CONNECTICUT ADVISORY COMMITTEE
TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

FEBRUARY 7, 2017
10:04 A.M.

LEGISLATIVE OFFICE BUILDING
210 CAPITOL AVENUE
OLD JUDICIARY ROOM
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

APPEARANCES:

CONNECTICUT ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

DAVID J. MCGUIRE, CHAIRMAN
MICHAEL D. WERNER, VICE CHAIRMAN
ALOK S. BHATT
CHRISTINE W. CORGEL
AVERY J. GADDIS
DOUG M. GLANVILLE
JOHN W. HERRINGTON
ERIC JEPEAL
LESLIE NAVARRETE
MELANIE S. RAUSCH
STEPHANIE L. STORMS
JOHN M. TANSKI
SUSAN D. TOLIVER
OLIVIA S. WHITE
PRESENTERS:
SARAH EAGAN, OFFICE OF CHILD ADVOCATE
BANDY LEE, YALE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
SCOTT SEMPLE, DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION
DR. HOME VENTERS, NYU SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
PROFESSOR MICHAEL MUSHLIN, PACE LAW SCHOOL
DR. REENA KAPOOR, YALE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
PAM ALSTON
KEISHAR TUCKER
BARBARA FAIR
RACI BERNARDI
PROFESSOR JUDITH RESNIK, YALE LAW SCHOOL
PUBLIC SPEAKERS:
JENNIFER BOURN, ASSISTANT PUBLIC DEFENDER
REPRESENTATIVE ROBYN PORTER
TRACI BERNARDI
BARBARA FAIR
CLAIR KIM READING STATEMENT FROM MALCOLM RAHMEEN
PROFESSOR HOPE METCALF, YALE LAW SCHOOL

(The hearing commenced at 10:04 a.m.)

MR. MCGUIRE: Good morning, everyone. Thank you for coming. My name is David McGuire. I'm the chair of the Connecticut Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. We're going to start by having the SAC members introduce themselves, say who you are where you are, and we'll get into the meat of this hearing.

MR. WERNER: My name is Michael Werner, and I'm the vice chair of the Connecticut State Advisory Committee and welcome to everyone. Thank you so much for taking your time and coming out here. This is a very difficult subject but also an important one, and we're grateful for everyone coming and participating, and it's with dignity and respect that we hope to go forward today, and we want to appreciate everyone who is involved and everyone who is coming to testify today. So thank you very much.

MS. CORGEL: My name is Chris Corgel, and I'm from Westport, Connecticut.

MR. BHATT: Good afternoon. My name is Alok, I'm from Hartford, and I'm on the Asian American Pacific American Affairs Committee.

MS. TOLIVER: Good morning. I'm Susan Toliver from Stamford, Connecticut and a member

of the Connecticut SAC.

MS. STORMS: Good morning, everyone. I'm Stephanie Storms from Stratford, Connecticut.

MS. WHITE: Olivia White from Essex, Connecticut.

MR. JEPEAL: Eric Jepeal from East Granby, Connecticut.

MR. RAUSCH: I'm Melanie Rausch from Bethany, Connecticut.

MR. GADDIS: Avery Gaddis from the greatest city in the world, Woodbury, Connecticut.

MR. TANSKI: John Tanski from Glastonbury, Connecticut.

MR. GLANVILLE: Good morning. I'm Doug Glanville from Hartford, Connecticut.

MR. MCGUIRE: We also have with us today Barbara Delaviez and Evelyn Bohor from the commission's eastern office down in D.C. We appreciate them giving us all the support we have to put this together. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan, fact-finding agency established by Congress to collect information relating to discrimination or the denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution based on race, color, religion, sex, age, disability, national

origin or the administration of justice, and to inform the development of a national civil rights policy, and to enforce of federal laws, etcetera.

The Commission has established State Advisory Committees to advise them on civil rights matters in their respective states. So we are the Connecticut committee, as we've just mentioned. In recent years there's been a lot of discussion and reform around the use of the solitary confinement. Here in Connecticut we've been the leader at the center of that movement.

We've often cited legal and medical research coming out of our academic institutions and a significant reduction in the use of solitary in Connecticut's prisons and jails. Special efforts have been made by Connecticut to decrease the number of prisoners in solitary confinement, generally referred to here as administrative segregation.

In the past decade Connecticut prisoners in solitary confinement have dropped significantly. The advisory committee is encouraged by this, but we also have questions about the eligibility criteria to be referred to administrative segregation, the process to be discharged from the program, and potential racial disparities in who ends

Page 6

1 up in solitary-like conditions.
2 We also want to explore the
3 intersection between solitary, youth and mental
4 health, and the panelists today will help us get a
5 handle on that. We also need to make sure that
6 vulnerable classes and protected classes are not
7 harmed by this penological tool. Although Connecticut
8 correction commissioners have been utilizing a
9 sensible data-driven model recently, there is not
10 detailed public information on the use of solitary
11 confinement.
12 The purpose of today's hearing is to
13 gather information on the use of administrative
14 segregation in Connecticut and determine whether it's
15 disproportionately used on minorities, people with
16 mental health issues or otherwise violates federal
17 civil right laws. To help us better understand this
18 issue we have invited knowledgeable people with a
19 variety of backgrounds and viewpoints on this issue
20 who will be part of panel as well as the public
21 testimony we're going to have afterwards.
22 There will be three panels this
23 morning after which the Committee will have a short
24 break for lunch and then we will return. We will have
25 one additional panel in the open session where we will

Page 7

1 solicit public testimony.
2 At the outset I want to remind
3 everyone about the ground rules for this briefing.
4 The briefing is open to the general public and media,
5 and we expect to have some coverage today. In
6 addition, we have a court reporter who will be
7 recording these proceedings. We have a full schedule
8 today, as I've already mentioned. In order to
9 accommodate all of our presenters and panelists, we
10 are going to ask them to limit their remarks, and
11 they've been instructed as so.
12 Because of the time constraints, I
13 may request panelists to conclude his or her remarks
14 regardless of the importance or tenor of the statement
15 being made. After all the presenters on a specific
16 panel have made their opening statements, which will
17 run about eight minutes, I will recognize Advisory
18 Committee members that have questions, and depending
19 on remaining time members will be called on a second
20 time for additional questions.
21 When the open session starts this
22 afternoon after the final panel, if you do wish to
23 sign up to speak, there is a sign-up sheet in the
24 front there, and you can speak with Barbara or Evelyn
25 about that, and comments from public will be limited

Page 8

1 to three minutes, and there will be questions from the
2 SAC.
3 We understand that the viewpoints
4 presented here today are neither exhaustive nor all
5 inclusive. Though some statements made today may be
6 controversial, we want to would be sure no person or
7 organization is defamed or degraded in this process,
8 as Michael alluded to. We expect that all opinions
9 will be welcomed and presenters treated with dignity
10 and respect. Anyone who feels defamed or degraded by
11 statements made during the proceedings should inform
12 our Commission staff, Barbara or Evelyn, so that there
13 is an opportunity for public response.
14 Alternatively, if persons or
15 organizations wish file written statements for
16 inclusion in the proceedings, they can do so. The
17 record for this meeting will be held open until March
18 17, 2017, and anyone wishing to submit a written
19 statement can do so, and with that I'd like to
20 introduce our first panel.
21 We have Attorney Sarah Eagan from
22 the Child Advocate's office, and we have Dr. Bandy Lee
23 from Yale Medical School. Turn it over to you.
24 MS. EAGAN: Good morning, I'm Sarah
25 Eagan from the Office of the Child Advocate, and thank

Page 9

1 you for this invitation to participate in this
2 important is discussion. I did create a handout, of
3 course. I'm not sure how this should best be
4 distributed so I will -- thank you. I come from the
5 great city of West Hartford. So thank you. I
6 prepared a very brief Power Point, and I will try to
7 move through it as quickly as possible.
8 So first for those that may not know
9 what the Office of the Child Advocate is in
10 Connecticut, it is, for lack of a better term, an
11 independent watchdog agency. It was created 21 years
12 ago after the death of a child involved with the State
13 Department of Children and Families, but was provided
14 with a very broad mandate to investigate and
15 publically report regarding the efficacy of
16 publically-funded services to children, which is, of
17 course, everything under the sun from health care,
18 special education to benefits to daycare in addition
19 to child welfare.
20 Because of the urgency that led to
21 the creation of the Office, the Office has
22 historically had focus on the most vulnerable
23 populations, and that includes children and child
24 welfare. I'm involved with the Child Welfare Agency,
25 children in state custody, children with special

Page 10

1 health care needs and disabilities, and children
2 involved in the juvenile justice system.
3 Over the years the office has
4 produced a number of investigative reports and
5 legislative recommendations addressing a range of
6 policy areas that affect vulnerable populations.
7 So the office is endowed by the
8 legislature with very broad investigative authorities
9 and has access to child-specific information and
10 records notwithstanding state confidentiality laws and
11 the ability to go into programs and facilities
12 announced and unannounced to see where juveniles are
13 placed. This has, over the years, included school
14 programs, residential treatment facilities, hospitals,
15 state programs and state-run juvenile correctional and
16 adult prison settings.
17 The OCA is obligated by statute
18 specifically to periodically review the facilities and
19 procedures of any and all institutions or residences
20 public or private where a juvenile has been placed by
21 any agency or department to recommend changes in state
22 policies concerning children, including changes in the
23 system of providing juvenile justice, childcare,
24 foster care and treatment. So those are specific
25 obligations of this office. I have for the last three

Page 11

1 years been the head of the office, which is an
2 appointed position.
3 So with regard to children and the
4 juvenile justice system, the OCA over the last few
5 years has had several activities that I think are
6 relevant to today's discussion. We regularly meet
7 with children and youth in facilities. We have
8 responded to multiple citizen concerns regarding youth
9 and conditions of confinement. We've conducted
10 child-specific advocacy, which may mean going to
11 meeting on behalf of the child, advocating for mental
12 health treatment or educational services for a
13 specific child.
14 We regularly meet with staff and
15 administration at facilities. We have investigated at
16 length conditions of confinement in at least two
17 state-run juvenile correctional facilities using both
18 personal observation, data, youth interviews, and the
19 review of videotapes from inside facilities, and we
20 have recommended system change and collaborative
21 system improvement.
22 With regard to today's discussion,
23 the OCA has previously found that an issue for all
24 youth in confinement across all settings that serve
25 juvenile offenders in Connecticut is the use of

Page 12

1 seclusion, isolation and restrictive measures. I
2 think at the outset one of the things that's important
3 to know is that the terminology of how we define what
4 solitary confinement or isolation is is really
5 important.
6 National literature on the subject
7 acknowledges that there is no one definition of
8 solitary confinement, and there are places in this
9 country that say, you know, we don't use solitary
10 confinement. But then when you ask them do you place
11 juveniles in isolation in their cell, the answer is
12 yes, right?
13 So to researchers that is solitary
14 confinement, because it's isolation of juveniles, and
15 my talk will focus on juveniles, in their cells for
16 periods of up to 24 hours, if not beyond, and then we
17 get into what are the criteria for that type of
18 confinement, that type of isolation.
19 Whether it's called room
20 confinement, self confinement, seclusion, solitary
21 confinement, restrictive measures, security risk, I
22 think the point that folks are trying to get at is
23 under what conditions is a person a person at risk,
24 juvenile or youthful offender, placed into an
25 environment of isolation.

Page 13

1 We know for juveniles that up to 70
2 percent, if not more, of confined adolescents have a
3 diagnosable psychiatric disorder often compounded by
4 learning disabilities and a history of trauma and
5 abuse. We know that isolation may result in denial of
6 access to programing and socialization, and that
7 adolescents are particularly vulnerable to the effects
8 of isolation.
9 The federal government, including
10 the Department of Justice, has previously issued
11 reports that specifically link the effects of
12 isolation for juveniles with increased risk of self
13 harming and suicide, and according to a recent report
14 from the Department of Justice in an examination of
15 suicidal behavior across the country in juvenile
16 facilities more than 50 percent of suicide of children
17 detained in juvenile facilities occur while young
18 people were on room confinement status, that would be
19 isolation status, and even the facility's 15-minute
20 checks did not prevent many of the suicides.
21 So one of the things that OCA
22 examined when we conducted an in-depth investigation
23 into conditions of confinement in two state-run
24 juvenile correctional programs in Connecticut, a
25 report published in 2015 and available on our Web

Page 14

1 site, one of the things that we looked at were
2 incidents of suicidality and self-harming behaviors
3 and looked at the association between those behaviors
4 and isolation for juveniles.
5 What we found is that in a year,
6 12-month period, there were approximately 50 incidents
7 of suicidal and self-harming behaviors engaged in by
8 youth. There were -- at some of the -- the 50
9 incidents did not cover 50 youth. Some youth engaged
10 in suicidal behavior on multiple occasions, and that
11 incidents of such behavior were often associated with
12 youth on seclusion status.
13 In those facilities confinement
14 could be called seclusion, no access, room time, but
15 what it meant is the individual is in physical and
16 social isolation from their peers and adults. So
17 there are emerging and important national standards
18 that I think are relevant to this committee's
19 consideration.
20 Some of the most progressive
21 standards for juveniles are issued by the Juvenile
22 Detention Alternatives Initiative, which is a program
23 of the Annie E. Casey Foundation for Children, a
24 leader in establishing national standards for managing
25 youth in a correctional detention setting.

Page 15

1 They issued new standards, I
2 believe, in 2015 specifically addressing the use of
3 isolation, otherwise known as room confinement, we've
4 covered all the multiple definitions, and they
5 specifically say that isolation must be limited to
6 four hours or less, never used for the purpose of
7 punishment, children must have continuous one-to-one
8 crisis intervention and observation, and youth who
9 can't be re-regulated within that time period must be
10 referred for mental health evaluation.
11 There are also performance-based
12 standards, which are nationally promulgated and were
13 promulgated after a DOJ investigation into conditions
14 of confinement many years ago. Performance-based
15 standards are an evidence-based set of standards to
16 help correctional, juvenile correctional programs
17 evaluate and report out regarding conditions of
18 confinement including room confinement and isolation.
19 In Connecticut they are employed by
20 the Connecticut Judicial Branch, Court Support
21 Services Division for juvenile detention services.
22 According to PBS standards isolating or confining a
23 youth to his or her room should be used only to
24 protect the youth from harming himself or others, and
25 if used, should be brief and supervised. Anytime a

Page 16

1 youth is alone for 15 minutes is a reportable PBS
2 event and is documented. Isolation should never be
3 used as punishment.
4 Some facilities in Connecticut are
5 accredited by the American Correctional Association.
6 They do have different standards for the use of
7 confinement than performance-based standards and does
8 permit three different types of isolation, both
9 disciplinary room confinement, protective custody, and
10 special management.
11 The Department of Children and
12 Families, which in Connecticut administers a state-run
13 juvenile correctional facility for boys, is ACA
14 accredited, but I wanted to point out that in 2015
15 they committed to capping isolation at 4 hours per the
16 JDAI guidelines I just mentioned. As we know, the
17 Department of Justice has also issued guidelines
18 talking about the use of isolation as a severe penalty
19 to impose upon a juvenile especially since the
20 sanctions is to assist in rehabilitation as well as
21 punish a child.
22 The Department of Justice, as many
23 of you probably know, issued a report regarding
24 restrictive housing in 2016 that among many other
25 recommendations recommended ending the practice of

Page 17

1 placing juveniles in restrictive housing pursuant to
2 standards in Sentencing Reform and Corrections Act of
3 2015.
4 I checked just to see what they were
5 doing recently in solitary confinement and came across
6 this. Very recently the Justice Department issued a
7 press release that they filed a Statement of Interest
8 a couple weeks ago in New York to address the use of
9 solitary confinement of juvenile offenders in New York
10 State, and their Statement of Interest advances the
11 United States's position that juveniles should not be
12 placed in restrictive housing including solitary
13 confinement as explained in their 2016 report.
14 Other recent Department of Justice
15 activities included investigations in multiple states,
16 consent decrees all addressing the use and prevention
17 of solitary confinement. For the committee's
18 consideration Connecticut does have laws on seclusion
19 of persons at risk that say that seclusion can only be
20 used when a person presents a danger to themselves or
21 others. The Department of Correction is not bound by
22 that particular statute, but the Department of
23 Children and Families is, which runs state-run
24 correctional programs. I'll do two more minutes.
25 MR. MCGUIRE: That's fine.

Page 18

1 MS. EAGAN: So as I said before, the
2 OCA issued an investigative report in 2015 regarding
3 conditions of confinement including an extensive
4 review of seclusion, restraint and suicidal behavior.
5 I wanted to just briefly share a couple of those
6 findings with you.
7 We did find that in two of the
8 state-run juvenile correctional programs, one for
9 boys, one for girls, that there was inappropriate use
10 of isolation that contributed to suicidal and
11 self-injurious behavior. There was an incident report
12 about one of the boys that we studied in depth in the
13 facility.
14 In September 2014 Nathan, not his
15 real name, broke a clock, took pieces and cut his arm
16 in several places. Later when asked why he hurt
17 himself, he answered, "I don't know," but said that he
18 was stir crazy in his cell. Two days later Nathan
19 went to the bathroom and wouldn't come out. He was
20 physically restrained, handcuffed, and moved to the
21 padded isolation cell.
22 While in the cell he attempted, on
23 multiple occasions, to tie clothing around his neck.
24 He found or had hoarded wooden sticks into the cell
25 and picked at his skin and wounds bleeding on his leg.

Page 19

1 As a result, staff repeatedly
2 entered the cell, restrained him, and then left,
3 locking the door. Nathan continued to escalate taking
4 his clothes off, spitting and urinating in the cell.
5 In response to this crisis behavior Nathan received
6 multiple major sanctions for engaging staff in a
7 restraint, assault, contraband and bodily waste.
8 Nathan remained on sanction status
9 for the next two days, out of program and unit bound.
10 We found that isolation is unlawfully used in response
11 to mental health crisis and as a punitive sanction.
12 This is a clinical case note about another youth that
13 spent weeks in and out of seclusion in a padded cell
14 in this facility.
15 This clinician met with Samuel in
16 the padded cell along with a state police officer
17 stationed at the facility. Samuel vented frustrations
18 about abandonment from his mother and his conflicted
19 relationship with other family members, and he talked
20 about his inability to do well in the community, and
21 the fact he believes he will remain here for a long
22 time, because no one likes him or cares about him.
23 Samuel appears to feel helpless and
24 hopeless. As he stated, if he doesn't reach his goals
25 to do well in the community, he will end it, referring

Page 20

1 to killing himself, because he'd rather die without a
2 record than with one.
3 Samuel's facial expressions were
4 intentful as he did not smile while he stated that he
5 will end it. This clinician encouraged Samuel to take
6 care of himself by seeking medical attention. Youth
7 also reported that he felt overwhelmed with his
8 schedule and service providers while living in
9 Hartford. He spoke with his clinician at length until
10 he was calm enough to return to his room. He was
11 escorted back to his room without incident.
12 These were his seclusion hours for
13 the next several days. So the state has been over the
14 last several years engaging in, and I think at an
15 accelerated pace, in reforms. In response to that
16 report the -- well, I should say in the wake of that
17 report the state committed to a comprehensive action
18 plan addressing conditions of confinement in that
19 facility and committing to reducing restraint and
20 seclusion, increasing youth's access to clinical
21 support, and working to ensure the safety of the
22 physical plant and safety protocols to prevent
23 suicidal behavior.
24 The Department of Correction has
25 engaged in multiple efforts to create more

Page 21

1 adolescent-specific policies for use in its facility
2 for youthful offenders, and the Governor in the
3 state's Juvenile Justice Policy and Oversight
4 Committee continue to work to reform and reimagine
5 juvenile justice delivery to improve youth in public
6 safety outcomes.
7 I know I've gone over my time, but
8 the last thing I wanted to impress upon people based
9 on our review and our in-depth work with the youth
10 that were confined in some of these facilities is we
11 spent about a year and a half looking at conditions of
12 confinement in two of the facilities.
13 I personally must have read
14 thousands of pages of documents and watched hundreds
15 and hundreds of hours of videotape, and one of the
16 things I was overwhelmingly, I don't know what the
17 word is but struck by is the pervasive despondency and
18 self-loathing that our youth have in these programs,
19 and I think that has a host of policy implications.
20 But the use of isolation both by the
21 nature of confinement itself and the further use of
22 isolation in a facility we know is harmful to
23 juveniles, and the Department of Justice has found
24 that youth who are confined are at risk of suicide
25 just by being confined. So anything that we do within

Page 22

1 programs like that that are not directly therapeutic
2 but actually increases a youth's level of isolation
3 worsens that despondency, and I think that that's a
4 very urgent problem that we have to continue to
5 address.
6 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for your
7 testimony. Dr. Lee?
8 DR. LEE: Good morning, everyone.
9 Thank you for having me here. I was asked to spend
10 some time introducing myself so my name is Dr. Bandy
11 Lee. I'm the assistant clinical professor of
12 psychiatry at Yale School of Medicine. I've been
13 studying the prevention of violence for almost 20
14 years now in and out of prisons. I worked in several
15 maximum security and supermax prisons throughout the
16 U.S. including in New York, California, Massachusetts
17 and Connecticut. I consulted with governments in
18 Ireland, France and Israel on prison reform and
19 violence prevention programs.
20 A few years ago I co-drafted the
21 Report to the New York City Board of Corrections on
22 solitary confinement, which led to several reforms at
23 Rikers Island. I currently am part of the Law and
24 Psychiatry Division at Yale and teach students
25 representing asylum seekers or studying to become

Page 23

1 public defenders at the Yale Law School. I direct
2 Yale's Violence and Health study group, which is a
3 member of the World Health Organization Violence
4 Prevention Alliance.
5 I know there are varying opinions
6 out there, but I will open by saying that prison is
7 bad enough, but imprisonment within prisons or
8 solitary confinement is probably one of the worst
9 forms of torture. Why I would say this as a physician
10 and a mental health professional will become clearer
11 as we go along, but first let me emphasize that human
12 beings are social animals.
13 Everything about human makeup,
14 including brain development, the overblown frontal
15 lobe that we have, and the importance of social input
16 in terms of brain development. The brain is malleable
17 well into one's mid 20s or even 30s.
18 So everything about us points to the
19 importance of social input for neurological and mental
20 health. Furthermore, psychological studies show us
21 the central importance of meaning and identity
22 construction, which is a process that occurs through
23 social interaction and happens with exceptional
24 intensity during the adolescent years.
25 In our ordinary experience we do not

Page 24

1 know how critical oxygen is until it's taken away.
2 Although more complex and longer in duration to show
3 the effects of deprivation, social input is probably
4 similar in critical importance. It's difficult to
5 adequately describe the effects that prolonged
6 isolation, sensory deprivation and social deprivation
7 can have on a person and, like the deprivation of
8 oxygen, the damage can be permanent even if the
9 individual survives.
10 In the United States, in addition to
11 holding one quarter of the world's prisoners, we also
12 hold a disproportionate number of prisoners in
13 solitary confinement. Segregation or confinement in
14 single cells began in the 1980s and increased rapidly
15 across the U.S. throughout the 1990s and the 2000s as
16 a means purportedly to control disruptive and damaging
17 behavior.
18 Even in jurisdictions, however,
19 where the prison population has been falling in recent
20 years, numbers in solitary confinement have been
21 rising from 1995 to 2005. For example, the number of
22 people held in solitary confinement grew by 40 percent
23 while in federal prisons from 2008 to 2013 it grew by
24 17 percent or almost triple the rate of the total
25 prison population growth for the same period.

