorized ink, tattoo guns, needles, and artwork and designs of tattoos.

- Mutilate, brand, scarify or pierce means to mark the skin or other body with any mark that is placed by aid of instrument on or under the skin.

Theft of Property or Possession of Stolen Property – Stealing or obtaining by fraud the property of another; possession of stolen property or the property of another; controlling property with the intent to deprive the owner of the property.

Unlawful Assembly – Being present at an assembly of two or more persons who are engaged in, or who have the intent to, engage in riotous or unauthorized conduct. This would include engaging in or encouraging a group demonstration or work stoppage.

Violation of any Published Department or Institution Rule – Including Department Orders, Director's Instructions, and Institution Directives.

Possession of Drugs or Narcotics –

- Possession of, manufacture of, consumption of, sale of, trafficking in, any drug, narcotic, stimulant or depressant,
- Maintaining debts to another inmate(s) for the purchase or sale of drugs or narcotics;
- Possession or use of medication belonging to another.
- Providing another with medication.

Positive Test or Refusal of UA – Testing positive for, any drug, narcotic, stimulant, or depressant; refusing to submit to urinalysis testing.

Threatening or Intimidating – Threatening or intimidating by word or conduct to cause physical injury to another person or damage to property of another. Threats may occur by implication, word or conduct.

Fighting – Two or more inmates engaging in mutual combat to include fist fight, grappling, or any physical struggle.

Altering Identification – Knowingly changing physical appearance to avoid or attempt to avoid identification or conceal whereabouts.

CLASS C VIOLATIONS
Bartering, Trading or Selling Goods or Services – Unauthorized exchange sale or trade of personal or state issue property items for the property or services of another.
Displaying Sexually Explicit Material – Display of any sexually explicit material on wall, furniture, personal or state property, where it is within plain view of staff or other inmates.
Disrespect to Staff – Using profanity, insulting, obscene or abusive language, in written correspondence or verbal communication to staff; addressing staff by inappropriate names or making inappropriate remarks.
Failure to Maintain Grooming Requirements – Violating Department grooming policy including hair regulations, bathing requirements and dress regulations.
Failure to Maintain Sanitation Requirements - Failing to maintain adequate housing/cell sanitation, or workplace sanitation; urinating or defecating in an unapproved area.
Horse Playing – Activity intended as enjoyment, recreation or amusement which may constitute as an unsafe act or threat to staff or inmate safety.
Littering – Leaving trash or debris on state property or disposing of trash or debris in unauthorized location or container.
Malingering – Feigning illness or injury to avoid work details or other institutional assignment.
Misuse of Mail – Violation of any published mail rule including but not limited to postage, and unauthorized correspondence.
Misuse of Medication – Failing to take prescribed medication; loss of medication.
Misuse of Telephone – Making obscene or harassing phone calls; using the telephone to operate a business; telephoning members of the general public without approval; violation of any published telephone rule.
Possession of Minor or Nuisance Contraband – Possession of contraband items, including but not limited to, authorized personal property in excess of authorized amounts, possession of altered clothing, possession of excess or altered linens, or any item which has been altered or for which approval has not been given.

Smoking or Use of Tobacco in an Unauthorized Area – Smoking or chewing tobacco inside of any state building or unauthorized area inside or outside of any correctional facility.
Unauthorized Access to the Internet – Unauthorized access to the internet through the use of a computer, computer system, network, communication service provider or remote computing service.
Unsafe Use of Machinery or Equipment – Failing to follow safety procedures; use of machinery/equipment for purpose other than its intended use; loss of control of machinery/equipment or exercise of poor judgment in use of machinery or equipment.
Violation of Visitation Rules – Violation of any published visiting rule.
Hand Holding – Hand holding between inmates is prohibited.