Page 25

1 By 2004, 44 states recorded having
2 at least one supermax facility, that is a facility
3 consisting entirely of solitary units, and the country
4 as a whole collectively houses over 80,000 individuals
5 in extreme isolation for punitive, protective or
6 administrative purposes. If we included juvenile
7 facilities, immigration detention centers, and local
8 jails, then the number would be vastly higher, some
9 even estimate as high as 100,000.
10 The problem of solitary confinement
11 was actually already evident in the 1830s causing the
12 first experimental prisons to close down or to change
13 approaches altogether on the basis that the prisoners,
14 rather than becoming penitent, only became more unruly
15 and insane. Foreign visitors, among them Charles
16 Dickens and Alexis de Tocqueville, arrived as avid
17 advocates of prison reform but then left denouncing
18 the method of isolation.
19 More recently, such confinement has
20 been observed to increase anxiety, depression and
21 psychotic symptoms or to induce what actually one
22 specialist, Dr. Grassian, has described a psychiatric
23 syndrome in previously healthy individuals consisting
24 of hypersensitivity to sternal stimuli,
25 hallucinations, panic attacks, cognitive deficits,

Page 26

1 obsessive thinking, paranoia, and numerous other
2 physical and psychological problems.
3 These circumstances can even be a
4 predictor of self harm. At Rikers Island, as one of
5 my colleagues here has study, inmates in solitary
6 confinement were almost eight times as likely as those
7 in the general population to engage in self harm.
8 Some studies in California prisons say that
9 individuals held in isolation were up to 33 times more
10 likely to commit suicide than those in the prison's
11 general population.
12 These extreme conditions are imposed
13 without regulation and arbitrarily without due
14 process. Although solitary confinement is supposedly
15 a means of managing inmates deemed to be dangerous for
16 the general population, most use occurs for reasons
17 that more commonly have to do with risk prediction and
18 prison management than actual conduct.
19 An overwhelming number of
20 nonviolent, mentally ill, juvenile, and other
21 vulnerable persons populate solitary cells and even
22 for violent individuals the use is not confined to
23 temporary containment or for safety reasons, because
24 violent individuals are not violent most of the time,
25 but it's rather predicated around punishment.

Page 27

1 While the United Nations Committee
2 Against Torture declares that more than 15 days in
3 solitary confinement is torture, most inmates in our
4 country spend more than five years and many even
5 decades. Needless to say, juvenile inmates suffer the
6 greatest neuropsychological damage from isolation,
7 because their brains are still developing. Not only
8 are they regularly deprived of services, programing,
9 and tools they need for healthy development, but the
10 damaging effects are likely to peer earlier and have
11 longer lasting impact than in adults.
12 Neuroscientific research shows that
13 human brains are extremely malleable and continue to
14 form anatomically well into a person's young
15 adulthood. When deprived of social contact or exposed
16 to emotionally traumatic or violent experiences or
17 inappropriate social contact, a profound influence
18 gets engraved in the developing brain.
19 Youthful offenders therefore are
20 particularly vulnerable to adverse effects of
21 isolation, and yet they are more likely to be exposed
22 to it either for their behavior, often being normally
23 neurologically immature or having low frustration
24 tolerance or impulsivity as is normal for that group
25 or for protection in the adult population in adult

Page 28

1 institutions. That's true for young adults.
2 So I was asked to propose a
3 solution. I would say first it's important to note
4 that solitary confinement, apart from being highly
5 expensive, is an ineffective, self-defeating method
6 for behavioral control. Rather than reducing
7 recidivism, it causes inmates to become more dangerous
8 because of mental health consequences, obsessions,
9 rage or disorientation and erratic behavior.
10 On the other hand, we know of
11 innovative and highly effective rehabilitation
12 programs that have been developed at the same time as
13 the proliferation of solitary confinement in our
14 country. One that is gaining ground is a program
15 called Resolve to Stop the Violence Project of San
16 Francisco.
17 Very briefly, instead of placing
18 violent offenders in isolation, it brought together
19 those with violent charges into an open dormitory. So
20 an open dormitory of 60 men were engaged in highly
21 interactive, 12-hours-a-day, six-days-a-week intensive
22 programing that involved a lot of socialization.
23 Contrary to predictions of violence and mayhem, it
24 became the safest dormitory of the entire jail system
25 with violent incidents all but ceasing after the first

Page 29

1 month and producing an up to 83 percent reduction in
2 violation recidivism once out in the community.
3 Similarly, multiple cities and
4 states have since reduced the use of solitary
5 confinement without rise in violent incidents but
6 rather better outcomes and even better outcomes with
7 programing. Violent offenders engage in destructive
8 behaviors often, because they were never socialized in
9 the first place, and we also know from human health
10 that negative interaction is better than no
11 interaction.
12 It would be a highly-productive day
13 when we begin to recognize that the opposite of
14 solitary confinement, that is social engagement,
15 inclusion and training, is what will bring about the
16 result we as a society desire. Thank you.
17 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you very much.
18 Questions from the committee members?
19 MR. GLANVILLE: Yes, I have a
20 question. Ms. Eagan, Doug Glanville. So I was
21 interested in the article that was in our packet from
22 The Hartford Courant. You mentioned the disparity in
23 terms of excluding students, and you mentioned not
24 only the disability side of it but also of color in
25 terms of race. Can you elaborate on sort of protected

Page 30

1 classes and what you've seen in your data regards to
2 how maybe bias plays a role in this?
3 MS. EAGAN: That's a great question,
4 I actually don't know what article was included in
5 your packet. Just give me the headline.
6 MR. GLANVILLE: 2014 I think it was.
7 MS. EAGAN: Forgive me. I should
8 have known that article. I'll know it just by the
9 headline if you tell me.
10 MR. WERNER: It opens up with a six
11 year old was confined in seclusion.
12 MS. EAGAN: Was that written by me?
13 MR. WERNER: Too many students
14 face --
15 MS. EAGAN: Okay. That's important.
16 So I think it's a really, really important question.
17 So when we're talking about, you know,
18 disproportionately all of, you know, all of these
19 adverse disciplinary responses, whether we're talking
20 about the use of seclusion in schools or talking about
21 a setting, a juvenile corrections setting,
22 disproportionately impact children with disabilities
23 and children of color and, most significantly, boys of
24 color with disabilities.
25 So we know in schools, since the

Page 31

1 state has been collecting data regarding the use of
2 seclusion or isolation for students with disabilities,
3 that the districts have reported approximately 35,000
4 incidents of seclusion every single year, some in
5 response to emergencies, and some in response to the
6 planned use of seclusion, which is completely
7 inappropriate and harmful.
8 I know that -- so those numbers are
9 all about children with disabilities. They are
10 disproportionately boys of color. They are also
11 disproportionately children with developmental
12 disabilities. So about 45 percent of children who
13 experience seclusion in schools over the last three
14 reported years have been children with autism spectrum
15 disorders or other developmental disabilities, which
16 is concerning on multiple levels.
17 In the context of juvenile
18 correctional facilities Connecticut, like many other
19 states, has a significant problem with
20 disproportionate confinement of children of color. So
21 whether we're talking about longer term facilities
22 like the Connecticut Juvenile Training School or youth
23 who are youthful offenders confined in adult
24 corrections, the vast majority, vast majority of these
25 youth are boys of color, African-American, Hispanic.

Page 32

1 We do not have that many white children who are
2 incarcerated in juvenile correctional facilities or in
3 adult prison.
4 I think in our adult prison system
5 for youthful offenders I think it's at 60 right now.
6 Don't quote me, but we're somewhere roughly around
7 that. I think that the latest data shows about at
8 least 85 percent of those youthful offenders are
9 persons of color. So that means everything that we're
10 talking about is affected by race in the way you're
11 asking.
12 MR. MCGUIRE: Attorney Eagan, do you
13 have any suggestions on how we can mitigate those
14 racial disparities, particularly the corrections
15 setting?
16 MS. EAGAN: So, yes, speaking about
17 corrections generally, both juvenile justice and adult
18 correction, I think that, and I appreciate Dr. Lee's
19 example about -- I forget where you said that setting
20 was with the men, the 60 men. San Francisco.
21 So because one of the things I
22 wanted to stress is the first thing that we have to
23 think about is what is isolation and the use of
24 confinement a product of? It's a product of an
25 historical approach to secure care and response to how

Page 33

1 to respond to juvenile offenders. So at some point we
2 have to grapple with whether any of that is working,
3 right?
4 So one of the criticisms that our
5 office published regarding two of our state-run
6 juvenile correctional programs is not only the
7 extraordinary expensive, but they had never published
8 any rehabilitative or public safety hours and yet have
9 probably, since inception, I don't know, 15 years ago
10 cost the state at least a quarter of a billion
11 dollars.
12 So when we -- you know, part of what
13 I think Connecticut is looking at right now is how do
14 we provide rehabilitation intervention not just to
15 youth but young adult offenders as well, which is an
16 extremely important question, and I think we have to
17 grapple with the fact that what we've been doing does
18 not work. There is no evidence that it works, and it
19 leads to some of the problems that this committee is
20 hearing about.
21 I think that there are increasingly
22 examples within this state of other approaches to
23 intervening with youthful offenders that I think
24 starts to -- and this is the last thing I'll share in
25 response to that, Attorney McGuire, is I remember

Page 34

1 calling up the interim youth services head of Missouri
2 to talk about the Missouri model of juvenile justice
3 intervention, which is much written about and
4 evaluated, and acknowledging there are differences in
5 approaches from one state to the next.
6 One of things I wanted to ask her
7 about is how did you get rid of isolation in a lot of
8 these juvenile programs? So I called her up with that
9 question, and she says to me, "Well, that's not the
10 right question, Attorney Eagan." "Why not?" She
11 says -- the first thing she says is you get to that by
12 starting with what is it that we're trying to
13 accomplish with juveniles? What is the work that we
14 need to do? What types of people do I need to do that
15 work? Then we think about what types of facilities or
16 programs are going to allow that work and those people
17 to do that work.
18 Then we think about what policies
19 and operational policies are going to support that
20 work, and I thought, boy, that's a much smarter answer
21 to my question, which was focused on how do you get to
22 fixing this problematic symptom, and she said, and
23 rightfully so, you reconsider the work that you're
24 trying to impact, that you're trying to have on youth
25 and their families, and I was really powerfully

Page 35

1 affected by that answer.
2 I think in Connecticut we're really
3 looking at that right now, which I think is an
4 important conversation. I think that's part of the
5 remedy.
6 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for bringing
7 that out. Just whenever someone is speaking, just
8 make sure your microphone is off. Olivia White.
9 MS. WHITE: Hi. This might be for
10 both of you. In the New York State report the New
11 York SAC put out, they noted that there was some
12 deprivation of nutritional needs for children in
13 isolation. They were fed something like a loaf and
14 these kinds of things, and have you seen that in the
15 correctional facilities in Connecticut?
16 Maybe from a medical point of view
17 what's the impact of nutritional punishment in these
18 facilities or maybe it's you haven't seen it in
19 Connecticut.
20 DR. LEE: My work has actually
21 reached beyond Connecticut so I don't know about the
22 recent conditions in Connecticut itself. But in
23 general I would say that when you're in isolation, you
24 are at risk of being deprived of any number of things,
25 being deprived of programing, of services, books, and

Page 36

1 nutrition can be one of them.
2 The difficulty is that oftentimes
3 the punishment, just like solitary confinement, which
4 goes beyond the punishment of their sentencing, that
5 the guards who are in charge of them or the dynamics
6 that are going on in the prison itself can expose one
7 to far more punitive measures than one has been
8 assigned. So that adds -- isolation adds to that
9 vulnerability.
10 I actually just wanted to respond a
11 bit to Mr. McGuire's question earlier that the problem
12 of solitary concurs within a general structure or a
13 culture that we have developed as prisons have
14 proliferated in this country. Over the last 45 years
15 we have basically exponentially grown in the number of
16 people we incarcerated, something like sevenfold
17 compared to what the rate was throughout the nation's
18 history.
19 We have created an institution that
20 almost behaves apart from society. It's very opaque.
21 It lacks transparency. It lacks accountability, and
22 what happens within those prison walls are almost
23 entirely up to the prison. Apart from the problem
24 that occurs with juvenile offenders, all kind of
25 vulnerable groups can go into that category such as

Page 37

1 those who are mentally ill.
2 Now, we have a mentally ill
3 population that occupies 65 percent of city and county
4 jails and 55 percent of federal prisons and actually,
5 I'm sorry, state prisons, and we have an institution
6 that is not equipped to handle those populations. So
7 I would say the same thing also happens with
8 juveniles.
9 MS. CORGEL: Dr. Lee, you had
10 mentioned in your writings that mentally ill inmates
11 are more likely to be in solitary. Do you have any --
12 you just quoted the percentage of inmates that are
13 probably mentally ill. Do you have any idea of how
14 disproportionate that is, number 1.
15 I have a second part to my question,
16 which is in your studies really across the country do
17 you have any sense that prisons that have been
18 outsourced to private entities have either perverse
19 incentives or more of a propensity to use isolation?
20 DR. LEE: Yes, absolutely. As for
21 your last question, to have for-profit prisons is
22 something probably unique to this country in the
23 civilized world. Most countries have struck down even
24 the possibility because of the potential for abuse,
25 and many of the supermax facilities, the solitary

Page 38

1 confinement only facilities are private, and they have
2 to fill the cells and so many --
3 While purportedly they're built to
4 house only dangerous individuals who are out of
5 control, the reality is many more are nonviolent and
6 simply there for administrative or very insignificant
7 reasons.
8 Your earlier question regarded the
9 treatment of those who are mentally ill. Well, we --
10 in the field of psychiatry itself a lot of research
11 and training and institutions have been built to
12 figure out how to treat those with mental illness. Of
13 course we have not always succeeded, and some say that
14 those who used to be in psychiatric hospitals are now
15 in prisons, jails and prisons and the phenomenon of
16 transinstitutionalization.
17 But the current state is we just
18 don't have enough hospital beds to go around anymore,
19 and we, as a society, have chosen to invest less and
20 less on mental health and invest more and more on
21 corrections. So I don't know what the standards are.
22 But even as I was working in the California prisons,
23 there was a time when they transitioned from having
24 the correction officers have a minimum of junior high
25 school degree to having a high school degree, and you

Page 39

1 can only imagine the level of competency that people
2 would have in terms of knowing how to deal with this
3 population.
4 In fact, you see it in the New York
5 City jails and in many institutions that the
6 correctional staff are not that different from those
7 who get incarcerated in terms of their background and
8 level of education and world view.
9 So we have allowed this subculture,
10 in a sense, this subculture within prisons and jails
11 to go on within the larger culture that also has this
12 discrepancy of how to treat children, how to treat
13 those who are mentally ill, how to protect those who
14 are vulnerable or just even how to work with
15 disruptive behavior.
16 The first response is combat, you
17 know, combat, security measures and fighting. Even an
18 adolescent at one point I observed who was trying to
19 hang himself, and the guard's response was to mace
20 him. So these are problems that are occurring because
21 of this huge institution that we've allowed to
22 proliferate.
23 Also, there's a mismatch between the
24 impression of what we expect them to do and what they
25 claim to be doing and what's actually happening.

Page 40

1 MR. MCGUIRE: So we have about ten
2 more minutes of this panel so let's try to have
3 everyone ask questions and be as brief as possible
4 with the answers. Mr. Werner.
5 MR. WERNER: Thank you. Thank you
6 for joining us today, Attorney Eagan. Would you mind
7 speaking a little bit about the current status of
8 Pueblo and CJTS in terms of residency and the
9 announced closure, the use of restraint and seclusion
10 since your 2015 report?
11 MR. MCGUIRE: And it would be if you
12 could just tell folks what CJTS is and who is housed
13 there for committee members and the audience.
14 MS. EAGAN: Yes. That's an
15 excellent question. So the Connecticut Juvenile
16 Training School is a state-run juvenile correctional
17 facility for youth who are adjudicated delinquent in
18 the juvenile justice system and committed to the
19 custody of the state the way that an adult is
20 convicted and committed to the custody of the
21 Department of Correction.
22 In our state the Department of
23 Children and Families runs a correctional facility for
24 boys. They ran one for girls called Pueblo. They
25 contract out a girls secured facility called Journey

Page 41

1 House.
2 Also, I think it's important to know
3 in Connecticut that pretrial youth who are not yet
4 adjudicated are handled by the Judicial Branch, Court
5 Support Services Division, who runs juvenile
6 detention, which is for a pretrial case. So the
7 Department of Children and Families and CJTS takes
8 only a small percentage of the thousands of children
9 who become involved in the juvenile justice system.
10 So as I said earlier, Mr. Werner, in
11 response to your question, after -- our office
12 released a report in December of 2015 with some of the
13 findings that we discussed. Concurrent to that the
14 Department had engaged and contracted with a
15 consultant to evaluate program delivery within these
16 two facilities who came to some similar conclusions
17 regarding the nature of the facility and issued a
18 series of recommendations.
19 In the wake of those findings the
20 Department issued a comprehensive action plan
21 committed to, among other things, reducing restraint
22 and seclusion, changing policies regarding restraint
23 and seclusion. Initially there was a lot of reporting
24 regarding adherence and progress with that action
25 plan. The status of it at this point is not entirely

Page 42

1 clear, and it, I believe, could be best described as a
2 work in progress.
3 You know, changing the types of
4 conditions that were described in the report takes
5 time and a lot of work, which I know the Department
6 committed to doing. Concurrent to the action plan not
7 long thereafter the Governor of our state, Dannel
8 Malloy, committed to the closure of the training
9 school by July of 2018, and the Department of Children
10 and Families has published a plan for closure that is
11 available on its Web site.
12 So I think that we're engaged in
13 really important work that's both looking at and
14 grappling with a different way of intervening with
15 deeper end offenders, but we also have to remember
16 that we are still incarcerating deeper end offenders
17 and that continuing to pay attention to their
18 conditions of confinement is imperative.
19 MR. MCGUIRE: Additional questions?
20 John.
21 MR. TANSKI: Thank you, Mr.
22 Chairman. Dr. Lee, I have a question about the San
23 Francisco program that you mentioned, and I'm
24 interested in your psychiatric opinion as somebody who
25 has dealt with a lot of prisoners.

Page 43

1 Is that a program that's going to
2 work for all violent offenders or are there some
3 people that are so mentally ill or antisocial, they
4 have a gang affiliation or whatever that they have to
5 be removed from that population in order for it to
6 work for everybody else.
7 DR. LEE: Yes, there was a screening
8 process that went on, and it required because of the
9 intense cognitive behavioral components that were a
10 part of it and the mentorship that one would be
11 expected to do. That said, there was peer advocacy
12 and peer help that was happening as part of the
13 program that those with severe mental disorders were
14 excluded.
15 So, actually, these were individuals
16 who were more of the typical person in prison or that
17 we imagine who has a violation history, who has
18 personality disorder features, and thus would not be
19 considered treatable through mental health.
20 MR. MCGUIRE: All right. Good
21 question. Any other questions? One of the things
22 that really struck me was that number, Attorney Eagan,
23 you put out of 85 percent of the youthful offenders
24 are minorities. Is that something that you think is
25 spiking? Has been that way for a long while? I'm

Page 44

1 trying to get a handle on that large number.
2 MS. EAGAN: This is a really
3 important question. I don't have the trend data with
4 me so I would be hesitant to answer that. I think
5 it's safe to say that this state, as most, struggle
6 with persistent disproportionate minority
7 representation in the prison system, and that is
8 definitely true for juvenile offenders.
9 MR. MCGUIRE: One other follow-up
10 question. I know that you deal with many different
11 clients and young people. Can you tell us a story or
12 kind of explain how someone might transition from one
13 of these juvenile facilities to an adult facility? Am
14 I correct in saying that you can be under 18 and be
15 sent to an adult correctional facility?
16 MS. EAGAN: Correct. So there's a
17 couple different ways. One is if you -- the only way
18 under 18 to get to an adult facility is to be charged
19 with a transferable offense, right? So we have at
20 this point -- and we have dramatically brought those
21 numbers down in Connecticut so that the number of 15
22 to 17 years old who are incarcerated, they're almost
23 all boys. There are occasionally female youthful
24 offenders but a handful in that given year so we're
25 really talking about boys, for the most part. We

Page 45

1 don't want to forget about the girls.
2 You know, now we're down in the 60s
3 in the numbers, and that's a very dramatic and
4 positive reduction in the state of Connecticut. Now,
5 if they remain disproportionately boys of color, which
6 continues to be a persistent problem, so that's the
7 way they initially get there.
8 We also see boys exit from CJTS,
9 which is the juvenile correctional program, which will
10 house youth between -- I think by statute it can be
11 between 13 and 19, you know, sometimes discharged to
12 adult corrections, and that can happen for a variety
13 of reasons or who are just recently released from CJTS
14 wind up in adult correction, because they're not
15 compliant with parole. They're charged with a new
16 offense. They have not reached the age of 18.
17 Another problem is the problem of
18 arrest within the facility itself. So when we did our
19 report, and of course I don't have that data point on
20 the top of my mind today, but one of the things we
21 looked at was the number of arrests within the
22 facility. So if I'm a kid, and I get into a power
23 struggle over whatever, right, the culture of
24 compliance and control, and I get into a power
25 struggle, and I get restrained, and I hit, punch, kick

Page 46

the staff member who is restraining me, I may get charged, and that criminal charge is a transferable felony.

So I will be charged with felony assault on a state employee, which is a transferable offense, and I know that that is something the Department has committed to reducing those numbers of arrests within its own facilities or licensed programs. That has been another risk factor for youth to move to adult corrections.

MR. MCGUIRE: And just to clarify, those are cases where outside law enforcement are called in and ultimately -- or is that done in the facility?

MS. EAGAN: So that particular facility has an agency police officer there who effectuates. I look over at my colleague at the public offenders office who is very familiar. That's how that happens.

MR. MCGUIRE: Any other questions? Okay. So go ahead, John.

MR. TANSKI: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have a follow-up for Dr. Lee. You had mentioned, I think, that solitary confinement beyond 15 days is considered torture under international

Page 47

standards, but in your opinion as a psychiatrist, can you tell us what level of isolation is psychologically acceptable and under what circumstances?

So if you were going to sort of write out here is when you can do it and here is for how long, you know, what would you say?

DR. LEE: Well, that's a very complex question, because I will first start out by saying that human beings are complex. We're very diverse, and it really depends on the individual. There are some people who cannot tolerate 12 hours of isolation whereas those -- there are those who are said to have spent years and turn out okay, although I would not trust the inmate's report on that.

There's a great deal of bravado and great culture of seeming, wanting to seem tough, and also there's the expectations that one will be okay if one is isolated. In fact, the general population is dangerous and scary for these individuals, and some wish to be in isolation until they get there and experience how difficult it is.

So I think -- so I think in my experience it's just -- in general, overall it's unnatural. It's destructive. As to how much time it would take to break someone down would vary depending

Page 48

on the person's resilience and resources, but it's certainly not going to be helpful.

On the other hand, we know that programs work. So actually as a follow-up to your previous question, over the past 20 years many studies, many, many more studies have come out to show that rehabilitation works, that programing actually has a lot of effects, certainly for juveniles but also for adults, and it's about time we tried them more widely.

MR. MCGUIRE: Excellent. Well, thank you both for sharing your insight with us. We'll have about a 5-minute break, and the next panel will start at 11:10. Thank you.

(Whereupon, there was a recess from 11:10 to 11:15.)

MR. MCGUIRE: We're going to start with Commissioner Scott Semple from the Department of Correction and head down the line to Dr. Venters from NYU, then Professor Mushlin from Pace Law School, and then finally Dr. Kapoor from Yale. Thank you very much.

MR. SEMPLE: Good morning. Thank you for this invitation. My name is Scott Semple. I'm privileged to be the Commissioner of Correction

Page 49

here in the state of Connecticut. By way of background, I'm almost in my 29th year in corrections here in the state, started as a correction officer, moved up through the ranks. So I'm insulated to some degree, because all my experience is in Connecticut.

But with regard to this issue, I am part of ASCA, which is a national organization of my colleagues who has partnered with Yale through the Liman Institute to take a more aggressive approach on how we deal with isolation, restrictive housing, administrative segregation or whatever else you want to call it.

Connecticut fortunately boasts the second lowest numbers in the country in terms of the use of isolation or administrative segregation, Hawaii being the only state that beats us out. That being said, our goal is 0, and we have worked very hard to reduce the population that we manage primarily at the Northern institution and one other facility where we have instituted what we refer to as our Phase Program, and I'm going to speak a little bit about that, because I think it's important to put some emphasis on what we're currently doing and where we should be going. So the goal is 0, as I indicated.

What happens in our system is that

Page 50

as early as three years ago, we had over 200 people on the stats and currently at the Northern Correctional Institution, which is the only level 5 facility in Connecticut, we have 26. In our other Phase Programs we have a total of 13.

So there's three phases in total, it all revolves around time, and I think it's important I speak to that, because in terms of where we're going and the use of this process I don't know how we got to the point where the phases were dictated by time, and what I've challenged my staff to do is to say let's worry about the content and let the content dictate time.

I'm a true believer that at least Phase I where we have Northern, that that should be really almost, in essence, some level of timeout to think about the circumstances that led you to there that were we're actually dealing with someone who is extraordinarily assaultive and can impede the safety of fellow inmates or the staff, and we have to be judicious in how we do that.

I heard some discussion earlier about mental health and someone's mental health and the perspective of how they can be impacted with their mental health by using this level of isolation, and I

Page 51

think there's an argument for that. There's a former warden of a facility that dealt with serious mental health issues.

There was this back and forth at one point in time with this facility dedicated to provide services, the infirmary at Northern Correctional, and quite frankly, it bothered me that we were still sending people back and forth for exigent circumstances, as we have referred to. We don't do that anymore, thankfully.

But what comes to mind -- and I was speaking with a colleague earlier. I don't have the answer on how to address the circumstances that lead someone to get there, and I struggle with that, and what comes to mind is most recently this tragedy in Delaware where someone's responsible for murdering a correctional professional, and what do we do with that person who can take someone's life, and what do I tell our staff?

So I struggle with that, and at the same time I'd like to not use restrictive housing, isolation, administrative segregation. That being said, if we have to use it, how do I use it and for what timeframes, and can I make it incentive based, because in essence what we've done here in the system

Page 52

in Connecticut is I've worked very hard with my staff to move the agency to a more incentivized environment in essence to inject hope into our process, because I truly believe without hope there's chaos, and that being said, this is the worst case scenario.

So in speaking with some folks I understand that visited the facility yesterday, I thank you for going to that facility. I also want to thank you for visiting the reintegration unit at the Cybulski facility, and that's what incentive looks like, a place where people can go that is different from a normal correctional environment, and is dedicated to the best interests of those folks to move forward in their lives.

We already have some data that suggests that we're making some positive headway, impacts in recidivism and what that looks like here in Connecticut. That being said, with the struggles that I go through one thing comes to mind that I would like to present to you and would be interested in your thoughts and comments is that I think the system sometimes creates the monster, as some people would refer to.

What I mean by that is that we have a system that is based on accountability, and there's

Page 53

certain levels of discipline that are applied based on one's guilt, and those sanctions pile up over time, and you get to this point where there's no hope, and what do we create through a system? Potentially we create a situation where someone is more prone to end up in this type of environment, because we have removed everything that they have the benefit to avail themselves to.

I think that is something in the course of the discussion that has not been explored yet, and in Connecticut what I would like to be able to do and would like some, probably need some help doing it is to establish some level of threshold that dictates that this person is going down the road of placement in an isolated environment, and let's try to intervene before this person gets to that point in time in their incarceration, and let's try to put an individualized plan together for that individual so that we can try to avoid that person hurting themselves or hurting others.

In the course of the discussion with my colleagues, and I mentioned ASCA earlier, I have had a lot of discussion with other organizations. I don't have any clear answers to what that looks like yet, but I know it happens in every system in our

Page 54

1 country.
2 So I think that that is something
3 that folks who have an interest in this, I think we
4 need to go down that road and take a front end
5 approach to this issue, and with that I thank you
6 again for inviting me here. I can go on for quite
7 awhile, but I'm certain there's going to be a lot of
8 questions so thank you.
9 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for your
10 candor and insight. Dr. Venters.
11 DR. VENTERS: Good morning, Chairman
12 McGuire, Commission. My name is Homer Venters, and I
13 want to thank you for the invitation to participate on
14 this panel and for the critical work you're doing to
15 reduce reliance on solitary confinement and ensure
16 that the amazing progress that's been achieved here in
17 Connecticut is sustained over time.
18 I'd also like to thank the other
19 panelists for their important contributions to this
20 discussion and their mission of promoting evidence
21 based and humane mental health care for the
22 incarcerated and community-based alternatives to
23 incarceration. I'm here representing my own opinions
24 and experience as a physician and epidemiologist, not
25 the official views of New York City Health + Hospitals

Page 55

1 or the New York University School of Medicine.
2 My perspective is that of someone
3 who has led the New York City jail health service
4 through several critical transitions, including
5 elimination of solitary confinement for adolescents
6 and persons with serious mental illness and
7 development of an extensive human rights framework for
8 our health service. I've also worked to provide
9 expert input to the U.S. Department of Homeland
10 Security on their health practices and detention
11 settings including the use of solitary confinement.
12 I would like to express my deep
13 regard for the accomplishments of Commissioner Semple
14 and the entire Connecticut DOC team for their success
15 in reducing their reliance on solitary confinement and
16 establishing effective and humane alternatives. I
17 visited York and Garner institutions and am aware of
18 the spectrum of custody and care reforms that have
19 been undertaken.
20 Connecticut finds itself in the
21 envious position of reflecting on significant progress
22 in considering the universal question of
23 sustainability. My remarks and the an additional
24 materials I've submitted will focus on three main
25 points. First, there can be no doubt that solitary

Page 56

1 confinement is a practice associated with real health
2 consequences and which is often applied unevenly based
3 on race, ethnicity, mental health.
4 Second, the creation of sustainable,
5 evidence-based alternatives to solitary confinement
6 requires input and oversight of external bodies that
7 are empowered to ensure that decisions on health care
8 are made in the best interests of patients.
9 Third, the American misadventure
10 with solitary confinement has revealed the deep and
11 ongoing erosion of correctional health services that
12 requires a structured commitment to human rights
13 principals including addressing dual loyalty.
14 My first point on the harms of
15 solitary confinement is one that may not require
16 significant time since the successful efforts of
17 Commissioner Semple reflects a commitment to very
18 similar perspectives. I would note two critical
19 aspects of solitary confinement however that have
20 often gone unaddressed.
21 The practice of placing individuals
22 on isolation cells for 23 or 24 hours per day has long
23 been associated with mental anguish and mental health
24 exacerbations that can persist long after exposure.
25 Inside jails and prisons there is a common disconnect

Page 57

1 between health and security staff as they attempt to
2 define the mental status of patients who have broken
3 institutional rules.
4 Because knowing the true emotional
5 state of a patient can be difficult, our analysis in
6 New York City of the health risks of solitary
7 confinement have focused on physical outcomes, self
8 harm, and high lethality self harm. When we analyzed
9 approximately 250,000 jail admissions, we found that
10 about 7 percent of people ever experience solitary
11 confinement, but over half of the self harm and almost
12 half of the highly lethality of self harm was found in
13 this group. Put another way, the risk of being in the
14 self harm group increased by approximately seven times
15 when a patient also experienced solitary confinement.
16 This self harm has cost beyond the
17 trauma and injury and death to individuals. We
18 estimate that for every one act of self harm an
19 additional 450 excess clinical encounters and 3,760
20 correctional officer escort hours occurred. When we
21 developed clinical alternatives to solving
22 confinement, we found that both rates of self harm and
23 overall injury rates were dramatically reduced.
24 When we turn the same lens to racial
25 disparities and how the decision to provide treatment

Page 58

versus punishment in the jail system occurred, we found very concerning results. We analyzed approximately 45,000 first-time jail admissions, and found that African-American patients were 2.4 times more likely to experience solitary confinement than white patients with Latino patients 1.6 more times likely.

We also found that among patients who did enter the mental health services, non-white patients were much more likely to do so later in their incarceration in the context of uses of force or solitary confinement. We have since embarked on aggressive training of our staff on the provision of culturally appropriate care, but recent reporting on state prison systems suggests that these disparities are not limited to our setting.

The second point I would like to emphasize is the necessity for thoughtful and transparent oversight of correctional mental health care. Because we have carved correctional health out of the rest of American health care funding and quality structures, behavioral health services behind bars are generally substandard and bereft of basic quality assurance and quality improvement structures. To compensate, state and local health authorities need

Page 59

to establish oversight that includes regular reporting of health outcomes that relate to the mental health services.

I have provided geometrics in my attachments of concerns, but one particular concern is the practice of medication over objection. Because prison systems often deliver the entire spectrum of mental health care inside their own facilities, the management of seriously mentally ill patients, including use of medication over objection, should be routinely reported in terms of number of instances, mean and median duration of treatment over objection.

In addition, if the prison system has secured a legal opinion that their use of medication over objection can be legally exempted from traditional community standards of external review and approval, an outside expert party should nonetheless conduct a quarterly or yearly review for public consumption on the use of this practice and the overall quality of care provided to seriously mentally ill patients.

In addition, basic metrics on race, overall injury and self harm should be regularly and publically reported. Because of the high prevalence of substance abuse concerns among the incarcerated,

Page 60

the rates of these problems and the availability of evidence-based addiction treatment should also be reported, including the number of patients eligible for and receiving medication-assisted therapy.

Finally, the number of patients with any behavioral health concern who receive and follow up on a discharge plan when they return home is a necessary reporting metric to evaluate the success of the correctional mental health service.

The third critical focus for promoting sustainable improvements in the correctional mental health service is introducing a human rights framework including dual loyalty assessment and training. Correctional health involves delivery of health services in a paramilitary setting with a natural consequence that the security setting creates pressures on health staff to incorporate security concerns into their clinical decision making.

These pressures are known as dual loyalty, and while they are omnipresent, they do not themselves constitute human rights violations. Instead, they create the potential for erosion of meaningful clinical care and turning a blind eye to neglect and abuse. A critical aspect of our human rights framework has involved modifying the health

Page 61

network and electronic medical records to promote reporting of critical injuries and other health outcomes related to patient abuse or neglect.

Our own assessments have revealed the dual loyalty pressures are especially acute in the mental health services where they may slowly abandon their role as health provider and become custodial managers with clinical training credentials. The consequences of these pressures can range from nominal to fatal, but like infection control or medical errors the harmful impact of dual loyalty can only be minimized when we acknowledge its presence and work to train and support staff to mitigate dual loyalty concerns.

As part of including the human rights framework in our health system, we developed dual loyalty trainings for all health staff. These trainings are incredibly popular with staff, serve as a vital source of information and ideas about how we can contend with dual loyalty and have helped to improve our overall engagement to health staff, and I have included the dual loyalty training in the supplementary materials.

In closing, I would like to commend the commission on its work and the progress of

Page 62

1 Connecticut and other systems to pivot away from
2 solitary confinement toward evidence-based humane
3 custodial health programs. One of the central
4 challenges in our shared mission is that reform is
5 driven by leaders who can engage with health staff and
6 translate a better idea into an improved program
7 housing area, prison, jail or entire Connecticut DOC
8 system.
9 To sustain these improvements,
10 however, we need robust commitment to transparency and
11 systems that can monitor when we may stray from the
12 path that we set ourselves on. In the violent and
13 litigious environment of corrections these principles
14 are sometimes viewed as harmful or threatening, but
15 the participation of reform-minded leaders like
16 Commissioner Semple in developing the systems that
17 will carry on our legacies is exactly what we need.
18 Thank you for the opportunity to
19 participate in this panel. I would be happy to answer
20 questions in this limited time.
21 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you, Dr.
22 Venters. Professor Mushlin.
23 MR. MUSHLIN: Thank you very much
24 for inviting me, and I'm honored to be here with you
25 and with such a distinguished group on my panel. My

Page 63

1 name is Michael Mushlin. I'm a professor of law at
2 Pace Law School in White Plains, New York, and I've
3 been involved with prison reform for over 40 years,
4 first as an attorney with the Legal Aid Society in New
5 York City in the 1970s.
6 I was the head of the Prisoners
7 Rights Project that brought litigation about every
8 jail in New York City at a time of real crisis and the
9 operation of New York City's jails, and I'm the author
10 of a 4-volume treatise on the rights of prisoners. I
11 have chaired the Correctional Association of New York,
12 which is 173-year-old organization, one of only two in
13 the country that has the statutory right to visit
14 prisons and to provide some information and oversight
15 of New York states prisons.
16 I'm a member of the task force of
17 the American Bar Association on the treatment of
18 prisoners that led to the enactment of standards of
19 the ABA, which I commend to you on the treatment of
20 prisoners that were adopted by the American Bar
21 Association in 2010, and I'm also the cochair of the
22 American Bar Association subcommittee on prison
23 oversight. I've submitted my testimony to you, and I
24 just would like, in the time, I have to briefly
25 summarize the points that I would like to make to you,

Page 64

1 and they are essentially three points.
2 One point is, it's been said by many
3 people quite eloquently, and I think bears repeating,
4 and that is despite the complexity of the problem, the
5 human rights issue here is a simple one and it's a
6 compelling one. Solitary confinement is fundamentally
7 inhumane. It is in fact torture. It's been
8 recognized as torture for --
9 Charles Dickens said it best when he
10 said it's worse than any tampering with or any
11 physical abuse. Senator McCain, whose arms were
12 broken, who was physically stabbed by the Vietnamese,
13 and who was confined in solitary confinement for five
14 years in Hanoi said that solitary confinement was
15 worse than any of the physical abuse that he had
16 suffered. Dickens said this is a dreadful punishment
17 which afflicts an immense amount of torture and agony
18 and which no man has a right to inflict upon his
19 fellow creatures.
20 Solitary confinement is not only
21 inhumane and contrary to the fundamental principles
22 that I see and that I embrace in this wonderful
23 country and that is of human dignity and decency. In
24 addition, solitary confinement has two other
25 attributes. One I've described in my testimony. It

Page 65

1 makes prisons less safe. It breeds violence. It
2 makes it more difficult to operate prisons.
3 The kinds of horrible things that
4 can happen in solitary confinement units -- I just
5 gave you one story and it's not a very well-known
6 story, but it's because it's so common of people being
7 sent to solitary confinement, being stripped, being
8 placed in a cell that is totally unsanitary and being
9 uncared for during the time that they were in
10 solitary.
11 In New York, in my own state, people
12 have died in solitary confinement. Half of the
13 suicides, and the doctor referred to this and it's
14 probably a national trend, half of the suicides that
15 occurred in New York State prisons have occurred in
16 solitary confinement. So solitary confinement is
17 inhumane, it's torture, it violates, I believe, the
18 Constitutional rights of anyone who is subjected to
19 it, it makes prisons less safe, and it is a public
20 health threat.
21 I was invited to give a talk at the
22 Cornell Medical School last year, and in my talk to
23 that audience I put before them the proposition that
24 solitary confinement has five attributes that
25 constitute -- because it is used -- thankfully in this

Page 66

1 state, because of people like Commissioner Semple who
2 I applaud, it's not used to the frequency that it's in
3 other states, but we're a nation that is today, I
4 believe, are putting --
5 As we sit here today, at least
6 100,000 Americans are in solitary confinement, and I
7 believe the data shows that over the next year close
8 to a half million people in the United States are
9 going to be in some form of solitary confinement in
10 adult prisons and jails in the United States.
11 Solitary exacerbates preexisting
12 mental illness, but ironically mental illness is the
13 chief reason people are in solitary. It contributes
14 to suicide. It inflicts profound psychological
15 suffering. It causes crime, and it's especially
16 harmful for adolescents who are placed in solitary
17 confinement, for pregnant women who are placed in
18 solitary confinement, for elderly people who are
19 placed in solitary confinement, for people who need
20 protection who are placed in solitary confinement, and
21 for people who have significant developmental or
22 cognitive disabilities.
23 The second point I want to make --
24 and I just think as we engage in the complexities of
25 the problem of management of people, some of whom may

Page 67

1 be quite violent, and we have to engage in those
2 complexities, and we have to grapple with it. We just
3 can never lose sight of the fact what we are talking
4 about is torture, what we are talking about is
5 violations of the fundamental American principles of
6 decency, and are violations of human rights.
7 The second point I want to make is
8 that there are sensible alternatives to the practice
9 of solitary, and Commissioner Semple is one of the
10 national leaders. I was honored last year at John Jay
11 to be on a panel, a colloquium with them where
12 advocates were brought together with corrections
13 professionals and where we spent two days in
14 conversation to determine whether or not there really
15 are alternatives that there can be a consensus on, not
16 just from people like me but from a wide spectrum of
17 people.
18 In fact, that consensus emerged, and
19 it's been published now in a report called Ending the
20 Overuse of Extreme Isolation in Prisons and Jails, and
21 I think Commissioner Semple, his talk just indicated
22 such a humane approach and such a realistic approach
23 to avoiding the horrors of solitary confinement. So
24 this is an issue that can be addressed, the notion
25 that it's impossible, and I will wind up, I'm sorry,

Page 68

1 that it's impossible to address it, I think, is just
2 wrong.
3 The last point I want to make to you
4 is that I think it's essential that legislation be
5 enacted that codifies the notion that solitary
6 confinement cannot be used in this state and that that
7 legislation not be limited to juveniles, not be
8 limited to the mentally ill, not be limited to any
9 group of people, because --
10 And the legislation I think should
11 enact the principle that even though we may need to
12 separate some small group of people, because they are
13 dangerous, and that is a tiny percentage, I think, of
14 the people who are in solitary, even though we may
15 need to do that, we do not need to impose extreme
16 isolation. There is a distinction between separation
17 and isolation, between separation and solitary
18 confinement.
19 The final point that I want to make
20 to you, and is the one that the doctor referred to,
21 and that is that it's not enough just to have people
22 like Commissioner Semple. It's not enough just to
23 have legislation. You have to have oversight of
24 prisons. Prisons are the darkest place in our
25 society. Without external non-judicial oversight

Page 69

1 we're doomed to repeat the problems that have plagued
2 prisons, and I want to close by saying professionals,
3 and I heard it from the commissioner, professionals
4 who operate prisons endorse the notion -- and let me
5 just read you a couple of things.
6 A warden in Oklahoma said without
7 oversight the culture inside prisons become a place
8 that is foreign to the culture of the real world.
9 A.T. Wall, Commissioner of Corrections in
10 neighboring -- you're neighbors to Rhode Island, I
11 believe -- observed that without light, light, and
12 more light, there's a real danger of prison abuse, and
13 we cannot sit ideally by. If we do so, we run a
14 substantial risk that the dynamics of these
15 environments will default.
16 So I thank you again for this
17 opportunity, and I really want to applaud you for
18 putting a spotlight on this critical human rights
19 problem.
20 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for that
21 testimony. Dr. Kapoor.
22 DR. KAPOOR: Thank you very much.
23 Thank you for inviting me. My name is Reena Kapoor.
24 I'm a forensic psychiatrist and associate professor at
25 the Yale School of Medicine, and my work focuses on

Page 70

1 the treatment of people with mental illness in the
2 criminal justice system.
3 I worked as a psychiatrist in the
4 Connecticut Department of Correction from 2009 to 2011
5 both as a clinician and as an administrator, and since
6 that time my scholarly work has focused in part on the
7 mental health effects of solitary confinement. I've
8 served as a monitor of correctional mental health
9 services and an expert consultant on the use of
10 solitary confinement in several states including
11 Pennsylvania, Illinois, Louisiana, Arkansas and
12 Florida.
13 I've worked with the Department of
14 Justice on revising its recommendations for the use of
15 restrictive housing in 2015, and most recently I
16 completed a review of the scientific literature on the
17 psychological effects of solitary confinement at the
18 request of the National Institute of Justice, but
19 today I'm not going to talk very much about research
20 and policy. I'm instead going to focus on explaining
21 solitary confinement from the ground level perspective
22 of a psychiatrist working in the prison in part
23 because I don't think that that's a perspective that
24 gets discussed very much.
25 Like most psychiatrists I knew

Page 71

1 exactly nothing about the issue of solitary
2 confinement before working in a prison. There were no
3 lectures in medical school or in residency or even in
4 my forensic psychiatry subspecialty training. My
5 first exposure to solitary confinement came a few days
6 into my job at the Bridgeport Correctional Center when
7 I was presented with paperwork to fill out so that a
8 prisoner could be placed in segregation. The paper
9 had two checkboxes on it, one that said no
10 contraindication to placement in segregation, and the
11 other that said contraindication to placement in
12 segregation. Please explain.
13 I asked some of my colleagues who
14 had been working at the jail longer for examples of
15 what would be a contraindication to placement in
16 segregation, and they replied not much. Maybe if
17 someone were really floridly psychotic. So I asked,
18 "Well, what if they're suicidal?" My colleagues
19 replied, "Oh, you can't go by that. Every inmate says
20 they're suicidal so that they go to the infirmary
21 instead of seg. Unless they're actively cutting up or
22 banging their head, they're probably okay to go to
23 segregation."
24 The advice I was given on that day
25 is not uncommon. In my experience around the country

Page 72

1 mental health professionals use a similar rule of
2 thumb when making decisions about solitary confinement
3 placement. I understand why this happens. Mental
4 health professionals are busy and often they're jaded.
5 They don't have time to do in-depth assessments, and
6 they don't want to allow inmates to game the system.
7 However, I also understand from reviewing the research
8 on solitary confinement that there are very real risks
9 to placing people in segregation particularly for long
10 periods of time.
11 As you've heard earlier today,
12 suicide and self harm are probably the biggest risks
13 of all. The majority of all prison suicides occur in
14 isolation settings, and inmates placed in isolation
15 are almost seven times more likely than other
16 prisoners to engage in self injury. Mental health
17 professionals do debate whether the self-harming
18 behavior is manipulative, that is, motivated by a
19 desire just to get out of isolation or whether it's
20 caused by a gradually deteriorating mental state. But
21 in either case it's clear that isolated inmates harm
22 themselves at a much higher rate than those in the
23 general population.
24 It's important to note that solitary
25 confinement can cause harm by preventing inmates in

Page 73

1 participating in mental health treatment. But in most
2 prison systems medications are delivered to the
3 inmate's cell while they are in isolation, but
4 otherwise they don't have access to mental health
5 treatment like individual counseling, group therapy or
6 other structure rehabilitation programs. For many
7 inmates with serious mental illness stopping this kind
8 of treatment can prevent rehabilitation and lead to
9 significant worsening of symptoms like paranoia,
10 delusions or hallucinations.
11 Finally, I would note that the poor
12 relationships between officers and inmates that often
13 develop in solitary confinement settings are harmful
14 to everyone. Anyone who is worked in a prison can
15 tell you that the closed, isolated environment
16 heightens tensions between staff and inmates, and
17 they've witnessed the unfortunate results, the petty
18 tit-for-tat exchanges between officers and inmates,
19 the name calling, taunting, inconsistent rule
20 enforcement, and sometimes even outright abuse.
21 Needless to say enduring this
22 environment for months or years on end can cause
23 significant psychological harm for everyone involved.
24 The inmates of course, but also the officers and the
25 health staff. Over the years I've thought a lot about

Page 74

1 why such a large gulf exists between the scientific
2 literature, which clearly demonstrates the potential
3 for substantial harm from solitary confinement, and
4 the day-to-day practice of mental health
5 professionals, which generally minimizes the risks.
6 In my opinion there are three
7 important reasons why mental health professionals
8 continue to participate in the current system of
9 solitary confinement. The first is a lack of
10 knowledge. As I said earlier, mental health
11 professionals are not routinely educated about the
12 psychological effects of solitary confinement in the
13 course of their training, and if nobody ever taught
14 you about the psychological risks of isolation, then
15 you aren't going to know what symptoms to look for or
16 when to intervene.
17 Just like health care professionals
18 should have to be taught that high blood pressure can
19 increase your long-term risk of a heart attack, so too
20 must they be taught that segregation placement can
21 increase the risk of self harm, anxiety, depression,
22 confusion. Without this education health
23 professionals are likely to see a request for mental
24 health clearance before segregation placement as a
25 nuisance, just one task among many in a busy, chaotic

Page 75

1 day, and not something to be considered seriously.
2 The second factor is a lack of
3 support. I want to highlight that it takes courage to
4 say to a corrections officer that you don't think an
5 inmate should be placed in isolation, particularly
6 under circumstances when, for example, that inmate has
7 just assaulted an officer. The pressure to cooperate
8 with the disciplinary process is huge, and even the
9 most principled mental health professional won't fight
10 the system repeatedly unless they're supported by
11 their superiors. Instead, they'll either leave the
12 correctional system or they'll adapt to the
13 environment typically by going along with what the
14 officers want.
15 And the third factor is a lack of
16 alternatives. In many correctional systems there's
17 simply nowhere other than segregation to put
18 problematic inmates, particularly the kind who cut
19 themselves, attack officers, flood their cells or
20 smear human waste. Even in systems where these
21 behaviors are acknowledged as legitimate mental health
22 concerns, which is not universally the case, there is
23 nowhere for inmates to go. They've often failed in
24 less restrictive housing placements in prison, and
25 psychiatric hospitals either don't exist or don't have