APPENDIX B

OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

OVERVIEW OF CORRECTIONAL STAFF RESPONDENTS

Title	Age	Race	Sex	Education	Marital Status	Experience
Assistant Warden	61	White	Male	Graduate Degree	Married	37 years
Regional Operations Director	56	Hispanic/Latino	Male	Bachelor's Degree	Married	36 years
Deputy Warden	54	White	Female	Bachelor's Degree	Divorced	26 years
Grievance Coordinator	37	Hispanic/Latino	Male	Bachelor's Degree	Married	9 years
Correctional Officer III	39	White	Female	Associate's Degree	Married	6 years
Sergeant	41	White	Male	Some College	Married	8 years
Correctional Officer II	33	Other	Male	High School	Married	3 years
Correctional Officer II	32	Black/African American	Male	Some College	Married	10 years
Correctional Officer II	49	Black/African American	Male	Some College	Married	4 years
Associate Deputy Warden	53	Hispanic/Latino	Male	Some College	Divorced	18 years

OVERVIEW OF RSHP PARTICIPANT RESPONDENTS

Alias	Age	Race/ Ethnicity	Placement Offense	Days in RSHP	Current Custody	STG Status	Sentence Length	Prior ADC	Seg. Experience	Lifetime Violations
Andres	31	Hispanic/Latino	Participation in a Riot	125 days	Maximum	Suspected	15 years	1	72 months	5 majors, 4 minors
Albert	40	African American/Black	Assault on Staff	133 days	Maximum	Suspected	Life	1	24 months	10 majors, 8 minors
Francisco	40	Hispanic/Latino	Participation in a Riot	133 days	Close	Suspected	16 years	1	4 months	3 majors, 4 minors
Bryan	30	African American/Black	Assault on Staff	127 days	Close	Suspected	20 years	0	3 months	4 majors, 6 minors
Victor	23	Hispanic/Latino	Participation in a Riot	125 days	Close	None	9 years	0	None	3 majors, 0 minors
Xavier	45	Hispanic/Latino	Participation in a Riot	129 days	Close	Suspected	Life	0	108 months	4 majors, 3 minors
Charles	31	Hispanic/Latino	Participation in a Riot	132 days	Close	None	12 years	1	48 months	10 majors, 7 minors
James	21	Hispanic/Latino	Assault on Staff	124 days	Medium	Suspected	12 years	0	None	2 majors, 3 minors
Marcus	28	Hispanic/Latino	Group Assault	132 days	Close	Suspected	32.5 years	0	None	4 majors, 7 minors
Frankie	36	Hispanic/Latino	Assault on Staff	128 days	Close	Suspected	7 years	1	60 months	4 majors, 3 minors
Felipe	25	Hispanic/Latino	Assault on Staff	129 days	Maximum	Suspected	4.5 years	2	None	4 majors, 9 minors
Darin	24	Caucasian	Assault on Staff	127 days	Close	None	8 years	0	42 months	6 majors, 8 minors
Ricky	34	Hispanic/Latino	Group Assault	126 days	Close	Suspected	10 years	2	18 months	12 majors, 17 minors
Cecil	28	Hispanic/Latino	Assault on Staff	144 days	Maximum	Suspected	10 years	0	48 months	14 majors, 6 minors
Nicholas	27	Caucasian	Inmate Assault	232 days	Maximum	Suspected	13 years	0	42 months	10 majors, 5 minors
Ricardo	25	Hispanic/Latino	Assault on Staff	132 days	Maximum	Suspected	4.5 years	2	60 months	10 majors, 2 minors
Armando	28	Hispanic/Latino	Assault on Staff	224 days	Close	Suspected	7.5 years	1	84 months	15 majors, 33 minors
Alejandro	23	African American/Black	Assault on Staff	184 days	Close	Suspected	4.5 years	0	None	8 majors, 15 minors
Simon	28	Hispanic/Latino	Assault on Staff	161 days	Close	Suspected	16 years	0	1 month	5 majors, 3 minors
Gilberto	30	Hispanic/Latino	Participation in a Riot	199 days	Maximum	Suspected	27.5 years	2	None	8 majors, 16 minors
Roy	35	Native American	Participation in a Riot	198 days	Maximum	Validated	10.5 years	2	96 months	12 majors, 4 minors
Samuel	24	Hispanic/Latino	Participation in a Riot	133 days	Close	Suspected	16 years	0	None	7 majors, 8 minors
Shaun	25	Hispanic/Latino	Assault on Staff	188 days	Maximum	Suspected	13 years	0	None	6 majors, 6 minors
Erik	30	Hispanic/Latino	Participation in a Riot	127 days	Close	Suspected	10.5 years	3	72 months	6 majors, 26 minors
Donald	32	Hispanic/Latino	Assault w/ weapon	128 days	Maximum	Suspected	Life	0	84 months	9 majors, 6 minors