Page 76

1 any interest in treating this type of inmate.
2 Only recently have correctional
3 systems like Pennsylvania and the Rikers Island jail
4 you heard about developed model programs that can be
5 used as alternatives to isolation. These programs are
6 a promising start, but it's important to know that
7 most correctional facilities around the country lag
8 far behind in developing and implementing those kind
9 of alternatives.
10 The good news is that all of these
11 problems, the lack of knowledge, support and
12 alternative programing, are readily solvable. It will
13 take dedicated leadership and resources, but most
14 mental health professionals would really welcome the
15 opportunity to think about prison discipline
16 differently. Right now they are routinely being asked
17 to decide is this amount of punishment too much for
18 this particular prisoner, and that is a question that
19 no health care provider should be put in the position
20 of having to answer.
21 First of all, you don't really know
22 how to assess that, but more importantly, it conflicts
23 with our ethical mandates to put the prisoner's health
24 first and to do no harm. Instead of putting more
25 resources into our current system of prison discipline

Page 77

1 and solitary confinement, it just makes sense for
2 prison systems to solicit mental health expertise in
3 crafting alternative programs that include both
4 punishments and, importantly, rewards in order to
5 modify a prisoner's behavior.
6 By engaging mental health
7 professionals in this way my hope is that we can
8 transform from a system in which staff are often
9 overburdened and afraid, to one in which
10 professionalism and high-quality health care can
11 thrive. Thank you.
12 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for sharing
13 your experience and perspective. Any questions?
14 Susan.
15 MS. TOLIVER: Thank you, panelists,
16 for all of your testimony. Mr. Semple, you talked
17 about the desire or the interest in pursuing
18 individualized plans for treatment for inmates, and
19 you talked about possibly finding ways to impact the
20 experience of prisoners who look as if they're on the
21 path that's leading them to isolation.
22 And so my question is really not for
23 you but to borrow from your concerns there, perhaps,
24 Dr. Kapoor, you could respond in terms of what kinds
25 of psychiatric or psychological interventions might be

Page 78

1 used to allay the use of isolation in cases where
2 inmates seem to be heading in the direction of
3 warranting isolation, using the word warranting
4 loosely.
5 DR. KAPOOR: Well, I think you've
6 hit upon something really important is how does this
7 work in practice, and so one of the models that's used
8 around the country is one of crisis intervention where
9 officers and health staff work together to sort of --
10 you know, when an inmate says, you know, I need help,
11 I'm sort of in a bad place, that then that team would
12 sort of come and respond before you get to the point
13 of either engaging in self-harming behavior or assault
14 an officer.
15 It takes a lot of, well, quite
16 frankly, high levels of staffing in order to be able
17 to do that, and that's a problem in correctional
18 facilities everywhere. Because if you don't have
19 sufficient numbers of crisis intervention folks
20 available, then it becomes, you know, a system where
21 the officers will say to the inmates, well, unless
22 you're telling me you're going to kill yourself right
23 now, I can't call them, you know.
24 So you need to have sufficient
25 staffing levels for the model to work, but I do think

Page 79

1 there's solid evidence that it can work when it's
2 sufficiently implemented.
3 MR. MCGUIRE: Olivia.
4 MS. WHITE: Commissioner Semple, I
5 was on a tour yesterday to the two facilities, and I
6 can't say enough about your staff. They were really
7 accommodating. They spent so much time with us, and
8 it was really -- I could see the culture change that
9 you were trying to bring forth so thank you for that.
10 I wanted to get an overall sense of
11 sort of a general question about in your view what's
12 the push/pull to get to zero? So what are the factors
13 weighing in favor of your effort to get to zero, in
14 your view, and what are the factors overall weighing
15 against your efforts to get to zero, resources,
16 culture, you know? How do you see that, an overview
17 of that?
18 MR. SEMPLE: I think it's fear.
19 MS. WHITE: I'm sorry?
20 MR. SEMPLE: I think it's fear. So
21 incarcerated people, there's this public perception of
22 who they are. It's more like often than not driven by
23 TV, and you come into a system, and you go through six
24 weeks of training, this on-the-job training period
25 with -- you know, the academy does a very good job of

Page 80

1 training folks, but you're interacting quite often
2 with people you're not used to interacting with. If
3 you were, you wouldn't be doing the job.
4 I think in essence what happens is
5 that there's a certain level of fear in that we know
6 that that person did something to hurt another
7 individual and therefore is capable of hurting me, and
8 that changes the whole dimension of the relationship,
9 you know, me training correctional professionals that
10 your job is not to punish.
11 I don't know if that happens all the
12 time, and, you know, I tried to think how do you
13 influence to take a different approach and, the folks
14 here had talked about how unhealthy this really is,
15 not only for the consumer but also for the people who
16 apply the standards, and I have to look at it from a
17 commonsense perspective. If I had --
18 If this is a room full of
19 correctional professionals, and I said give me every
20 reason why we should use isolation and administrative
21 segregation, I could have walls of reasons why. Now
22 it's your child. Give me a reason why we want to
23 isolate this person from human interaction, and now
24 people start to listen, and I think that we have
25 limited approaches, said some folks on this panel, and

Page 81

1 we have to have some more versatility on how we want
2 to deal with this and actually have it be a last
3 resort for an unusual situation that we just don't
4 know how to manage, but we can get to zero.
5 If you asked me three years ago if
6 we could drive the population down to the number that
7 it is, I don't know if I could say yes. So we're so
8 close. I want to get to zero.
9 MR. MCGUIRE: John?
10 MR. TANSKI: Thank you, Mr.
11 Chairman. Commissioner, I want to echo what Ms. White
12 said. I was on the tour yesterday, and I was just
13 incredibly impressed with your people and how good
14 they are at their job, how good they were to us. So
15 thank you for arranging that.
16 One of the discussions we had with
17 them yesterday was about the due process that
18 prisoners go through before they get to administrative
19 segregation, and not everybody on our panel was able
20 to join that discussion yesterday, and I'd like to
21 have it in that regard.
22 So could you please just explain to
23 us what's the process for someone, what do they have
24 to do to get referred for possible placement, and what
25 is the process they go through before this placement

Page 82

1 is actually made.
2 MR. SEMPLE: So I haven't looked at
3 this in awhile, and I could be off, some of the
4 colleagues are here in the room with me, but in
5 essence the decision-making authority to place someone
6 on administrative segregation lies on a district
7 administrator. District administrator is a person
8 that oversee wardens in our 15 facilities. There are
9 two that exist.
10 Coupled with that there is a
11 requirement to have a mental health assessment to see
12 if the person is appropriate, Dr. Kapoor had made
13 reference to that, but the criteria for that is much
14 more substantial than it had previously been.
15 However, once those determinations are made there is
16 an appeal process that the person can apply for, but
17 during that appeal process they are actually at the
18 site, which we commonly refer to as Northern
19 Correctional Institution. So that's, in essence, in a
20 nutshell of how that process works.
21 I think what's also important to
22 recognize, and that some systems don't do, what I've
23 learned is that the offender is informed that there is
24 an end to this, and they're also informed as to how to
25 get to that ending. So the concept that we're trying

Page 83

1 to embrace while we have this is that the first 30
2 days of placement on Phase I is really the cool-off
3 period, to think about the circumstances of what got
4 you there. That is concurrent with any time that you
5 may have spent at the facility where this event
6 occurred.
7 So if you're waiting for a week or
8 two weeks for someone to make a decision whether to
9 place you on administrative segregation, and you're
10 approved to go, you get to Northern, you have to
11 fulfill the 30 days. So whatever days are left, maybe
12 10 or 15 days left, you would fulfill that obligation
13 at Northern, then you go -- you leave Northern, you go
14 to Phase II.
15 Phase II is about content. What
16 we -- currently on Phase II is a 90-day requirement,
17 and the thing that I struggle with, and this is what
18 we're working on right now, is that 90 days is based
19 on what? You heard these speakers. Who came up with
20 this number? And so really I don't have a problem if
21 we have to maintain someone on a Phase II status, but
22 let the content dictate the timeframe. So that's
23 out-of-cell opportunities to have interactions with
24 colleagues and to also have interactions with various
25 staff.

Page 84

1 I was with one of our state
2 legislators who informed me that think about the
3 limited access someone in the administrative
4 segregation environment actually has with someone who
5 is not in a uniform or is paid to interact with them.
6 So that is something that we have to pay attention to.
7 Phase 3 is a much more looser standard. It's really
8 preparing someone to go back in the community.
9 The other thing that needs to be
10 paid attention to that we do here in Connecticut is we
11 do not release someone from that environment into the
12 community. So we will stop the process in favor of
13 moving someone back to a more appropriate environment
14 to try our best to prepare them to go back into the
15 community, and when they return, there is a point in
16 time where if you owe time on that status, you would
17 go back to that site. That does not happen here, and
18 that contributed to what we were able to do with the
19 numbers. I hope that helps.
20 MR. MCGUIRE: John Herrington.
21 MR. HERRINGTON: Yes, Commissioner,
22 I have just a basic question. It seems as though we
23 have had a dramatic reduction in the short period of
24 time. What are the numbers correlating with the
25 reduction in the use of administrative segregation and

Page 85

1 instances of violence among the inmates or toward
2 correctional officers?
3 MR. SEMPLE: There's a host of
4 variables that I think come into play, but despite the
5 fact that we have done this, our incident rates are at
6 an all time low throughout the system. There's two
7 things we need to be able to do, and you can't do any
8 of this unless you have a safe environment, and the
9 environment has to be safe.
10 The population, the consumer, they
11 need to feel safe. The staff need to feel safe. But
12 then once you get to that point in time, what
13 opportunities are you creating for engagement and
14 incentivizing the system so there's actually something
15 to lose for that type of behavior, and then to educate
16 someone as to how to get back on track is
17 extraordinarily important, and we sometimes take that
18 for granted in certain systems.
19 So you really have to spend time
20 with the individual who has been impacted, and, quite
21 frankly, if you're dealing with circumstances of SMI
22 and things of that nature, if they're willing, you can
23 partner with family to try to allow them to work with
24 you to influence that person to do the right thing,
25 and I think that's -- There are all of these allies

Page 86

that we have that are lined up that we don't, as a sytem, take for granted.

Real quickly, one of the previous panel, the doctor, spoke about brain development, and we just opened January 30 a unit just for that purpose. 18 to 25 is very program driven and staff driven, and despite what the research says of removing this population from interactions with the adult population, we actually brought in ten mentors who were incarcerated since teenagers and are with us for a significant period of time, conducted some training with them on mentorship and motivational interviewing, and they are serving as mentors to this population.

What we found was that the vast majority of these folks did not have a father figure in their life, and they are responding. So initially we wanted to repurpose the entire facility. The budget dictated that. But that's kind of a front end approach with this 18 to 25 issue, and the whole notion of impulsivity, quite frankly, I think it's the next big thing in corrections.

MR. MCGUIRE: We're running short on time, but we're going to go a little bit longer, because this is such a valuable panel. I have a question for everyone up there. As you know, we're

Page 87

taking a look at this through the civil rights lens, but we're also grappling with the question of what is solitary confinement? What is isolated confinement. I think someone made the point of distinguishing between separation and solitary confinement.

We are not going to limit our analysis to labels that either the DOC uses or other corrections organizations use in terms of ad seg. We're just trying to find out where, in your estimation as doctors, professors, Commissioner of Correction, where you would define that cutoff, if there is one. Could you weigh in on that?

DR. VENTERS: I think that traditionally we talk about solitary confinement or this type of isolation as being in a cell for most of the day, 20 plus hours of the day. I think our research on self harm using these big, hundreds of thousands of patient data sets focused on that.

I would caution one alternative type unit that has popped up all over the country, which is to have people out and promoting engagement through the use of restraint chairs. And for a patient who is persistently aggressive or violent you could make a tenable argument that being in a desk, restrained to a desk could offer an opportunity for engagement that

Page 88

wouldn't be possible if they were in a cell by themselves. That makes some sense on its own.

However, my concern with the proliferation of these desks all over the country is what you find is people are being offered the option of either being in the box or in one of these restraint chairs all day long, sometimes without meaningful engagement, and that that in fact could be an avenue to undo some of the gains we have made.

MR. MUSHLIN: It's a really good question, because the way we have been forced to deal with this for, you know, the last 20 years or so has been that solitary confinement has been 23 hours a day. In fact, it started out 24 hours a day locked in a cell, by one's cell, and one of the early cases that I was involved with up at Dannemore in New York where we had to litigate to get the hour a day outside as a Constitutional right.

So we start with that as kind of the classic definition, and I think now that we're beginning to finally grapple with how one reforms solitary confinement, I think it's important to make this distinction between extreme isolation, which may be necessary, which I would define as 23 hours a day, which may be necessary in very small numbers of cases,

Page 89

and I think there what we should do is we should limit that to 15 days, and beyond 15 days you could still have separation, but it shouldn't be characterized as 23 hours a day in a cell or 23 hours a day in a cell with one other person.

So there should be opportunities, and there's been a movement toward 10 -- maybe the commissioner could talk about with at least 20 hours outside of the cell, 10 of which in some sort of congregant activity, and 10 of which in just sort of leisurely activities with other human beings. But the notion is there needs to be -- even in the separated situation there needs to be human interaction and not just with correction staff but with people in general.

MR. MCGUIRE: Doug?

MR. GLANVILLE: Commissioner Semple, I was just wondering, you know, as we look at this lens maybe through legislatively or however we're going to address this, regulatory, administratively, you mentioned some of the programs that you've been able to implement. What have been the barriers from -- you know, when you talk about resources being reduced or limitations, budget crunch, what have you seen that you're optimistic about that had to get back or pulled back or reduced that you're hoping to see

Page 90

that we can develop?

MR. SEMPLE: Well, again, when I first started speaking with you, I have no choice but to be optimistic. So last year we cut $72.4 million out of a $700 million plus budget. That's a substantial amount of money, and despite that, my colleagues and I were still able to implement strategies that we put in place that extended far beyond of this particular issue.

I would go back to the doctor's response to -- I think he was referring to the Mandela Rule, which we had a lot of discussion about that when we were together. The thing that I would be careful with is with regard to programs, evidence-based programs. I think that that type of terminology is accepted terminology, but unless you have an appropriate facilitation with some level of passion, it's hooey.

So you really need to have the appropriate people engaging this population with the right type of interactions, and they actually need to know you care, because without that evidence-based programing it means nothing. So the opportunities, you just have to reinvent yourself, and it's about influencing staff to be passionate about the work that

Page 91

they do.

I mean, one of the first things that I say to our staff is that let's just look at who we are. We are -- we call ourselves the Department of Correction. Where does the corrections part of what we do come into your daily activities and how you interact with various aspects of the population.

So I think that this generation of staff that have come in within the last several years, quite frankly, are challenging me to say, okay, we get this. What's next? You know, Connecticut's very fortunate in that when I interact with my colleagues around the country, more than 90 percent of my staff that come in now have college degrees, and they're challenging to say bring something to us that we can actually fulfill our mission and what our goals and strategies are.

So we're in a really good, fortunate situation that not all jurisdictions are. You know, we're a consolidated system, a small state, a moderate-size population with a progressive Governor that my job is just basically to compliment, you know, where he wants to take it. So I hope some of those remarks help you.

MR. GLANVILLE: Thank you.

Page 92

MR. SEMPLE: Yep.

MR. MCGUIRE: Any other questions?

MS. CORGEL: Dr. Venters, as we all know, African-Americans are more likely or just disproportionately likely to be incarcerated, and you mention they are also, of the African-American inmates, 2.4 times more likely to be subjected to isolation. Do you have any ideas about what might remedy that, make it less disproportionate?

DR. VENTERS: Yeah. I mean, we almost didn't get into examining racial disparities, because it seems so self evident. It also seemed like in New York City we might not actually have enough white patients to build a regression model, like a very valid statistical analysis. But now that we've been at this for a couple years we think that --

First of all, patients are coming in with lots of disparities in their access to and stigma around mental health services in the community. So there's lots of literature for decades about engagement of different racial and ethnic groups in this country and stigma around participating mental health services.

But what really stunned me is that once patients have been in jail for a while, and I

Page 93

would postulate this the same as in prisons. Once there's a problem in jail or in prison, there's a conflict with custodial staff, the health staff, custodial staff, the other inmates or patients have -- we all have built up in us these ideas about who benefits from punishment and who benefits from treatment that are cut by race and class and also really cut by intellectual disability.

So we have worked very hard. We've received federal funding to retrain our staff, the health staff. But without shining a light on the infraction processes in these settings and that means actual representation, we should assume that people going through these infraction processes have high rates of intellectual disability, often do not understand the rules that they are being presented with.

And in many cases we have a hidden second criminal justice system that demands if we want to address these deep-seated racial and ethnic disparities that are part of how those systems function, we need to shine a light on them. We need to offer these people real representation.

MR. MCGUIRE: Michael?

MR. WERNER: Thank you again to all

Page 94

of our panelists. Commissioner, I have a question regarding death row inmates, and I was curious about how the DOC housed death row inmates before Northern, and how does that compare to today.

MR. SEMPLE: That's a good question. It's a complicated issue, because when the death penalty was revoked here in Connecticut, there was language in the statute, an amendment to the revocation that required that population to in essence be managed in the same manner that they currently were prior to the change in statute. It's a dilemma, quite frankly, from a management perspective for me that --

There's some legal activity going on right now so I'm limited as to what I can talk about. That being said, I would prefer to manage them in accordance with our classification model, which would dictate the level of management in terms of what we would need to do and how we would need to do it, if that helps you.

But currently I don't think there's been much of a change in the level of management. In fact, there has not with the exception that we're allowing more integration with the population as appropriate, and we're trying to give them more opportunities in terms of having some level of

Page 95

interaction, assuming that we'll get to the point in time where the best case scenario would be to manage in a secured maximum security general population environment.

MR. MCGUIRE: Commissioner Semple, as you know, we're looking as a committee at particularly vulnerable classes that are protected, that is, juveniles, and it's also people with serious mental health issues. Can you talk about how the DOC has changed the way they screen folks out from going into the ad seg program?

Yesterday, I believe it was, the warden mentioned that young offenders don't go to Northern anymore, which we have a panel coming up with some people that have been at Northern in past years have ended up there. How has that changed?

MR. SEMPLE: So just as a matter of practice, and I have to credit my predecessors, is that we just don't use this type of status for young people. In addition to that, we're moving in the direction that I don't think that we should use this status for female offenders.

So as a matter of practice, which is generally I don't use it as far as administrative segregation is concerned, but we more often than not

Page 96

will use another status that we call special needs, which is different from how we manage an administrative segregation environment.

But I think there are two areas that are quick wins for us with young people and the female population that are having good things, and I think have attributed to why the numbers have come down so quickly.

MR. MCGUIRE: And am I right in my understanding that when someone has a disciplinary ticket that might send them to segregation, that mental health staff collaborate and reviews it, and if it's a direct result of their meant health issue, that they're diverted. I thought I heard that yesterday on the tour.

MR. SEMPLE: We do, but that being said, I think Dr. Mushlin and Dr. Venters, I think both of them kind of touched on it and Dr. Kapoor as well is that my general sense is that mental health professionals oftentimes may be, you know, influenced administratively. We don't find out about it, because we're really just pushing paper, and I think that that's something that they struggle with.

The way that the process works is that there is some level of review that is submitted

Page 97

to the administration of the facility, and the facility makes that decision based on the narrative in the review that is presented to them. So it's not ideal.

I think what we've done in terms of a specialized facility, I'll use the Garner facility as the example that I'm most familiar with, which deals primarily with people on SMI. We actually do apply it better than I think where it's applied in other locales, but the staff know the population that they're dealing with.

In addition to some of the remarks that were made, one of the things that has worked for us is that we do take a team approach, and we educate the staff in understanding each other's legal obligations, certification, licensure obligations, and things of that nature, and we'll bring the different competencies into the room, whether it's custody driven or treatment driven, to kind of understand what each other's roles are and to work together on a plan for that particular individual. That's why I'm a big advocate of the individualized treatment plans.

MR. MCGUIRE: Michael?

MR. WERNER: So, Commissioner, I was wondering about the use of alternative therapies to

Page 98

1 help with reducing aggression in the first place to
2 maybe help with eliminate the use of isolation. I was
3 struck yesterday about some of the goal orientation of
4 some of the inmates that I saw at the reentry
5 facility.
6 Could you speak a little bit about
7 things such as everything from the possibility or
8 potential use of things like animal therapy in moving
9 on toward the college training programs, speak to the
10 Asnuntuck program, some successes that you have had?
11 MR. SEMPLE: So the unit that we're
12 speaking about is the Cybulski Reintegration Centers.
13 There are three dedicated units, approximately 330 men
14 that are participating in that reintegration, and I
15 can't take credit for that. I borrowed it from the
16 State of Ohio, and I was very fortunate to read a
17 magazine article, trade magazine article that kind of
18 lead me in this direction.
19 But Connecticut has some statutory
20 authority to kind of allow us to embrace it but gave
21 us more opportunity. So we do things such as yoga,
22 and we do things to kind of reacquaint the population
23 with the programing that they had received while
24 they're incarcerated, sometimes ten years ago, but
25 also to give them the skills to actually begin the

Page 99

1 process of moving forward in their lives.
2 One thing that's missing that I
3 think we're going to be much closer to within the next
4 year is I want to bring more technology into that
5 environment because of what I'm hearing from
6 previously incarcerated people that it doesn't take
7 long to kind of lose your place in the world of
8 technology, and that's an opportunity for us to take
9 advantage of so we do pet therapy with the veterans
10 unit and the general population unit and the DUI unit.
11 We also have that same unit over at
12 the York Correctional Institution, and we are
13 implementing it at the Manson Youth Institution as
14 well. But it really is all about creating a
15 therapeutic environment and, you know, it works, and I
16 hope your experience is that there's reliance upon
17 each other, and when the unit is running in an
18 appropriate manner, the staff person really should be
19 bored, because people are being accountable to each
20 other and holding the line in terms of what their
21 responsibilities are.
22 Now, what I can tell you is that our
23 recidivism numbers generally are consistent with
24 what's out there nationally. So whatever we're doing
25 over the last year, soon to be two years since we

Page 100

1 opened up the initial unit, reports of the recidivism
2 number is roughly around 23 to 24 percent. That is
3 not heard of anywhere. Just doesn't happen. So
4 that's attractive, but also what it does for the
5 environment is it sends a message to the entire agency
6 that there is this place that you can go that's much,
7 much different.
8 We were the beneficiary of the Pell
9 Grant, and I like to do out-of-the-box things, and
10 thankfully the local community college right near the
11 reintegration institution, we see several days on a
12 given week that someone that is referred to us as an
13 inmate transitions into a student. They actually
14 change their clothes into civilian clothes. They go
15 to Asnuntuck Community College to the manufacturing
16 program, and then come back to the reintegration
17 center at night.
18 Now, I was -- there are some folks
19 that aren't happy about that. They think that it's
20 unfair that we do these things for incarcerated
21 people, but what about the free world? Well, those
22 folks are coming back into our communities, and they
23 have to be able to sustain themselves, and it's simple
24 commonsense that if they don't have an alternative to
25 sustain themselves, you go back to what you know, and

Page 101

1 that's to survive.
2 So I think it's a good public safety
3 agenda in terms of helping people do that. We've just
4 started it. There's 14 folks that are going to
5 graduate in the very near future, and the placement
6 rate for the Asnuntuck manufacturing program is up in
7 the 90 percentile. So we believe that these folks are
8 going to become tax paying, law abiding citizens.
9 MR. MCGUIRE: We have to wrap up,
10 unfortunately. We extended over, because this is such
11 a great panel. Thank you so much for the insight,
12 and, Commissioner Semple, I want to let you know as
13 someone who has spent many hours at Northern CI in the
14 role of an attorney visiting clients I noticed a real
15 difference in the culture and feeling of the facility
16 yesterday. So my hats off to you and the work you're
17 doing, and I hope some of our recommendations help
18 support that.
19 MR. SEMPLE: Thank you very much.
20 MR. MCGUIRE: So the next panel,
21 which we'll ease right into, will be some personal
22 testimony from people that spent time in solitary in
23 Connecticut and their families. Just bear with us.
24 So our next panel I mentioned is
25 some personal testimony from people that are directly

Page 102

1 impacted by solitary confinement here in Connecticut.
2 As you heard, our Advisory Committee went on a tour of
3 two facilities yesterday, and I got one perspective.
4 We're hearing from some very, very weighty academics,
5 but we also want to hear the stories and the personal
6 narrative from people that have been here.
7 So what I'll do is ask everyone on
8 the panel to introduce yourselves, and give somewhere
9 between five and eight minutes of testimony, and then
10 we'll ask questions after.
11 MS. ALSTON: I'll start. My name is
12 Pam Alston, and I'm the sister of Ira Alston, who has
13 been housed at Northern Correctional Institution for
14 quite awhile.
15 MR. TUCKER: How are you doing?
16 Good morning. My name is Keishar Tucker. I'm a
17 survivor of solitary confinement in maximum security
18 prison.
19 MS. FAIR: Hello. My name is
20 Barbara Fair, and I'm also a survivor but not actually
21 being in solitary but my son being in solitary so
22 thank you.
23 MS. BERNARDI: I'm Traci Bernardi.
24 I served 23 years in prison and out of the 23 years I
25 spent seven straight in solitary, and I did a bunch of

Page 103

1 other little small periods of time, 15, 30 days,
2 things like that throughout my whole -- well, toward
3 the end I stopped, but, yeah.
4 MR. MCGUIRE: All right, great. Do
5 you want to start, Pam?
6 MS. ALSTON: Sure, yeah, sure, I'll
7 start, especially since I think mine is a little
8 shorter. Well, again, good morning. My name is Pam
9 Alston, and I'm a Christian. I'm the sister again of
10 Ira Alston, who was housed at Northern Correctional
11 facility, and I thank you for the opportunity to speak
12 to be heard and to have my family and Ira's
13 experiences heard as well.
14 As a juvenile, Ira was housed at
15 Northern CI as a result of disciplinary actions. Ira
16 was sent to Northern and had spent the majority of his
17 time served, which is 18 years, in solitary
18 confinement also known as administrative segregation.
19 I believe all inmates should be treated with a level
20 of decency, with a level of decency, and deserve the
21 same consideration for safety as given to staff and
22 all the other inmates thus the current practice of
23 solitary confinement, specifically in Connecticut,
24 should be outlawed.
25 The practice has been proven to be

Page 104

1 inhumane and cause more harm than good. Human rights
2 are a fundamental right of this country and more so
3 personally as human. My fear is that we've become
4 detached from the reality of the conditions that are
5 in solitary confinement that are in our jails today,
6 which is not far from here in Hartford, just a couple
7 exist way up in Northern. I think any period of time
8 is too long to spend in those type of conditions.
9 As you heard earlier from the
10 panelists, the inhumane condition such as being left
11 to soil yourself, being in chains, restraints, and in
12 the cell isolated for day on end is again inhumane.
13 Some correctional officers and other advocates for
14 solitary confinement argue the system is necessary as
15 a measure of safety and security to keep staff and
16 other inmates safe. While enforcing the security, I
17 question what about the safety of the groups that are
18 classified biasly as the worst of the worst? These
19 men and women are not forgotten as the film indicated.
20 Like you and I they have a mother, a
21 father, siblings. They probably are parents, and they
22 too are loved, and just as a CO who puts on a uniform
23 to go to work and go in to work with the prayer of
24 coming home safe and unharmed, the same way that him
25 or her enter the facility, us family members, as these

Page 105

1 incarcerated men and women, have that same prayer that
2 our loved ones come home to us the same way that they
3 went in, if not better.
4 But that's not the reality of
5 solitary confinement and segregation. It breeds more
6 violence, and it does more harm than good, and
7 oftentimes the loved one is sent home in worse
8 condition than they left us, and that simply shouldn't
9 be the case if we're sending them for rehabilitation
10 and to think about the behavior that caused them to be
11 put in prison in the first place.
12 Today Ira is housed in Corrigan but
13 remains under the same phase or tier system which led
14 to his Northern assignment. This program or system --
15 this program or system is said to rehabilitate over
16 incentives and modify inmate's misbehavior. However,
17 in my brother's case, and as we continue to learn in
18 many other cases, this aim has failed. Recidivism is
19 high. Inmates rebel against a system oftentimes
20 they're not, and nothing of value is retained.
21 The system designed to house inmates
22 at Northern is appalling. I know that's not why we're
23 here. But the practice of inhumane -- the practice of
24 solitary confinement is inhumane. It's hard for the
25 mental health of these inmates, the physical of health

Page 106

such as lack of vitamin D, exercise, just basic human rights that they lack. It's harsh. There's no human contact. The conditions are filthy of the cells. The denial of medical attention, all of these things are wrong and go against the purpose of solitary confinement. Thank you for listening, and I appreciate it.

MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for sharing you and your brother's story. Keishar.

MR. TUCKER: Good morning, people of the committee, and thanks for hearing my story. My name is Keishar Tucker. I'm a survivor of solitary confinement in maximum security prisons. I'm from New Haven, Connecticut. I've been in solitary confinement more than once so I'm not sure the total amount of time I spent there. The longest time was about six months.

My other experience in solitary confinement sometimes last a month, sometimes a couple months, sometimes a week. It doesn't really take much for a person, for someone to go to solitary confinement. The correction officers say they can send you to solitary confinement for disobeying a direct order. They could give you a ticket. If you choose to fight it, you can stay in solitary

Page 107

confinement up to 30 days, 45 days, I think, fighting the ticket. If you plead guilty to the ticket, you can be in solitary confinement for about a week.

My first time in solitary confinement was when I was 17. I wasn't convicted of any crime. I was charged with threatening, and I sat in prison for nine months without bond. I wasn't able to cope with being in prison so I would act out, and of course I got tickets for disobeying a direct order. Most of the tickets were simple violations. If you get a ticket, a violation, say three violations within a 90-day period, they can send you to what they call chronic isolation.

I was 17. I was at Manson Youth Institution. I was there for about three months in Phase I of three phases. Every time you get out your cell, you are handcuffed. You know, going to the shower with you're handcuffed. So while I was there they accuse me of assaulting a correction officer, and that's what led me -- that's what got me sent to Northern Correctional Institution, a maximum security prison.

What happened in that incident was I was getting out of the shower, and they handcuffed me, and the CO was kind of like yanking, pulling the

Page 108

handcuffs, kind of like dragging me back to the cell, and I pulled back, and we both fell, and that's what -- he wrote up the incident as an assault. That got me sent to Northern, like I said.

This was the worst place ever. This was the same place where they house death row inmates. There's a lot of psychological torture. When you first enter Northern, you're handcuffed and shackled, and they take the shackles and the handcuffs off to strip you down and then put you in another uniform and handcuff and shackle you again.

Then they walk you down a long hallway. I mean, it was so long I couldn't even walk the whole way. The shackles was cutting into my skin, and the correction officers had to carry me to the cell. It was a single cell. I didn't have anything, no books, no writing material, nothing.

The first night that I was there I witnessed what they call the doom squad. I guess it's like six, eight COs with helmets on and shields. I watched them go inside someone's cell, drag the person out. That person was unconscious on the ground. I recall the nurse coming in standing over the person shaking her head as to she didn't know what, you know, what was going on or what to do. I remember them

Page 109

carrying him out on a stretcher so I don't know whatever happened in that situation other than that.

You can't see other inmates. You can't talk to anyone, but I remember there was a cell next to me. I heard a voice, and I was thinking to myself like where is this coming from, and it was coming out of the sink. He said, "Come to the sink," and he showed me how to, you know, he told me how to, you know, talk in the sink, and that's how we communicated. That's how we played chess, talking through the sink.

In the cell there's a little window, a little window that you can see outside, but there's nothing but woods that you see. I remember looking out the window hoping to see anything. I mean, a cloud, anything. The correction officers feed you through a trap in the door. The room is a small room, 6 by 9. It was like being in the bathroom, just a little bed, sink and a toilet, connected together a sink and a toilet. Sometimes it was a desk in the cell. Sometimes there wasn't.

Another time I was held in Walker Correctional Institution in chronic isolation. I remember being in Phase I at Walker. There was this correctional officer. He was like real evil. They

Page 110

had an intercom in the cell. This officer, he said my name in the intercom, and he said my brother, last night he had been shot in the head. He was killed. I started freaking out, you know, just freaking out.

I had court the next day. It turned out to be a good thing, because I got a chance to ask another CO that I know did he hear of anything like that happening, did he hear my brother being shot and killed, and he said, "No, Keishar, that's not true. That didn't happen." So I was confused like why was the CO -- you know, why would he say this to me? So actually when I got back from court, I wrote a grievance on the CO about the incident, you know, and nothing ever happened. The grievance just disappeared, and there was nothing -- nothing happened to the CO.

To quote, I just started working out doing a lot of exercise, praying a lot. When I got utensils, like writing utensils, I would write poetry, music, just write my thoughts down on paper. When I got a chance to read books -- when I got a chance to get them, you know, I would read a lot of books. Sometimes it was hard getting books in some of the isolation cells I was in.

I remember -- I was suffering from

Page 111

anxiety and depression. I still do suffer from anxiety. Like it never goes away. Sometimes I still have nightmares and stuff like that from being in isolation. I remember one time I was in a cell, and I remember I was hallucinating. So I asked the CO if I get some medical help, treatment. Can I see a medical health counselor, and I was yelling through the door to speak to mental health, and they said they would --

They finally said they will send me to see the mental health, and I was hallucinating about going home. I thought that I was going home, and I remember a few COs, maybe five, six COs was escorting me to mental health, and I just stopped walking. I was like where am I going? I didn't know where I was going, and the CO was like you got a direct order to come and hurry up. I remember them macing me and throwing me into an isolation cell, because I didn't walk when they told me to walk.

At one point -- like I said I was depressed. I was on medication for depression and anxiety, and I didn't feel safe being around a lot of people, and in crowds I would be paranoid. I said being in isolation is a lot of -- it's inhumane and it's definitely psychological torture and I think -- I don't think anyone should have to experience that.

Page 112

Thank you for your time. Thank you for allowing my testimony.

MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you. Thank you for sharing that deeply personal experience, Keishar. Barbara, would you like to add something?

MS. FAIR: Good morning, members of the Civil Rights Commission for the State of Connecticut. Thank you for the opportunity -- good morning. Thank you for the opportunity to be heard on a matter that concerns countless others in our state. I come before you as a mother of a son who survived torture within Northern Supermax as well as solitary confinement in various prisons at various times while in the custody of the Connecticut Department of Corrections.

My name is Barbara fair. I'm a West Haven resident and a licensed clinical social worker who has been very interested in humanizing Connecticut prisons long before I ever thought one of my own children would end up there. Solitary confinement is torture not only for the individual actually experiencing it but also the loved one who feel helpless to end up there. My son is fortunate to have someone who advocate for him. Thousands do not.

He was sent to Northern on his

Page 113

seventeenth birthday as a direct result of several disciplinary tickets he received while being housed at Manson Youth. He had been a behavior problem from the day he was placed in a cage, and so to punish him he was accused of assaulting an officer, found guilty, and transferred there. He was being held there prior to being convicted of anything.

No one, and especially a young person whose mind is not even fully formed, should be forced to endure pain that many times can cause irreversible harm to the psyche. Experts state that that harm can be irreversible after only 15 days, and we've known that since the late 1800s. So undoubtedly if we treat people in this manner, the consequences cannot be excused as unintended. They are done with deliberate and malicious intent, which I consider sadism.

To make a very long and incredibly painful story short, a young man who had a lifetime ahead of him, loving son, scholar, loyal friend, very social, devoted father, and a vibrant, creative artist and songwriter, after being tortured in Northern, became a broken man, mind shattered and spirit diminished, reduced to just a shell of the man who entered the Department of Corrections for a nonviolent

Page 114

crime.

His life became a lifetime of hospitalizations and psych wards and prison wards and decades of alcohol and other drug addiction. He experienced being strapped down in 4-point restraints, forced medicated, chained like an animal when he wasn't being caged like one, times so drugged up he would occasionally urinate on himself, experience involuntary body and facial movements, inability to remain still, stuttering, drooling and a numbing of his emotions.

When he would sit for a period of time with a blank stare, it made me feel unsafe, and yet he desperately needed my care. Other family members with children were nervous about having him around, and so he spent a lot of time alone.

While in custody my son was given a different diagnosis depending on who was assessing him and several medications including antipsychotics with side effects that include agitation, anxiety, difficulty sleeping, breast enlargement, sexual dysfunction, muscle spasms, obesity, risk of diabetes, cardiovascular disease and stroke, all which reduce life expectancy.

As a mother, I'm a survivor as well,

Page 115

because during this experience I too suffered panic attacks, sleepless nights, crying spells, depression, nightmares, and a sense of my son pulling on my spirit, which left me feeling helpless to save him, which nearly caused me to have a nervous breakdown. I do this work, because I don't want to see another child, young person or parent endure this credible and disabling pain.

We claim we are better than other nations that torture. It's time we face the fact that we torture our own citizens first in caging them and in addition torturing them needlessly causing harm which many will never overcome.

Today my son is drug-free and coping with his painful past through therapy and a loving family. He hopes to be a voice for countless others coping with this pain in places beyond Northern like Garner, Corrigan and Walker. It's time we live up to who we say we are. The greatest problem behind why we cannot do what's right is the lack of humanity toward the people who are being treated in this manner, and that's because they are disproportionately people of color, and those who make the decisions about them have no idea what it's like to be treated in such an awful manner. Thank you.

Page 116

MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you, Barbara. Traci.

MS. BERNARDI: So I just want to say that I went to a meeting in New Haven, and they showed a video on why solitary confinement should be stopped, but they had a guard in there, and the guard was saying how just this one day out of the blue he knew this inmate for years and years and years, and this one day out of the blue he opened the inmate's cell door. The inmate sliced his throat.

So people hear this, and they get this idea that we are dangerous, and, you know, the people that you put in solitary confinement belong there. They're dangerous, they're this, they're that, but it didn't say -- the video didn't show what the guard may have or may not have done to that inmate up until that time to push him to the point of when he opened the door what he did to him.

I wrote something that talks about my experience, and it speaks to what could trigger someone to act like an animal besides the simple caging of that person.

Every cell at York has window, even in solitary. I know because out of 23 years served in prison I spent seven years straight locked away in

Page 117

solitary. I remember watching out the window as the compound life went on without me. I would wish myself dead. To see others heading to and from the chow hall, medical, work, school and visits. Every time I saw a friend I'd be banging on the window knowing they could not see me, because the windows are darkly tinted. Administration tinted the windows while the building were being refaced. The warden promised they would come down immediately after construction ended. The tints are still up. Construction ended about four years ago.

There's a reason I believe that the tints are being kept up. Administration recognized the power in sun deprivation. Without vitamin K women at York would be too lethargic to act out. When I left York, I had a severe deficiency. I needed to be infused with 5,000 milligrams of vitamin D for three months. Administration -- sorry. I want to introduce you to something called induced sleep deprivation through use of our human torture tactics. I'm talking about the control tactics implemented in solitary confinement by correctional guards.

You may have been told that solitary confinement no long exists, but the Department of Corrections simply disguised it with a new name.

Page 118

Restrictive housing. Whatever anyone wants it to be called, it's place of deprivation, a place where one is deprived of sun, a clear mind, food, good hygiene and sleep, as well as obvious human contact and communication.

Just as sun deprivation is a means of control, the institution has a single APRN on hire when I left a year ago who serves in the capacity of psychiatrist. This man will give you whatever you ask for. Women who are addicts think he's cool for that. He's the go-to guy, but women don't realize is that their drug addictions are being exploited. The administration preys on it in order to guarantee submission.

I'm among the many who requested and received psych meds in order to sleep. I assume because an APRN ordered them for me and knew my medical history they were safe. When I came home, my doctor discontinued my medication, because she said with my heart condition -- I had open-heart surgery when I was three months old -- I should have never been placed on them in the first place. I have been on that particular drug for about 18 years of my incarceration.

One might suggest I have for a

Page 119

lawsuit. However, there is a law in the state of Connecticut, CGSA 18-85a, a law that started being enforced in 2001, that renders a lawsuit pointless, because basically if a former inmate has left, wins or awarded any money of a windfall, the state is entitled to that fund. This applies to lawsuit winnings, inheritances or winning the lottery. A former inmate is subject to repay all incarceration fees if you get one of these windfalls of money. So my family can't leave me anything in their will or anything like that.

But the point is I can't sue for anything that was done to me, because I will sit through all that litigation only to hand the money to the state when I'm done, and this keeps former inmates from suing, which is why many things at York and probably other correctional institutions are never even reported.

The food we're served in prison obviously it deprives us of nutritional content, which our bodies require, but it's not just because it's overcooked. But in solitary where one is fed through a slot, a trap in the door, there's a new way women are deprived of food. This is induced self-starvation.

There are guards who actually force

Page 120

half-starved women to refuse their tray. I can hear the guards at neighboring cells tell women, "I spit in your food" or "Wait till you taste what I did to your tray." The guard would have that person's tray marked with their name on it to convince the inmate further that her tray was tampered with. Of course the inmate refuses her tray. The guard tells the inmate, "Okay. I'm putting it in the log that I offered you your tray and you refused it." I witnessed this scenario one too many times to count.

In solitary one is allowed to shower three times a week, Saturdays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. Some guards on shift would tell the next shift that you already had your shower so you'd wait all day, and finally you would realize the whole tier showered but you. So you asked why they skipped you and you are told first shift said you already got your shower. If it's been two days since your last shower, now it's four days. It makes no difference whether you're menstruating or not.

We're also forced to wear the same dirty uniform for a week straight. Our bed linen would be cleaned once a month. I can remember I was in solitary, and there was no door on the shower stall of my tier so we had to take showers in handcuffs for

Page 121

about a year till they put a door. Imagine showering in handcuffs. Try to tie your hands together with a sock and see how clean you get in the shower, not to mention you get one miniature hotel-sized soap with one miniature shampoo and a deodorant and a toothpaste. This is what you have to use for a whole week.

This forced us into bad hygiene, which is another control tactic. When you keep someone dirty, you deprive them of sunlight and fresh air on top of overmedicating an inmate, this sends you into deep depression, and as you know, depression calls for sleep.

But how easy is it to sleep when guards have to do 15-minute tours, and some like to bang on your door or kick it every time they walk by. Some like to leave your light on in your room all night, and if they catch you with a blanket over your head to block the light out, they wake you up and order you to remove it. At other times guards would go to someone's cell and take a sneaker from them and put it in the dryer so we were forced to hear clunking of a shoe as it tossed wildly against the dryer walls for a 60-minute dryer cycle.

Guards would also leave our

Page 122

1 intercoms in our rooms on, which beeped loudly and
2 incessantly every 15 seconds. They would also do
3 late-night cell shakedowns, wake you up out of a dead
4 sleep, tear your cell apart, then tie your linen in
5 knots to make sure it would take you hours to get out
6 before you can finally go back to sleep.
7 Finally, I hung myself. Actually,
8 it was the second time I hung myself, but this was
9 when I was closer to achieving my goal of dying.
10 After I hung myself it didn't change anything. They
11 sent me right back to the clutches of solitary. I had
12 to finish up my last two years there. Suicide is
13 common at York. Too common.
14 Sadly, if you were depressed and
15 wanted to talk to a social worker before things got to
16 a boiling point, you could not. Crisis would only see
17 you if you lie and say you're suicidal. You had to
18 lie to get seen, your hands cuffed, and you're
19 shackled, and you're brought to the maximum side, put
20 in a strip sell. It's called J2. No linen. Just a
21 dirty cell that dust accumulates in, has accumulated
22 in like dryer lint, a dirty, bare mattress, a tinted
23 window that you can only see out, because desperate
24 women scratched small portions to peel off the inner,
25 peeled off the inner lining.

Page 123

1 On top of it, the guards make you
2 wait until the following shift to be seen when it's
3 protocol to call Crisis in mental health the moment
4 someone threatens to hurt themselves. Sometimes they
5 lock you in that room so long that you lie and say
6 you're better, but they tell you now you have to be
7 seen and have to wait until they feel like calling.
8 The guards say they do this to deter us from asking to
9 talk to people for no reason. So when women are
10 really suicidal, they're afraid to tell staff.
11 And lastly, I'm going to tell you
12 about this person that I'll call Tracy. This didn't
13 happen while I was living in seg. This happened
14 during one of my prior times that I went to seg for I
15 don't even know what at the time, but the person,
16 Tracy, who lived, but she has severe brain damage and
17 is in a convalescent home. She hung herself. Her
18 cellmate woke up and found her. She tried to beep her
19 intercom, but the guards like to play a game where
20 they shutoff our intercom so that they don't have to
21 do the extra work.
22 Sometimes, just to torture us, if
23 they know we're menstruating, we need a pad, we're
24 forced to wait. If we need toilet paper, we're forced
25 to hold it. In this instance if the intercom was on,

Page 124

1 Traci might have been saved. Women had to jointly
2 scream and practically kick down our cell doors to get
3 the guards' attention. By the time the guards
4 responded Tracy lost too much oxygen.
5 The thing that I'm talking about, I
6 understand that seg itself is a problem, but when you
7 veil a unit so that it's closed and nobody knows
8 what's going on in there, it breeds a culture of
9 abuse, and I don't know if any of you guys are
10 familiar with the, I can't think right now. The
11 Stamford experiment.
12 The Stamford experiment is an
13 experiment that showed that regular people, once put
14 in the position of a correctional guard, become
15 abusive, the regular people in this experiment became
16 so abusive toward the pretend inmates that they had to
17 stop the experiment.
18 People don't realize that this is
19 what goes on in correctional facilities. Guards are
20 not happy to be -- there are some that are decent, I
21 will say. There are some that have been the
22 lifesavers, the people that go against the grain, but
23 they're like inmate huggers, you know, hug-a-thugs to
24 the other staff. They're not treated well for
25 treating us well, you know.

Page 125

1 I know that in the academy they're
2 trained not to call us by our name or to be called,
3 you know, we're inmate or by our last names, because
4 they don't encourage the staff getting too close to
5 the inmates, because they don't want them to care
6 about us, because if they care about us, then I don't
7 know what they think, that we're getting away with
8 something or something, but I don't think 23 years of
9 prison is me getting away with something.
10 I think that as the Commissioner
11 said, they try to tell them that their job is not to
12 punish, but this behavior -- until somebody really
13 gets in on the grievance system and can fix the
14 grievance system, nobody's going to understand what's
15 going on in there, because nobody's going to know
16 about it, because the grievance system is a catch 22.
17 Thank you.
18 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you, Traci. So
19 we have several more minutes for this panel, which I
20 know will not be enough for the questions, but what
21 questions would committee members like to ask. Mike?
22 MR. WERNER: So I want to thank you
23 all for coming and being so brave and speaking out. I
24 had the privilege of coming and seeing you all last
25 week down in New Haven and hearing your stories, and

Page 126

it's very powerful testimony that you're all giving today. So that's very helpful for us as we conduct our work.

My first question for Pam, I was struck by something you said last week. I was wondering if you could elaborate to the committee your experience or lack of experience about being able to hug your brother and how long has that been.

MS. ALSTON: Thank you for that question. Like I mentioned, Ira has been incarcerated since the age of 16. He's now 34. So he's been incarcerated for more years than he's actually been on the outside here in our community. During his first stint at Northern it was tough, because the visits were not contact visits, and he's been there for quite some time.

So fast forward to when he gets moved to Walker. You know, we think that, okay, you know, he's in population now. We get to see our brother, and we had the visit, and you go through the process of you can't wear certain things like a hoodie, things of that nature. So we're pulling off garments, getting -- we think we get to embrace Ira. That wasn't the case. He's designated as a gang member. He has been the whole time he's incarcerated.

Page 127

So this whole time he has not had any real human contact or any loving embrace.

I'm trying to take my time, because I really don't want to get emotional. But with the e-mail correction sheet, she mentioned the guards and the staff just being trained not to get too close. I have been in the field with juveniles. I worked in juvenile detention for over ten years. So I think the logic is we can't become too attached so that --

We want to have certain discretion, you know, as professionals, and you're not supposed to, I don't want to say personalize, but you're not supposed to become too attached just to keep the boundaries that way. However, as I mentioned earlier, I think it's necessary that we remember that these individuals are as human as we are, and they deserve certain contacts and certain privileges as we all do. So, again, thank you for that, and, no, he hasn't had much contact.

MR. MCGUIRE: How old was your brother when he was first sent to Northern, do you know?

MS. ALSTON: He was about 18, about 18, 17 or 18.

MR. MCGUIRE: Any questions?

Page 128

MS. WHITE: Just to clarify -- thank you -- when were you at Northern?

MR. TUCKER: I was in Northern when I was 17 so that was, I think, around '99, 2000.

MS. WHITE: Thank you.

MR. MCGUIRE: Doug?

MR. GLANVILLE: First of all, thank you so much for sharing your stories, and I guess this is open-ended a little bit, but what -- in pushing back against your experience and try to change things, and that's sort of our job, to make recommendations, what have you found to be effective? What would you like to see more of or where you can use more help? I'd love to know what you've looked into so that you're not up against a brick wall.

MS. BERNARDI: For me I think that the most important thing is getting it out there what's going on, because I think that so many people have this opinion that you committed a crime, you deserve it instead of you committed a crime, you deserve to be in jail. You don't deserve to be in double jail.

To be in an isolated situation where people can mentally torment you, and people don't realize that solitary is like that across the board,

Page 129

and they don't realize that certain staff are allowed in one place over time. They're tired. They don't want to be there. They don't want to deal with that. So people don't understand that just like the staff has their problems at home, and we have our problems, it's a bad mix. Like there's just so much anger.

If you walk in there, the air is different. Like you feel the anger. You feel -- it's like literally when I got out, I couldn't walk by that building without like being nerves to death. To this day I'm like not the same at all, like at all.

MS. FAIR: I think most important is educating people also that you get burnout. I mean, I've been doing this work long before I even imagined any of my own children ended up there, and I find it's hard work. If you can't soften a person's heart in some way, connect them with the humanity of the person, I think that's the toughest part.

Like when I talk about, you know, people being in prison, I refuse to call them an inmate, because that takes away their humanity, and that's what prison does. It takes away your humanity. They give you a number. You no longer have a name, and when you get in solitary confinement, they take everything from you. They just strip you down, and

Page 130

they break your spirit.

To tell you the truth I really thought I would never get my son back. He's still not 100 percent, but he's where he is only because of the support of his family, and the fact that I know a lot about clinical social work, and so I actually met with the staff up there around the table and talked about what they were doing to my son and asked them, well, how did he get this diagnosis? How do you give him all these meds and stuff? I did that.

If people can learn more about how to advocate for their loved ones and not be afraid to tell their stories publically, I think it'll make a big difference.

MR. MCGUIRE: So thank you so much for sharing your stories, and I'm really sorry to cut this short, but we do invite you to participate in the public comment period, and that would give us more opportunity to dialogue with you, but thank you so much for sharing your stories.

MS. FAIR: Thank you for having us.

MS. ALSTON: Thank you.

MS. BERNARDI: Thank you.

MR. MCGUIRE: So we are going to set up a presentation, and that will resume in about two

Page 131

or three minutes.

(Whereupon, there was a recess from 1:15 to 1:29.)

MR. MCGUIRE: We're going to get started again. We've got so much great testimony today that we're running a bit behind, but right now we have Professor Judith Resnik. She's a Professor of Law at Yale Law School, and Professor Resnik has done some great work for her students on the law and these prison issues. So they're going to give a presentation I think will give some great perspective for the SAC and the audience here. Take it away.

MS. RESNIK: First of all, thank you. I think it's tremendously important for this commission and committee to be addressing these issues and appreciate your time. Second, an apology is in order in the sense that I wasn't able to be here this morning, because I had to be in New Haven at other commitments, but I caught a little bit of the testimony of people who participated firsthand in the challenges and managed them and just appreciate their resiliency and intelligence, insight and kindness.

What I'm planning to do is tell you very briefly about what I would describe as the facts of solitary confinement and something about the law,

Page 132

and I wanted to just say that for the record available for you and/or for members of the public are materials that I will describe and explain.

Basically I'm here as an Arthur Liman Professor of Law, and Arthur Liman was the lawyer who was asked to do the report on the Attica uprising, and in his honor and memory there is a program at Yale Law School that I chair that worked on many issues of the needs, social justice needs, but prisons are at the high end of our list.

Over the last several years we've come to work with the Association of State Correctional Administrators or ASCA, and I know you have heard from Commissioner Semple so any commentary here should start with applause to the leadership of the Governor of the State of Connecticut, Governor Malloy, to Commissioner Semple, to Mike Lawlor who was particularly designated to work on criminal justice issues, because Connecticut is in the forefront of trying to have efforts to have sane and fair systems that reduce the use of incarceration that reduce the use of solitary and that reduce the overcriminalization of activities as well. So I begin there.

The second preface is that we

Page 133

thought I could be useful, we and the staff that I've talked to, by not telling you about Connecticut, which you've heard people discuss so far, but more the general picture, zoom out a little bit about the national and international picture on solitary confinement and then something about the law related to it.

To do that I just want -- I have a Power Point, and there are books that I will refer to as well along the way, but let me just start -- whoops, I just lost the screen. I just did something -- is there somebody who can make this -- I wanted also to introduce one of the many students who has worked on this, Jessie Purcell. How do I get to the next --

So the basic story of the Association of State Correctional Administrators are the CEOs, government appointed of each state in the United States and the federal system and a few of the major jail systems. ASCA and Liman said, okay, what do we need to know, because people don't know much about the aggregate picture of people who are incarcerated, and the first question is how do you get to visit people?

You just heard something about

Page 134

1 isolation. There's a continuum and a relationship
2 between solitary confinement and prison in general in
3 terms of isolation. So we first did a report asking
4 how do you get to visit people. The second -- 50
5 states.
6 And then we said, okay, what are the
7 problems about getting into solitary confinement,
8 which, as you know, is sometimes called ag seg,
9 administrative segregation, protective custody,
10 disciplinary. If you're in California you call it the
11 shoe, special housing units. It's got a whole bunch
12 of different names. So we looked across at that, and
13 we said tell us something about the numbers of people,
14 which is aiming to reduce times in cell, and we also
15 wanted to drill down into death row as well.
16 So these several books here, which
17 you're welcome to take copies of, are all examples of
18 the kinds of materials that we put together. Now, if
19 I press the right button -- so how do you get into
20 solitary? It turns out it's really easy across the
21 United States, east, west and in the middle, and so
22 what we provide in this Power Point is looking at 47
23 different systems in the United States.
24 Basically if the staff says you're a
25 threat, there are other circumstances that make us

Page 135

1 think you might be a threat, institutional safety
2 needs it, and so then the rubric state by state has
3 been incredibly permissive for state officials to
4 exercise discretion to put people into profound
5 isolation. In contrast, there is much less focus on
6 getting people out until recently, which we'll get to
7 in a little bit.
8 So then the next question is, okay,
9 how many people are there so confined, and the truth
10 is we still don't know definitively, but we know a lot
11 more. So the number that is cited by Justice Kennedy
12 in the U.S. Supreme Court in a decision in 2015 said
13 we think there are about 25,000 people in what are
14 called supermax or those high-security,
15 dedicated-security facilities.
16 What we did by asking all 50 states
17 and the federal system and getting only at the first
18 time in 2013/2014 34 jurisdictions reply, we found
19 67,000 people in prison in 22 hours or more 30 days or
20 more, and because we're working with prison officials,
21 we extrapolate it, because we only had 72 percent of
22 the prison population to conclude that somewhere
23 between 80,000 to 100,000 people in the United States
24 in 2014 were in solitary confinement across the
25 country.

Page 136

1 So that was the number from a couple
2 of years ago. We then said, hey, let's -- then with
3 people like Commissioner Semple we were starting to
4 see efforts to reduce this. So we said we need to
5 keep asking the questions. So we did research, and
6 because there are all those different words for what's
7 solitary confinement, we said tell us, anybody, we
8 don't care what you call it, 22 hours or more, 15 days
9 or more, whether you call them in single or double
10 cells, because there are some systems that said, well,
11 if you're in there with another person, it's not
12 solitary.
13 So we said we're taking all
14 descriptions here, and then we asked -- we sent out
15 questions, and we got back basically 52 answers from
16 52 jurisdictions, and in terms of our research
17 methodology we then went to a room like with the
18 directors of all the prisons and said here is the data
19 we have a so far. Tell us where you're wrong, and
20 there were some people that did tell us where they
21 were wrong, and we went back and forth. So we found
22 out about this.
23 Now, what we really found out is a
24 picture of the prisons. Just to be clear there are
25 more people in jails and more people going in and out

Page 137

1 of jails either pretrial, detention or for under a
2 year even with the large number of prisons, and of
3 course we know nothing virtually about juvenile
4 facilities and immigration facilities and military
5 facilities. So I'm telling you about post-conviction
6 prison populations.
7 What we knew then is that in the
8 fall of last year there were about 1.4 million people
9 in prison, and what we know is that at least 67,000 of
10 them, because we don't have quite the full population,
11 so let's round up and say 70,000 roughly were in this
12 kind of deep isolation. It varies enormously by what
13 system you're in, where you are in the United States.
14 In some the percentage of the
15 population is under a half percent, and in one
16 jurisdiction, which is the Virgin Islands, which has
17 400 or 500 prisoners total, more than a quarter are in
18 that form of isolation, and you can see here the
19 median is about 5.1 percent, and just to give --
20 You you're not supposed to be able
21 to read this, but I was just trying to give you
22 literally a glimpse of the kind of data we have at the
23 ground level where we go state by state what's your
24 whole prison population, what's this population like,
25 and if any of you have interest in these books, we can

Page 138

1 show you, and of course Connecticut's there.
2 Then in the discussion that I
3 understand you had this morning there's a real
4 question about, okay, we don't have anybody in
5 solitary or restricted housing, because everybody's in
6 for 21 hours so there's this question about how you
7 capture what it is that you're upset about, what you
8 think is physically and mentally disabling you heard
9 from the doctors this morning, and how you
10 characterize it so you don't end up getting fixated on
11 the 22-hour magic bullet, which is actually, by the
12 way, just the rule and not whether someone is in fact
13 let out or not for a moment.
14 So we try to figure out what's the
15 population of people 16 to 22 hours, and I just kind
16 of remember that in our good federal system each data,
17 to keep its own data reported in different ways. So
18 here we only had 33 states telling us about basically
19 800,000 people, and what they've told us was that
20 there were another 16,000 of them in from between 16
21 to 22 hours.
22 So as you're writing and thinking
23 about the problem to be fixed, which is actually why
24 we started the visiting long ago, this is a continuum
25 of isolation. There's horrible, profound isolation,

Page 139

1 but the problem is where's the base of what you think
2 is normal, and why 21 would be normal as compared to
3 the eight hours we're all sitting here or the ten
4 hours out of our normal habitat is the question that
5 I'm sure is already on your plate.
6 In terms of how isolating isolation
7 is, we asked a bunch of questions about things like
8 can you make phone calls? Do you get visits? This
9 kind of chart, which is in the book, tells you that it
10 really depends on the jurisdiction, and there are some
11 jurisdictions -- you can see at the top Texas, one
12 phone call every three months total as compared to
13 Connecticut, which says it depends on what level
14 you're on or the like.
15 So there's isolation as in no
16 contact with anybody who isn't the correctional
17 officer in some systems in terms of phone calls, in
18 terms of visits, in terms of this kind of idea. So
19 one question was how many people? Another question is
20 what's your contact when you're in? Then the other is
21 for how long and this is one of the most tragic
22 aspects of the information that we have been
23 developing, and that is that with "just" 41
24 jurisdictions telling us, we found 54,000 people who
25 have been in for three years or more, and a half of

Page 140

1 that number in for six years or more.
2 I need to say that there were some
3 prison systems that told us they've only recently
4 started to count and some others that don't count. So
5 this is an underreporting of the tragic length of time
6 that people could spend, 22 hours or more, in
7 isolation with potentially no phone calls, no visits,
8 and the like, so duration, and these are grids that
9 tell you about duration.
10 Now, I have walked into, and many of
11 you, I'm sure, have also walked into solitary cells
12 and have my heart sink. We are talking -- so when we
13 look at the under three months and think, oh, that's
14 not too long, that's only because our baseline is more
15 than six years, but at least for me personally the
16 capacity to be resilient for 15 days or less of
17 profound isolation would be enormously challenging.
18 What do we know about demographics?
19 In terms of the age of some of the people who have
20 been in isolation we had gross distinctions. Under
21 18. We asking about prisons found very few, but we
22 don't have data about juvenile facilities. We found a
23 significant number of people 50 years or older, and
24 for those of us in the room who are 50 years or older,
25 the standard story is that people kind of age out of

Page 141

1 being aggressive on the streets or inside. So we
2 found -- and then there are way fewer women than men
3 in solitary.
4 But, again, we found a small number
5 of people under the age of 18, and a significant but
6 not large number of people over the age of 50. I'm
7 just going to give you flavors of the data. Race and
8 ethnicity, not surprisingly men and women of color are
9 overrepresented as compared to the general prison
10 population. That's the benchmark.
11 As compared to general prison
12 population, solitary is not as you already heard this
13 morning, equally distributed among us in this room in
14 terms of race and ethnicity, and it's particularly
15 startling that black women are in more by a way larger
16 amount in solitary restricted housing than their white
17 counterparts, again, with imperfect data along the
18 way.
19 Serious mental illness is a light
20 motif. It's such a regular as SMI as a shorthand may
21 not leap off of all our tongues before then. Trying
22 to figure to out how many people who have been
23 diagnosed as classified by the prison system as having
24 serious mental illness and spending time in solitary
25 is a challenge in part, because different systems

Page 142

1 define the condition differently.
2 So we didn't aggregate the data,
3 because not everybody's describing the same thing.
4 But there's no question that there's a significant
5 population of people who have serious mental
6 challenges and who are also placed in deep isolation.
7 I see that in the room here Hope Metcalf, my colleague
8 at Yale Law School who has worked on these issues here
9 and in Connecticut and national and testified in
10 California, is here, and I should add that questions
11 could be, if you have them, directed -- there's many
12 more experts in the room, including my colleague here.
13 The cheerful version of the news,
14 and this is not trivial at all, is that around the
15 United States people who run prison systems say this
16 is a grave national problem, and we want there to be
17 less of it. We should be clear that this is
18 attributed to your work and the work around the United
19 States raising grave concerns about solitary
20 confinement.
21 But the conversation has moved
22 dramatically in the last decade. When you were first
23 beginning to work on this, to be frank some people who
24 ran prison systems were like, I'm sorry, this isn't a
25 problem on my watch, and instead we see now here is

Page 143

1 your list in an effort to make changes making those
2 criteria for entry harder and more restrictive, making
3 criteria at least more liberal, overseeing it more, be
4 sure people are outside of their cells, programing and
5 opportunities for social contact.
6 Those are some of the proposed and
7 implemented changes around the United States, and
8 here's examples. Again, I'm mostly outside of
9 Connecticut on purpose. Colorado says sorry, no kids,
10 no women in restricted housing, period, the end.
11 Texas and California, which famously used gang
12 affiliation, we think you are affiliated as the basis
13 for keeping people in for tens of years, have said
14 we're not -- it's no longer status but actually
15 behavior that counts to put you inside solitary
16 confinement. So those are examples.
17 Connecticut here, there's issue
18 around the United States. From our earlier report we
19 found several thousand people who went from deep
20 isolation to the bus, straight to the community. And
21 so Connecticut you can see here, Colorado, a few other
22 jurisdictions say, excuse me, we are no longer doing
23 that. We no longer have the judgement that we deeply
24 isolate this person, and then we move them directly to
25 the streets, which I think there's a complete

Page 144

1 community of agreement is a terrible idea.
2 Efforts to put people out of cell
3 10, and 10 is becoming a new buzzword in the lexicon
4 here, 10 hours for recreation, 10 hours for therapy
5 here, and then what are called stepdown programs that
6 can move people out, and sometimes they are hard
7 stops. Colorado says you can't be in for more than a
8 year, which of course is a hard stop.
9 North Dakota has individualized
10 programing that's trying to de-normalize the idea that
11 this is what we're doing as a housing classification
12 for you. So the idea is come in. Now, we think we
13 need you to be restrained, okay? What's our exit
14 plan? So the idea is day one is the beginning of the
15 exit plan rather than the other way around.
16 And so then I'm going to pause for a
17 second. There's a wealth of information, and I want
18 to also flag, probably flag the a graduate of law
19 school, who is now with the ACLU who worked with
20 Professor Metcalf and others of us. When she was a
21 law student, there's a new book called Caged In about
22 people who have physical disabilities and are in
23 solitary confinement, and this is a sad account of the
24 enormous extra special harms that they experience,
25 because they need physical help to make their way in

Page 145

1 the normal day and are now in solitary confinement as
2 well.
3 So having provided this overview,
4 there's a question about, okay, so what as a matter of
5 U.S. law, right? I've just given you facts I find
6 hard to account for sometimes, even both as a
7 description as well as having to think about it and
8 think about the depth of deprivation that is being
9 inflicted, and one question is where is the U.S.
10 Constitution as well as federal statutes like the
11 Americans With Disabilities Act in what I've just been
12 accounting for?
13 So the answer not all that long ago
14 actually in the era of the beginning of the Civil
15 Rights Commission was not much at all. So now I'm
16 putting you in Arkansas in the 1960s. There's -- the
17 Arkansas prison system organized the strap. Wait, let
18 me go back. I'm going in the wrong direction. Hold
19 on here. Whipping. I call it whipping. They called
20 lashing or strapping, the same thing as far as I can
21 tell.
22 You could get whipped for refusal to
23 work or for insubordination or in fact in the case
24 that this comes from the guy was described as not
25 picking the okra in the fields as quickly and fully as

Page 146

1 was required, and the punishment was not to exceed 10
2 lashes with a strap, the number of lashes determined
3 by two officials of the prison.
4 The lawsuit about this, and the
5 first response by the trial level judges was, well,
6 we're judges, and you're the prison officials, and we
7 better defer. So we really can't tell you what to do
8 except a little bit of procedural fairness. Before
9 you do it, try to be sure that the person who is going
10 to decide for the whipping isn't the person who
11 observes the direct event. Be sure that there's a
12 chance to have a reasoned opinion. I mean, you can go
13 through this.
14 So that was the decision, and then
15 the Court of Appeals the next year said, I'm sorry,
16 you can't whip him. Not you can whip him with a
17 little bit of procedural fairness but simply no, and
18 as you can hear a little bit of this in the opinion,
19 it offends contemporary concepts of decency and human
20 dignity and precepts of the civilized world, which we
21 profess to possess, and we therefore find it a
22 violation of the Eighth Amendment of the U.S.
23 Constitution.
24 Now, I give you this snippet,
25 because the obvious question is whether solitary

Page 147

1 confinement is whipping or not, and so in terms of the
2 questions of what does U.S. law have to say about
3 solitary confinement, one possibility under the Eighth
4 Amendment, which says that you cannot impose cruel and
5 unusual punishments, is what I call an Eighth
6 Amendment direct or flat argument, which is you just
7 can't do this.
8 What I have described to you and
9 what others that we've heard from, many others more
10 directly than myself, you can't do that to people,
11 violate the Eighth Amendment. That's a direct
12 holding. That's a possibility. Now, we would get
13 back to what the it that you can't do is the 22 hour.
14 What's the it? But that would be one answer. It is
15 cruel and it is unusual as compared to regular prison
16 conditions and therefore it would be unconstitutional,
17 and that is a position that one can find and argue,
18 although not fully embraced in U.S. law.
19 The next is what I call an Eighth
20 Amendment contingent argument, and the contingencies
21 here go under the terms of kind of one version is
22 proportionality. You may be able to do this to people
23 but not if they took the bottle. The offense that put
24 you into solitary is disproportionate to the
25 punishment. So that as a matter of cruel and unusual

Page 148

1 punishment, grabbing this bottle shouldn't land me in
2 total sensory deprivation for that period of time.
3 In fact, in terms of the internal
4 prison sanction system prison it has its own internal
5 criminal justice system. Things that are not real
6 crimes on the street are infractions of prison rules.
7 So you can say but you can't punish them like this.
8 Another kind of Eighth Amendment contingency is you
9 may be able to punish them but not as depriving them
10 the conditions of confinement in solitary, which some
11 of this you just heard about are too disabling, are
12 terrible.
13 So while you may be able to punish
14 one and put someone in restricted, that form of
15 restriction, that form of solitary is itself too
16 deeply troubling. Another line of cases which cysts
17 in the law is you can do this to the mentally ill.
18 Now, if you say you can't put
19 someone who is seriously mentally ill in solitary,
20 because it violates the Eighth Amendment, there's a
21 long conversation we can have about these
22 subcategories like pregnant women, mentally ill,
23 juveniles. You could say that you are inflicting,
24 given their state -- the thing that you're doing is
25 disproportionate or causing too much harm or disabling

Page 149

1 them more. As you heard from the doctors who have
2 already discussed this with you, it causes us all
3 harm, and it may not render us all mentally ill, but
4 it gives enormous suffering to everyone. So those are
5 these ideas of a subset of claims under the Eighth
6 Amendment, that you may not do this to this kind or
7 category of person.
8 The equality claim -- I'm moving to
9 the Fourteenth Amendment now. The Fifth Amendment
10 equal protection argument would be actually you can't
11 do it, because you don't do it fairly across a set,
12 and there's a disproportionate -- it ends up that it's
13 disproportionate harm. People of color, men, women,
14 it's insidious discrimination.
15 There's an area of law in the U.S.
16 Constitutional lexicon called substantive due process,
17 which basically says the state can't hurt us a
18 particular way. Like the state can't say you can't
19 have kids. There's no little piece of the
20 Constitution that says you have a right to have kids,
21 but the Constitution assumes you have a right to have
22 kids. So you could have a substantive due process
23 limitation as well.
24 I want very briefly, as I start
25 moving toward conclusions, to tell you a little bit

Page 150

about the law as it is right now, which is here. In 2005 a case got up to the U.S. Supreme Court involving the supermax in Ohio, and the unanimous Supreme Court decision said let me describe what it's like there, and every time I read it I get sad. "Almost every aspect of an inmate's life is controlled and monitored. They're in their cells 7 by 14. A light is on all the time. They have extreme isolation. They're deprived of almost any environmental or sensory stimuli and almost all human contact, and it could be indefinite."

That description comes from Justice Kennedy writing for the United States Supreme Court, and what he said was those conditions are so atypical and work such a significant hardship that you get some procedural due process. He didn't say you cannot do this, which is what I wish was the next line every time I read this, but he did say you can't do this without giving the person a fair hearing to be sure that that person is charged and found to have violated the rules that you say that person has violated. So there's more about the law here.

In 2015 justice Kennedy came back to solitary confinement in a concurrence, and what he wrote there is imagine that a judge has to say at the

Page 151

time of sentencing for a capital offense I'm going to put you into solitary confinement and the penal system is going to bring you to the edge of madness, perhaps to madness itself.

What he said is we ought to be thinking and making visible, the way this committee is, the harms of solitary confinement, and in the proper case maybe we, the U.S. Supreme Court, have to think about whether this is constitutional as a matter of law. Then in terms of movement on solitary confinement in the courts, you may know that the State of California had a terrible prison called Pelican Bay with tens of thousands of people in isolation, and there's a major settlement that limits, that says you have to bring people out. The people who have been in for ten years or more have to come out -- I just said ten years or more solitary, have to come out in these stepdown programs. There are legislative limits coming into play.

I've given you examples from Massachusetts. If you're seriously mentally ill, you can't go into solitary. The same is true now in Colorado. The legislatures are contributing. In the federal system, last June a whole group of senators led by Senator Durbin and Cory Booker and some others

Page 152

proposed detailed legislation that would end solitary confinement and make sure people were out four hours a day.

And meanwhile the Department of Justice under the last administration changed the system in the Federal Bureau of Prisons, which has been a very harsh insister on too much solitary confinement, and you just noticed an offense type that was once a 400 level and a low, low level used to put people in for maybe up to 30 days. Now, you can't go in at all. So that changing the sanction system and recommending individualization and much less of this in the federal system. Of course we have a new administration so we have to see if these reforms endure.

The American Correctional Association, ACA, put out new accreditation requirements. No more pregnant women, no more juveniles, no more mentally ill, more process as well, and now I want to just conclude by reminding you of how far we've come and where we have to go to.

I've put up on the board a 1934 snippet from the League of Nations, which had rules that it described as animated by humanitarian concerns, not law, not rights, saying that if you're

Page 153

going to put them in a dark cell, i.e. a dungeon, you should only do that if it's regulated by law. That's 1934 international rules. Prisoners were not rights holders. They were not typical persons. They were not seen as entitled to basic humanity.

The Civil Rights Commission that you sit on marks the fact of a change, and it's the idea in Europe, Fascism and World War II, here the civil rights Revolution and the rejection of slavery residue to some extent has transformed the idea of prisoners as rights holders, and the last slide comes from 2015, International UN rules called the Mandela Rules, which I believe you were talking about before, say that if it's more than 15 days for 22 hours or more, that constitutes torture and other forms of cruel and inhumane treatment.

And I want to close by saying I was in Idaho last spring to give a talk in another amazing building and went out to their prison system and was given a tour by the warden who explained how in Boise, Idaho they were trying to conform to the Mandela Rules. So if we're trying to understand the change that you are bringing about, it's a national and international movement aspiring to make claim that this form of confinement is like whipping. Not what

Page 154

1 political organizations and states and governments
2 take to be permissible ways of treating other human
3 beings. Thank you.
4 MR. MCGUIRE: So thank you for that
5 legal framework and the national perspective. I think
6 it does kind of help us figure out where we're at.
7 Before everyone else asks questions, the question that
8 I'm kind of grappling with is how we deal with these
9 really stark racial inequities, and who goes to
10 solitary and long-term isolation.
11 We went on a tour yesterday of
12 Northern. The number is incredibly low. I think it's
13 26 people in Phase I of administrative segregation,
14 but 75 percent of them are either black or Latino. I
15 know that in Connecticut our prison population has
16 been getting a little bit closer to tracking what our
17 population is in the state. We still have
18 disparities, but it's closer.
19 In doing your national survey did
20 you find any states that are grappling with that
21 racial imbalance in who goes to solitary, and if so, I
22 would love to hear about it. If not, do you have any
23 recommendation? I know you're a Professor of Law, not
24 a corrections official, but what we might propose to
25 help get to a more fair process of who lands in

Page 155

1 isolation.
2 MS. RESNIK: So a normally important
3 question and observation. There are correctional
4 leaders across the country as well as here who look at
5 the face of their population and say to themselves how
6 did this happen and how can we stop it from happening.
7 So I would suggest that there are -- the first is a
8 call for serious documentation of who is in isolation
9 for how long. We have incomplete information on
10 gender, race, ethnicity and age, because there are
11 many jurisdiction states that do not keep careful,
12 complete records.
13 The second, of course, would be to
14 call for recordkeeping of what the underlying
15 incidents were and who made the decision to put this
16 person in for how long. One really sweeping change
17 would be to change how anybody can get in to solitary,
18 which is to say you can't -- one is should there be
19 any of it, okay?
20 We'll get there in a minute, but to
21 the extent you're going to have a system of not just
22 separation but actually deprivation, which you're
23 going to ban degradation, right? There are different
24 ideas here? I'm going to have to separate me from
25 you, but not actually deprive me of the light that

Page 156

1 we're all here enjoying. Whether you're going to turn
2 on the lights or turn them off 24 hours a day is a
3 separate decision in terms of -- and whether you're
4 going to degrade me further by disabling me are all
5 separate decisions.
6 So I think we do have to more than
7 appreciate that once you construct prisons, you need
8 to construct their own internal safety system and
9 their own criminal justice system, and then the
10 question is what puts you into a penalty phase, and
11 the same issues that the country is grappling with
12 about over-policing misbehavior on the streets, that
13 is just what some kids get away with, and the racial
14 disparities that are there, because some kids can live
15 in neighborhoods and throw stones and not get stopped
16 by the police and other kids do.
17 You've got the same problem inside a
18 system. So you want to drill down to the penalty
19 system and say what are the infractions or tickets or
20 misbehaviors that get counted against you, and can you
21 just add them up to get you into this terribly
22 isolating place. The first place to grapple with the
23 racial disparity is to lower the numbers of ways in
24 which you can get into harsh discipline inside the
25 prison and as well as try to change the system of how

Page 157

1 you discipline and you could ask that you can't send
2 anyone for more than a brief 4 hours out, 12 hours out
3 into isolation without the commissioner personally or
4 commissioners's delegatee being part of the checkoff
5 system, and every day thereafter the person is held
6 requires a new decision at the highest levels.
7 So instead of the norm being, oh,
8 we're going to review every 30 days, many systems have
9 periodic review, but there's no evidence people are
10 leaving. You could change the structure to make it
11 hard to keep people in with no justification.
12 Correctional leaders will tell you there are some
13 people who are dangerous to each other, to the other
14 prisoners, as well as to the staff, and there are ways
15 these people have to be kept safe. That doesn't mean
16 they can't have natural light, just to separate out
17 those ideas.
18 MR. MCGUIRE: That separation versus
19 deprivation construct is a good one. Thank you for
20 raising that. Questions? Michael?
21 MR. WERNER: So an issue we haven't
22 talked too much about today and I've been curious and
23 maybe you have some information about this, have you
24 found any correlation between identified drug addicts,
25 and are they more prone or not to be put into

Page 158

1 isolation, and same thing regarding folks identified
2 as mentally disabled or otherwise disabled being put
3 into isolation versus regular, not identifiable
4 people.
5 MS. RESNIK: So the kind of research
6 this is based on is aggregate data state by state with
7 130 questions, now with 15 questions. That doesn't
8 get into the question of what are the reasons why
9 people are being put in. But the Bureau of Justice
10 statistics, BJS, has a study of 300,000 or more, a
11 large number of prisoner respondents, of actually
12 pretrial jail respondents none of whom who have been
13 convicted, self-reporting, and they report high levels
14 of people who had acting out or mental illness or
15 other things or other kinds of problems being put in.
16 Hopefully more prison systems are
17 moving away from using segregation and deprivation for
18 what's called protective custody, because they're
19 worried that people will be injured by others. And
20 so, again, we're going back to can I protect you and
21 keep you safe without taking away the normal
22 activities that we think human beings should have.
23 So the answer is this data doesn't
24 give us direct answers to your question except that
25 all systems report a significant number of seriously

Page 159

1 mentally ill people there. The Bureau of Justice
2 statistics data, which is available, which we cite and
3 can provide to you, does tell you that there is
4 actually a correlation between troubled populations
5 and being put into segregation, into solitary, and
6 more than that, there's no correlation that high uses
7 of solitary make for calmer institutions.
8 You know, the justification was
9 we're keeping people safer and less violent, but
10 there's a lot of information that this causes, both
11 for staff and for prisoners, terrible dislocation that
12 raises levels or certainly doesn't quell levels of
13 institutional aggression and assault.
14 MR. MCGUIRE: So we're running short
15 on time, and I want to be respectful of Professor
16 Resnik's time. Just a few more questions. Doug?
17 MR. GLANVILLE: So just getting the
18 tour, I guess you want to call it, the tour of
19 Northern we were able to see the facility, and it
20 strikes me -- my dad was a psychiatrist for 40 years,
21 and it seems like a lot of the systems in our society
22 now it's almost like a war on mental health in some
23 respect.
24 So I'm curious, when you mention the
25 numbers about Colorado and Massachusetts when they

Page 160

1 enacted this policy where you cannot place anyone in
2 solitary in these conditions, how did that actually
3 change the population, because it seems like there's
4 an inordinate amount of people in prison that have
5 either, you know, preexisting or developing where that
6 number, if all of a sudden now you eliminate that
7 class or that option as discipline, what do the
8 numbers look on the back end of that in terms of
9 reduction? It seems like it would be a pretty
10 dramatic change.
11 MS. RESNIK: Colorado reported an
12 enormous reduction. Colorado started about five or
13 six years ago with 1,400 people in solitary
14 confinement. I think their prison system may be 4,000
15 to 5,000. I'm embarrassed to say the numbers are
16 small and large, relatively speaking, but it's not a
17 huge prison system. Maybe it's 40,000. I'm not sure
18 of the numbers in Colorado, but they had 1,400 people
19 in solitary.
20 A man named Tom Clemens was the
21 correctional director, and he brought the number down
22 to 700, and he was then murdered by someone who got
23 out and directly went to the streets from solitary and
24 killed him, came to his door and shot him.
25 Thereafter, the new director, Rick Raemisch, has

Page 161

1 continued, as the family and the correctional
2 community had hoped, Director Clemens's goals, and so
3 the last I knew the numbers were under 150, and that
4 is because of these efforts to have both hard ends and
5 then actually take people who are mentally ill out.
6 What's inside your question, which
7 is really important, is there's a risk that you're not
8 in solitary confinement, but you're in 21 hours a day
9 or you're in another warehousing facility, and the
10 challenge is to actually create health care systems
11 that are responsive to the needs as well. So the
12 systems that are committed to change have
13 self-reported significant drops in the numbers of
14 people in solitary confinement. Connecticut is one of
15 those systems with significant drops.
16 So there are some correctional
17 directors who say we shouldn't have that -- they yell
18 at you if you stand in front of people sometimes and
19 say solitary. They say it's not solitary, it's
20 restricted housing, and you see correctional officers,
21 and you see other inmates, etcetera, and I'm always
22 prepared to say, hey, that word does not make sense
23 anymore, but as far as I can tell it still makes sense
24 now. So the question about -- some directors say we
25 don't want that word to make sense anymore. We do not

Page 162

1 want anybody to be in a situation where they do not
2 see people regularly, and I should just give you
3 the --
4 A Federal District Court judge last
5 fall held that a man who had been in for 36 years in
6 Pennsylvania and had not had a disciplinary infraction
7 in 25 years had to get out. The end of that opinion
8 says he will shake the hand of someone other than his
9 lawyer for the first time in decades. So it's that
10 kind of bait on the depravation of sociability and
11 human contact that is the goal for many who say this
12 set of activities is like whipping, something that
13 civilized societies do not do.
14 MR. MCGUIRE: Final questions for
15 Professor Resnik?
16 MS. WHITE: I don't know if the data
17 shows this, but the young man who was before us
18 earlier, Mr. Tucker, he said, I think, that he had
19 been in solitary on two different occasions, maybe
20 more. So do you have any sense of like recidivism for
21 solitary? I mean, do certain people go in time and
22 time again for whatever reason so that you have some
23 frequent offenders in solitary, and some people never
24 -- you know what I'm saying? Is it cyclical for some
25 people, once you go, you have a higher chance of going

Page 163

1 again?
2 MS. RESNIK: Well, so first, as in
3 Mr. Werner's question, we don't have that kind of
4 data, but that's exactly the right kind of question.
5 Second, the point would be if we can get down to under
6 15 days but you can be out for 12 hours and go back
7 in. So you could have a kind of turnstile, and the
8 goal would be to say can you get the numbers down.
9 The other is can you change the it.
10 The way to fix the problem is to say
11 here are the limits to the kind of depravation you can
12 invest on people. You cannot keep them outside fresh
13 air for more than a certain number of hours a day.
14 You cannot take away all their privacy. You can't
15 take away all their sensibility. You may need --
16 because you see this person that's unable to be in
17 general population, there may be ways in which you
18 have to limit their interaction for their safety or
19 others, but that doesn't equate to this kind of
20 disabling condition.
21 It's certainly the case that those
22 kinds of conditions make people have more difficulty.
23 If there's a psychiatrist who came to you, it makes
24 you harder for those people to interact, because
25 they've been disabled from interpersonal interactions.

Page 164

1 MR. MCGUIRE: So, John, you have a
2 question? Then we're going to wrap up and take about
3 a 15 or 20 minute break and then convene with the
4 public testimony.
5 MR. TANSKI: Thank you, Mr.
6 Chairman, and thank you, Professor, for your comment,
7 and I know you said at the beginning you were asked to
8 comment sort of from a wide-angle perspective on
9 national situations so I'll ask what might be an
10 unfair question, but I can't resist.
11 If you could talk to us a little bit
12 about what you know of Connecticut and whether there
13 are specific issues you see in Connecticut's system
14 that we should be attuned to as we're going through
15 here, because I know some of these responses to
16 situations that may exist in other states and not
17 here. So to the extent you can comment on that I
18 think it would be very helpful.
19 MS. RESNIK: Well, my colleague,
20 Hope Metcalf, is the much more expert on the
21 Connecticut situation. If you would like to comment,
22 Hope?
23 MS. METCALF: Sorry, can you say it
24 one more time?
25 MR. TANSKI: My question was to try

Page 165

1 to focus -- we have heard sort of the broad
2 perspective nationwide on here are some of the
3 problems we see in prison systems across the country,
4 and I'm interested --
5 Since we are making recommendations
6 for Connecticut in particular, I don't know the extent
7 to which any of these issues is a problem here, and,
8 you know, we're going to have to make specific
9 Connecticut recommendations. So I would appreciate
10 any thoughts you have about, you know,
11 Connecticut-specific issues.
12 MS. METCALF: Sure. So what
13 Professor Resnik has laid out I think in detail for
14 which we're very grateful to have this data, because I
15 can't emphasize enough that when I first started
16 looking at this issue about six years ago, there
17 really wasn't even a national figure for the number of
18 people in long-term isolation, which is quite
19 striking, if you think about that. So just a big, big
20 thank you to the Liman program for that.
21 So many of the issues that Professor
22 Resnik has laid out do apply to Connecticut. Many of
23 them have already been tackled as a matter of
24 practice, but they have not yet been codified into
25 either formal policies or statute.

Page 166

So to break that down a little bit, when my students in the human rights clinic first started -- we started investigating the use of long-term isolation at Northern Correctional facility, which is the state's only dedicated supermax -- so various forms of isolation exist in facilities around the state, including at the women's prison, which you've already heard about today.

We noticed many, at least anecdotally, we didn't have the benefit of the kind of bird's-eye that the Liman program has, but we noticed many of the same problems, namely very open-ended standards for assignment to what is called in this state administrative segregation, the kind of circular -- someone was mentioning -- I think it was Ms. White, you were mentioning about the circularity of people going in and out and then repeat sort of frequent flyers, one might say, in a pretty gruesome way.

I should mention that people going in and out both within the prison system within their term, if they're serving long term or what we also saw a lot of was in fact people being released directly from long-term isolation to the outside world and then running into problems with the law. It could be quite

Page 167

shortly thereafter or it could be in fact many years after.

Under the rules at that time they would actually have to go right back to where they had been within the isolation system. So that was another piece. So it was easy to get in, harder to get out. The review process that Professor Resnik was discussing was completely opaque from the perspective of the people who were serving the time in solitary, and then there were additional problems about sort of quality of life issues.

So the lack of any pretense of rehabilitative programing, the lack of any form of even informal socialization, the lack of any kind of meaningful recreation, and then also what to our eyes appeared to be a severe deficiency in terms of the appropriate use of psychological and other therapeutic supports for the people who were in these extremely stressful circumstances.

So I think in broad strokes, to answer your question, virtually every single one of the problems that Professor Resnik laid out was a problem as of 2010. Many of them have been addressed as a matter of practice at this point. Not all of them, but many of them have, but that's not to say

Page 168

it's the nature of corrections how reactive it can be of the system. If something bad happens tomorrow, what would happen to the whole system? There's nothing to prevent it at this moment from going back.

And so I would urge the commission in fact to recommend that both the Department of Corrections and the state consider longer term reforms that would codify some of the important gains we've seen. I would be happy to mention what I think some of the more important ones are, but I also am sensitive to time, and I've been talking a little while.

MR. MCGUIRE: So that is very helpful, Professor Metcalf, and we have the record open for 30 days after this hearing so maybe we can incorporate that into the record. Thank you so much, Professor Resnik, and Jessica. This is a great perspective for us to get.

MS. RESNIK: And I just want to underscore that we are living here in Connecticut with a wise Governor, a wise commissioner aiming to do the right thing and moving. What Professor Metcalf has pointed out is how do you turn that from practice into obligation so that if the next person comes in, the whole baseline is different as to what is permissible,

Page 169

and how can you articulate that what we are currently doing, which has kind of gotten normalized, is bizarre and horrible and has to be changed through regulation and obligation.

MR. MCGUIRE: So we will now take about a 15-minute break, and then we'll reconvene and have some testimony from the public defender's office, elected officials, and members of the public. Thank you.

(Whereupon, there was a luncheon recess from 2:23 to 2:43.)

MR. MCGUIRE: We're going to start with Jennifer Bourn from the public defender's office. We are going to start the public session.

MS. BOURN: Good afternoon. My name is Jennifer Bourn. I'm an assistant public defender. I've been with the public defender's office for over ten years. I want to thank all of you for the opportunity to come and speak to you about this topic. I'm going to address my comments mainly today about our formerly death row or death sentence inmates who are now under the auspices of 18-10b meaning they are this in solitary confinement for life essentially.

So I'm going to direct my comments toward those inmates. We haven't heard much about

Page 170

that. To me that is a significant use of solitary confinement that, you know, we did hear some questions of Commissioner Semple in terms of his hope to get down to zero, but based on the existence of the statute we will never be down to zero.

I also -- before I really get into the comments about our clients, I want to point out that the statute also includes future crimes. So anyone committed or convicted of murder with special circumstances in the future is also subject to these conditions, solitary for life. So that's something also to keep in mind, that the number is currently 11 but could/maybe will increase.

So I think one of the reasons -- there are three main reasons why the statute is so significant. One is certainly the length of time. Our clients formerly on death row have already been in solitary for a very long time, some of them approaching 20 years or more than 20 years. You know, that may depend on how he you define solitary confinement. Certainly they were moved to Northern in 1995 and held in isolation beginning then.

Another reason why the statute is so significant is the removal of the discretion that the commissioner and that DOC generally has to determine

Page 171

classification of inmates and the housing of inmates and what's appropriate. This is not a statute or this is not -- our clients who were formerly sentenced to death are not in solitary confinement because of behavioral issues, because they're deemed to be dangerous, because it's deemed to be necessary or serve any correctional purpose. It's solely based on their status as having been sentenced to death.

And the last reason why I think the statute is so significant is it can't be said because this population has to be in solitary confinement that in Connecticut we do not house mentally ill or seriously mentally ill inmates in solitary confinement, and that to me is not true and will never be true as long as the statute is in effect and as long as these inmates are held in these conditions. I would say that would be true also of disabled inmates, you know, physical disabilities and cognitive disabilities as well.

I also want to talk about -- you know, I'm not going to like read my testimony, but I want to highlight some of the things that we have observed. You know, there's been a lot of studies and a lot of reporting about psychological effects and physical effects that people can experience when

Page 172

they're in solitary confinement, and our observations and experience in working with this population, with these clients have been consistent with that there have been suicide attempts. There's been self harm in the form of cutting and other forms of self harm, sometimes hunger strikes or starvation, sometimes, you know, refusing to leave the cell.

I think one of the things that we notice is a feeling of helplessness, a feeling of like a loss of such autonomy and self control or control over your circumstance that you sort of look for anything that you can control, and sometimes that might be refusing to come out of your cell or refusing to bathe or refusing your meals, and so that's something that we have experienced.

Another significant complicating factor I would say, you know, we heard from the survivors and family members, I think that it's so important to have support outside of the prison, and for many of our clients they have been in for so long -- these are very serious offences. There really isn't -- it's not true for all of them, but for many of them there really isn't the support in the community that you may have with other inmates, certainly with shorter sentences.

Page 173

You know, some of our clients we, the defense team, are the only visitors, are the only people from the community who have contact with the inmate at all, you know, and that can have a real detrimental effect that can exacerbate some of the normal symptoms you would see in solitary confinement.

I want to touch on, before I really get into some of the other things we've seen, that, you know, there's something really different about Northern, and I know you all got to go there, and I do applaud Commissioner Semple, and I think that he's made a lot of really positive changes, but there is something really different about that prison than other prisons in Connecticut.

You know, there's that feeling -- it's dark. There's that feeling that you're underground even though you're aboveground. You know, the visits are held in the unit. Death row and now where 18-10b is it's all the way at the end of the long hallway. I don't know if you walked down that long hallway, and so for our clients their whole existence really is in a very small unit.

Even when we come see them, they are not taken out of the unit. They're taken a few steps really to the visiting room. Even when they are

Page 174

1 allowed to go in the dayroom or go out to rec, it's
2 really like a few steps from their cell, and that's
3 significant. I mean, really their whole world is very
4 small.
5 I think there's something that, you
6 know, was also said earlier about the treatment of COs
7 of the inmates. I think that there's something really
8 unique about solitary confinement and what happens in
9 the dynamic between the inmates and the correction
10 officers. Obviously that's not, you know, true to a
11 T. There are good officers at Northern, but certainly
12 our clients have experienced some poor treatment that
13 we heard about earlier, some of the unnecessary name
14 calling or taunting or threats of tampering with your
15 food, actually tampering with your food, unnecessary
16 noise, you know, buzzing into the cell at all hours or
17 being noisy when you're doing reports.
18 So those are things that our clients
19 have experienced, and I think that is something that
20 is not unique to Northern or to solitary confinement,
21 but I do think that the environment, treating these
22 men like caged animals and identifying them as sort of
23 the worst of the worse sort of invites and encourages
24 this kind of treatment from the correction officers.
25 Just to give some examples of some

Page 175

1 of the behaviors and some of the things that we've
2 seen, certainly some of our clients had or, you know,
3 had some mental illness or some mental health problems
4 coming into these conditions, and we've seen solitary
5 exacerbate those conditions. It's a very difficult
6 environment in which to provide treatment. There is
7 no --
8 You know, I have seen treatment
9 plans for my clients where it's on the treatment plan
10 that there would be group therapy, because that's
11 what's called for for the particular illness, but of
12 course at Northern and under these conditions there
13 could be no group activity, group therapy. I think
14 that there's, as we heard from Dr. Kapoor, which I
15 thought really hit home for me anyway, her comments
16 about the difficulty from the mental health provider
17 standpoint of providing treatment in these settings,
18 and in Northern in particular, and I think that
19 there's a lack of trust on our client's part.
20 Some of that, I think, is, you know,
21 again, the treatment of the COs and maybe some of the
22 mental health professionals that they've come in
23 contact with. I think some of it's also a symptom of
24 the solitary, you know, paranoid thoughts or becoming
25 very suspicious. You know, these are like common

Page 176

1 things that we've seen, and so I think to ask that
2 these inmates trust someone who is working in the
3 system to help them through these things, to ask the
4 inmate to self report these things, and to be able to
5 identify the behaviors they're experiencing in the
6 short time they have with the mental health provider I
7 think is also a complicating factor.
8 Some of the mental health symptoms
9 we've seen worsen over time including anxiety,
10 obsessive thoughts, paranoia like was mentioned,
11 problems with memory and perception and the ability to
12 focus, and that can be the ability to focus on a task
13 at hand or on a conversation or on reading material or
14 can also become hyperfocused on details that are
15 seemingly irrelevant to the person that they're
16 speaking to.
17 I think we've heard a lot today
18 about despair and the feeling of despondency and the
19 loss of hope, I think particularly for our clients
20 they are serving life sentences. They're never going
21 to get out, and particularly with the statute at play
22 they can never work themselves out of solitary
23 confinement. It's really a setup for -- you know,
24 it's not good for anybody. It certainly doesn't
25 encourage good behavior, it certainly doesn't reward

Page 177

1 good behavior, and it contributes to this feeling of
2 hopelessness that's pretty pronounced in our clients,
3 I think loneliness.
4 I don't know if you all saw last
5 night premiering on HBO was a documentary about
6 solitary confinement, about a prison in Virginia, and
7 it was very well done, and I think very poignant and
8 really accurately described some of the things I've
9 heard from my clients, and loneliness was something
10 that a few of the inmates mentioned.
11 It's just physically painful how
12 lonely, you know, these clients can feel being alone
13 all the time, you know, to only -- we try to schedule
14 regular visits. We try to, you know, keep their minds
15 active, but it's difficult. We can only do so much
16 from the outside, and, you know, for them to be alone
17 for the majority of the time, vast majority of the
18 time really --
19 And on that point, too, I just want
20 to comment on the recreation time that is provided,
21 because I will say that it has happened to our clients
22 where recreation is offered at a time when they can't
23 go or when it would be undesirable to go, you know,
24 like waiting until it starts to rain or, you know,
25 I've heard reports of COs coming really early in the

Page 178

1 morning or offering, you know, the shower and then rec
2 on a really hot day.
3 So, you know, I think that it should
4 also be taken into account that it isn't like a fore
5 sure hour of rec outside of your cell every day. You
6 know, it's at the whim of when the COs decide to come
7 and get you, when they ask if you want to go, and
8 that's something to keep in mind.
9 And the last thing I would say about
10 what we notice about their experience is it's just
11 like a fundamental loss of self worth. I think that
12 for these men to maintain any kind of sense of value,
13 you know, that their lives have value, that their
14 lives mean something, that they have any sense of
15 purpose is extraordinarily difficult in these
16 circumstances, you know, and that's its own form of
17 torture really. I would also suggest, you know, like
18 I said earlier that it's not good for anyone. It
19 certainly doesn't encourage good behavior. It doesn't
20 encourage good relations, you know, between these
21 inmates and DOC in addition to being inhumane.
22 I guess I just -- I wanted to
23 conclude by mentioning like four things that I think
24 could be done. One of them would be obviously to
25 repeal the statute 18-10b and restore discretion to

Page 179

1 DOC to classify these men the way they have always
2 have, according to their behavior and based on an
3 individualized need. I also like the idea that I
4 heard earlier about legislation barring the use of
5 solitary confinement at all.
6 The second thing I think would be
7 discontinuing the use of Northern. I don't see that
8 that prison serves any penological purpose other than
9 restrictive housing and solitary confinement, and the
10 third thing I could say is providing resources and
11 programing and support for our clients who have been
12 in solitary for so long. Certainly a lot more needs
13 to be done in that area. I mean, currently there
14 really isn't any programing directed recognizing the
15 symptoms, talking to the inmates about it, providing
16 any support for them.
17 And last, I would just say, and this
18 is just based on some questioning from Attorney
19 McGuire earlier in the day, in terms of this wouldn't
20 apply to the clients under 18-10b for which there's no
21 discretion to house them in solitary confinement, but
22 where there is discretion and solitary is used anyway,
23 I think in terms of reducing racial disparity I think
24 there could be more focused bias training and more --
25 I think all of the tickets that are

Page 180

1 given, the decision whether to regard someone as
2 dangerous and worthy of these conditions and plus bias
3 is a big factor in that, and certainly if you regard
4 someone as dangerous, we should be asking ourselves
5 why that is and why you regard one inmate more
6 dangerous than another.
7 MR. MCGUIRE: Attorney Bourn, we
8 have someone that has to leave in a moment. Can they
9 just give their testimony and we'll come back with
10 questions for you?
11 MS. BOURN: Sure.
12 MR. MCGUIRE: I'm sure we have some
13 good questions. Steven Lane. You can just stay
14 there. Go ahead, Steve.
15 MR. LANE: Thank you very much, Mr.
16 McGuire and members of the committee. I'll be reading
17 a statement from a friend of mine named Yassir Cruz.
18 Yassir Cruz is a resident of New Haven and a survivor
19 of solitary confinement, I mean, in segregation,
20 excuse me, because he was deemed a security risk.
21 "My name is Yassir Cruz, and I was
22 in prison for four and a half years and was released
23 seven weeks ago. I served the final two years of my
24 sentence in solitary confinement at MacDougall where I
25 had limited contact with other people. I was placed

Page 181

1 in administrative segregation after a picture of my
2 uncle and me was found on Facebook, and I was then
3 marked gang affiliated. When violence broke out a
4 block away from mine, I was transferred to MacDougall
5 to serve time in a gang block even though I was a
6 model prisoner. During those two years I was unable
7 to see my family, and I suffered from depression.
8 Thankfully my faith has always been strong, but the
9 pain was still difficult to handle. Mentally it
10 ruined me.
11 When I first entered solitary, my
12 heart broke. I broke down the moment that cell door
13 closed behind me. I talked to God for three hours
14 that day. The depression was overwhelming. You
15 really feel like you are never going to come out.
16 That's really what gets to you. There were nights
17 where I couldn't sleep, because I was scared. People
18 get stabbed in there. I prayed to God for my safety
19 every time I left the cell. Still now just thinking
20 about my time in prison has an effect.
21 I lost my family those two years. I
22 have two smart and beautiful daughters 8 and 9 years
23 old. When I was told I was being moved, it was my
24 daughter's birthday that day, February 9. I was
25 singing a happy birthday over the phone when I was

Page 182

1 told to collect my things. I couldn't call them for
2 weeks after that day, because I was being kept in a
3 transfer block at Whalley. They didn't know what was
4 happening. My daughters used to write me so I stayed
5 strong for them, because they are strong.
6 When I saw them for the first time
7 after I was released, that was a priceless moment,
8 because I wasn't able to see them for two years.
9 You'll never get that back. It's just the thought of
10 it. I'm grateful to be home. I appreciate every
11 breath of air, every kiss from my daughters and every
12 meal, but it's still hard to see them. I haven't seen
13 one of them in four weeks, because her mom and I work
14 at different times, and the halfway house doesn't let
15 you leave after a certain time.
16 When I was first told about my
17 transfer, they told me to follow them making it seem
18 like they were taking me to someplace better. Then I
19 entered a room full of correction officers with white
20 gloves. They told me to put my hands behind my back.
21 I asked what was going on, and they told me I was
22 going to solitary confinement.
23 They housed me in this facility like
24 I was a violent person. I've never committed a
25 violent crime in my life, but they treat you like you

Page 183

1 have. You're only allowed to shower three times a
2 week in solitary, Monday, Wednesday and Friday. You
3 only get to make three phone calls a week. Every time
4 you come out to your cell you come handcuffed behind
5 your back. You go to the shower in handcuffs, go to
6 the phone in handcuffs or go to recreation in
7 handcuffs.
8 Some people slip off the handcuffs
9 and will slice you like that, but the COs don't give
10 two Fs about you. With them there's no respect.
11 There's no honor. We're not people to them. They
12 would tease and harass us. They would go in your
13 cell, rip your pictures off the wall, tear your
14 letters and say, "Tell that dude down there. Blame
15 him." I can't even have a conversation with them.
16 You need toilet paper, they don't care. All they do
17 is wave you off when you ask for them.
18 Out here I think it affects me,
19 because I held so much in then, because if you mess up
20 in any way, you have to start the phase you were in
21 over. Out here it's affecting me, because I kept it
22 all in, the anger. I'm having trouble communicating.
23 I'm overwhelming myself to do good so I never go back.
24 They got me. They got me trapped. They mentally
25 bound me. I'm not in jail anymore, but they still

Page 184

1 have trapped me. I'm so scared I'll go back in if I'm
2 tagged a picture with someone on Facebook or I wear
3 the wrong color hat.
4 They still have control of me
5 without me even being in there. The prison system
6 often affiliates you with gangs. You can't have
7 friends in New Haven and not get affiliated. A
8 picture on Facebook can get you affiliated. I feel
9 like the gang block is illegal. Hundreds of people
10 are in there who are just affiliated. None of them
11 come in anybody, but they come out somebody. That's
12 the scary part. It's a cycle.
13 The gang block isn't just filled
14 with the gang you are allegedly affiliated with.
15 Other gangs are in the cages next to you so you have
16 to play the part, and they protect you, too. So the
17 prison brings people in the gang block who aren't
18 associated with gang activity who then come out as
19 members.
20 Now that I'm out I'm trying to be
21 confident, because I lacked that before, and I was a
22 follower. I let myself down. I'm trying to teach my
23 daughters about confidence, too. I've got a lot of
24 goals. I got a job. I'm trying to get my own little
25 apartment. Small goals right now, but I'm a felon so

Page 185

1 it's hard for me to get a good job. I do music, and I
2 design clothes. People in prison respected me,
3 because of my designs. I'm working on getting my
4 brand copyrighted, but the outside is different, and
5 it's difficult because of the time I spent in solitary
6 confinement. I still feel trapped and scared.
7 I have trouble communicating,
8 because I have kept all my motions inside for so long.
9 My goals are different from the other guys who get
10 out. Many of the other people leave the block more
11 affiliated with gangs. They don't turn themselves
12 around, because the system, the phases don't work.
13 It's a cycle, and it's not going to stop until someone
14 stops it.
15 I urge the members of the committee
16 to support any and all efforts to stop administrative
17 segregation and all other forms of solitary
18 confinement. Thank you."
19 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for reading
20 that. Attorney Bourn, sorry to interrupt you, and
21 thank you for waiting patiently this afternoon. Is
22 there anything else you would like to add before we
23 ask questions of you.
24 MS. BOURN: No, thank you.
25 MR. MCGUIRE: Okay, great.

Page 186

1 Questions from the committee? Michael, do you have
2 questions?
3 MR. WERNER: Could you just speak a
4 little bit further on what constitutes special
5 circumstances to get these folks treated differently
6 in protective custody, and why is that an issue?
7 MR. BOURN: So high-security special
8 circumstances is the classification that was created
9 by the statute 18-10b. So if -- so, again, there are
10 two classes of individuals who would qualify. One is
11 if you commit murder with special circumstances after
12 April 25, 2012, if your convicted of that offense,
13 then you will be high security special circumstances,
14 and you would have to be under those conditions, which
15 are effectively solitary confinement.
16 The other class are our clients who
17 were sentenced to death, but then by virtue of the
18 Connecticut Supreme Court's decision abolishing the
19 death penalty effectively they are converted into
20 special circumstances high security status once they
21 are resentenced to life without the possibility of
22 release.
23 MR. WERNER: And to follow up, so
24 part of the issue is even though the death penalty has
25 been abolished, so to speak, they are still being

Page 187

1 governed under these rules 18-10b. So it's 11. It's
2 11 people who are still locked up in this situation.
3 MS. BOURN: Yes.
4 MR. WERNER: And do -- do they get
5 -- they have no family visits, no other contacts from
6 other outside people other than you.
7 MS. BOURN: Well, no. I mean, some
8 of the clients are in that situation where they don't
9 have outside support any longer, but some of them have
10 family or friends who will visit or contact. They are
11 limited to 3 one-hour noncontact visits a week, and so
12 that is, you know, with the plexiglas in between you
13 and by phone that can be monitored or recorded so are
14 in the category that have no human contact other than
15 a legal visit or contact with a guard.
16 MR. MCGUIRE: I was hoping you can
17 share an experience of one of your clients with us,
18 and I know you represented -- without naming who they
19 are, but I know you've represented some of these folks
20 for a significant amount of time. Have you seen them
21 decompensate? Are there some that are able to deal
22 with it and others that are not, just to kind of give
23 us a perspective, that is in long-term solitary
24 confinement?
25 MS. BOURN: Sure. I mean, it's

Page 188

1 somewhat difficult, because it's a small population,
2 and so I don't want to say anything where it could be
3 where someone could determine who I am talking about.
4 MR. MCGUIRE: Even just general
5 characteristics of what you see amongst people or
6 people in your office have reported to you.
7 MS. BOURN: And I would say, you
8 know, there's been decompensation, as you put it, that
9 we have seen with some clients. Some clients, I think
10 because of outside support, because of their own
11 resources, because maybe they are coming in without
12 mental health problems that someone else had can
13 handle it a little better, though I'm a little, you
14 know, nervous about even saying that, because, you
15 know, studies have shown that inmates are not, do not
16 self report all the symptoms from solitary
17 confinement.
18 So the fact that I have not observed
19 it or I'm not explaining it or they haven't reported
20 it to me does not mean that they are not being damaged
21 and aren't experiencing things. So I'm a little --
22 but certainly some inmates are worse off than others
23 and having a more difficult time.
24 I think one of the things that was
25 talked about in that documentary, the HBO documentary,

Page 189

1 was these kind of feelings of anger. I think that
2 that is something that we have observed not
3 necessarily directed at us, not necessarily something
4 that results in harm to anyone, but certainly just
5 this -- it's just a lot of emotion. It's a lot of
6 bottled up emotion that sometimes the inmate will act
7 in a way that's not in his self interest like I was
8 referring earlier to incidents of self harm, and we
9 have had that and had to deal with that, suicide
10 attempts.
11 So, you know, beyond -- and, again,
12 you know, the mental illness, I think symptoms of
13 anxiety and depression have been exacerbated. I think
14 paranoid thinking is exacerbated, and so, you know, I
15 would note those for general symptoms.
16 MR. MCGUIRE: Any other questions?
17 Doug.
18 MR. GLANVILLE: I thought it was
19 interesting when we were at Northern we asked a
20 question regarding the classification of crime that
21 got them to Northern, and I guess, you know, thinking
22 the perception like, oh well, I had this nonviolent
23 drug offense, and then you learn that there's sort of
24 an escalation possibility with the culture of, okay,
25 once you're on the inside, you're in a different set

Page 190

of rules. So if you violate those rules, you can get into solitary.

So I was curious about your experience with clients that you have had that have that story line of have these minor offenses, but because, you know, the system sort of exponentially can increase the criminality based on a new set of ground rules from inside, how you saw that play out.

Because, you know, I guess we were a little surprised there was not awareness of like, oh well, you only came in for this versus this. The spectrum was blurred once you got into that system.

MS. BOURN: Yes. So this wouldn't be the sentence, the inmates who are sentenced to death, but I have represented people who have come in for drug offenses or low level or nonviolent offenses and have ended up in solitary or at Northern, sometimes to work through a program, sometimes -- you know, the gang unit seems to be like in and out of Northern. You know, they move it out, then they move it back in.

You know, like that gentleman's letter that was read earlier, I mean, I have had clients who have definitely had that experience as being designated as having a gang affiliation when

Page 191

there is none, but it puts you on this track.

I also think, you know, it's sort of like -- it becomes like a chicken and egg problem, you know. So you're put in solitary for something. I think some inmates can handle it better than others for whatever reason, and the ones who act out, which I would say is really like a symptom of being in solitary, and then it just becomes more justification for keeping the inmate in solitary.

So it just becomes this like dead end that the inmate is in, and I have had clients where, you know, I've experienced that, you know, just sort of like the pattern that you can't get out of. You can't earn your way out.

MR. MCGUIRE: Can you speak to the delivery of mental health services at Northern for your clients? Do they get what they see is reasonable mental health services? I know there's a lack of self-reporting about issues and sometimes punitive results when you do express suicidal ideations, for example, but can you tell me right now how they feel about delivery of mental health services?

MS. BOURN: I think that the providers who are at Northern, I mean, one in particular I think the inmates have a very negative

Page 192

feeling about, and I don't think that they trust him, and I don't think that -- and that's been a problem. That's been a problem for us with dealing an inmate who has a genuine need and not having, not being able to bridge that gap or facilitate that relationship, and so I would say that that's a big obstacle for the clients at Northern.

I think privacy can be an issue. You know, I think as should happen or what is supposed to happen is, you know, you can be pulled out and put into a private room with the provider, but that doesn't always happen. There's a lot of checks at the cell door, which other inmates can hear, the COs can hear.

I think that -- I don't want to say all of the mental health providers, but I think with some of them, you know, these inmates can be designated as dangerous or at least that's what's thought of, and so I think some mental health providers are more comfortable than others in saying to the CO, you know, this is okay, and I want to, you know, be pulled out, and I want to talk to him privately.

I think some providers are happy to stand there with the CO through a cell door and try to

Page 193

have a conversation about what mental health treatment or how you're feeling today, you know, and so that's another obstacle, and I do think the not having the group therapy option is an obstacle to moving forward in treatment. You're not learning from other inmates. You're not experiencing what you would get out of a group setting.

MR. MCGUIRE: That's all for me. Michael.

MR. WERNER: So just to go along with that, do you have an opinion as to UConn being the sole exclusive provider for all mental health and all medical providing?

MS. BOURN: I mean, I don't -- I don't have an opinion. I mean, I have an opinion, I guess, about some of the providers, but I don't have an opinion about UConn being the sole provider.

MR. MCGUIRE: Olivia.

MS. WHITE: Earlier you gave four ideas to ameliorate some of the issues. One was discontinuing the use of Northern. So we close northern, and what do you see as the next steps? Where do your clients go? Where do the other folks go, and then how is their treatment changed if that facility is closed, and they go someplace else?

Page 194

MS. BOURN: I do think other facilities have the ability -- you know, they have cells that they use for protective custody or for isolating inmates, you know, for behavioral reasons, and so I don't think that there is a need. I mean, Commissioner Semple would be in a better position to identify like numbers and resources, but there's not a need for a facility.

You know, I would say too in recent years the population has fluctuated, but for a while they had closed all but the last unit of Northern, and there are clients there, and there was ag seg, and there was no one else in the facility. So it is possible for Connecticut to -- we're talking about a small number of inmates who would need to be reassigned.

I understand that they are housing high-bond inmates there, but that isn't always the case, and that isn't necessary certainly.

MR. MCGUIRE: Other questions?

MS. TOLIVER: I heard you talk about the architectural structural design of northern not being ideal for the populations or for any population to serve there. Can you tell us a little bit about how this might be different than other facilities?

Page 195

MS. BOURN: In Northern there's certainly more doors. I mean, like there's more physical barriers in more locations. I would say that design of -- you know, it sort of was designed to be sort of disorienting with the mirrors and with the circular units. I think overall though some of it is just a sense.

I mean, in other facilities there could be like dormitory style areas. It's just an atmosphere that isn't as restrictive whereas Northern it's like, you know, you walk into the building, and from the jump really you're getting the sense of, you know, maximum security and everything is restrictive. There really isn't, you know, the same kind of correctional rehabilitative sense that you may find even in other level, for a level four facility in the state.

MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for your testimony.

MS. BOURN: Thank you.

MR. MCGUIRE: Next up is representative Robyn Porter.

MS. PORTER: Good afternoon. First I just want to say thank you all so very much for having this today, and I just want to briefly talk

Page 196

about my experience with many of you yesterday as we toured northern and also the reintegration center. I have had a little while to think about it, and it's like as the time goes on, I think about it more and more, and I really can't stop thinking about it.

I have had the opportunity to talk to a few people, including one young lady who is here today, about their experience in solitary confinement, and I'm a little disheartened because of the presentation we received yesterday and how it conflicts with a lot of what I've been told actually occurs in these facilities.

The thing that really resonates with me at this is point the terminology that was used when we met with, you know, the officials yesterday, and the thing that sticks out is this is -- you know, these are the worst of the worst, and we kept hearing that over and over again. We talked about, you know, how it was imperative that they be put in solitary confinement because they were dangerous, and it was important to keep workers safe.

The thing that I chose to point out in one part of the conversation was that we haven't talked about the offices that aren't safe and that provoke, and I heard a little bit of the testimony

Page 197

today, because I've been in and out, and it kind of corroborates what I've thought about what I've heard, you know, that there are instances when you have situations where these inmates are actually being provoked. They're in situations where they are being treated inhumanely. I consider solitary confinement torture.

The other thing that resonated with me was the fact that we were told Connecticut doesn't have solitary confinement, and then I went on the tour of the facility, and the thing that has just seared in my mind is as we walked through, and when you looked at the cells one by one, you start to see these heads pop up, and it was like they knew we were there, and they were just standing in their cells, just this little slim window there looking through and just peering out at us, you know.

I have to tell you I was first inclined to wave, and I felt like that would be inappropriate. So I just kind of kept eye contact with them one by one just looking at them, because I didn't want them to feel like, you know, it was some kind of circus or they were on display or this was just something we felt, you know, we should be doing for whatever reason.

Page 198

For me it runs deep. I mean, part of my testimony and part of what I ran on when I was running to be a state rep was my son did time in prison. My son did time in segregation. So I had a little bit of an inside scoop, not just from people I had spoken to but from the closest, one of the closest loved ones I have in my life, and I think that we do people a disservice and an injustice when we don't give them a clear perception on what is actually going on, you know.

One of the -- the officer said there's three sides to the story, but for me there's two sides of the coin. You know, there's the side that the COs get to tell us about and the wardens and the people that are responsible for the inmates, but there's also the inmate's story, and I think until we can really sit down and hear from people that are experiencing this and not to take away from people that have gone through it but people that are experiencing it right now, we really have to be careful how we proceed with what it is we're trying to do. It shook me to my core, you know.

Now, recreation, that was the other thing. Oh, well, they get to go out, you know. They get to breathe fresh air, you know. The sun -- they

Page 199

make it seem normal. The way they were talking to us is it was normal, and when I asked about recreation and what does that consist of, it was described as, you know, it's an individual unit that they go out into, and they have other inmates that are in close proximity, next to them, so they can conversate.

When we got there, and I took a look at it, it's a cage. It's a cage. You put a person in a cage, and you tell them this is recreation. I don't understand what kind of recreation that is, but I guess if you've been in solitary confinement for 22 hours out the day, you should be grateful to be outdoors, I'm assuming.

So the response to it when I looked at it and, you know, she saw the look on my face, I said, "That's a cage." She said, "Well, you know, I've been here 22 years so I guess I'm used to it, and you do get conditioned." So it made me understand that even though, you know, they express to us what they feel it is and what they think they're doing, that they have been conditioned, and this is normal to them, but in fact it's not normal, and I don't think it's right that anyone should be treated like that.

We have a situation -- before leaving my ask was to go into a cell, because there

Page 200

were some empty cells. I wanted to go into a cell. I wanted them to lock me in, and I wanted to be inside in that environment to see what it felt like. I did get the opportunity to do that, but I was taken to another side where there were no inmates, which kind of diluted the effect of what I was trying to get at.

It's hard. It's hard. It's hard for me to digest, but it's important to me, and that's why I did it, because I feel like as a legislator, not just as a citizen but as a lawmaker, if I'm going to be making decisions about people's lives that impact them on this level, then I should be able to go into their environment in which they have to survive and see how it makes me feel.

I spent about five minutes in that cell, and it still didn't do what it should have done, and people probably are saying I'm crazy, but I'm looking to go back and actually spend more time in a cell and to actually put on a uniform and to be shackled and -- I mean, like to really get -- I won't get treated the way they get treated but to experience it to the deepest level that I can so that I can have a good sense about what I'm doing, and that I'm being fair not just to the inmate but also to the correction officers, the wardens, and people that have to deal

Page 201

with them. I get that.

We went into the reintegration center, and it was like night and day, because when we walked into Northern, it was like this long pathway we went down, and it was dark, and it was brick, you know, and it was like a tunnel to nowhere, and I'm like thinking about the impact that this has on the correction officers and the people that work there, you know.

I think they are inmates as well. They get to come home after awhile, you know. They may have an eight-hour or 16-hour shift, whatever they're working. They get to leave the building. But for the time that they're there they're subjected to a lot of what the inmates go through to some extent, and the fact that they don't have access to mental services in the way I think they should.

What I mean by that is I think it should be required, you know, they should have to go through some kind of mental health services on a normal, on a regular basis just to check in and make sure that they're okay, you know. I don't see how anybody does that job and comes out the same way they went in just like I don't see how anybody goes into those systems and comes out the way they did.

Page 202

When we got to the reintegration center, it was more colorful. It was cleaner. Of course the setup is much different, because it's a level two versus a level 5 so they're being prepared to come home so they have a lot more freedom.

I remember the first young man that walked up to us, you know. We're there to talk about this whole solitary confinement. His first question was "So what do you think about Trump?" I'm like "That's not what we're here to talk about." But, you know, we gave him the opportunity to talk, because I understood that they don't get a lot of this outside contact.

You have a lot of inmates that go in, and they do their time, and they never ever see anyone, no one from their family, none of the people in the street that they thought were their friends. No one shows up for them. So we gave them a few minutes to talk about that. But eventually it got to the point where I was able to ask them have you ever been in solitary confinement and he had, and, you know, we were told that's the worst of the worst.

He went to solitary confinement, and I don't want to get into much of the details, because as it was stated before, he may be identified from the

Page 203

story, but it wasn't a violent act. No one was hurt. There was no physical contact. I've seen and heard of kids that pulled pranks in school that was worse than what he did, but he got sent to solitary confinement for seven days and I just -- I can't even imagine the way they describe Stage 1 or Phase I where you can be shackled and handcuffed for days at a time.

So my question is how do they eat? How do they go to the restroom? They feed them. They put their food in bags and they're shackled and they're handcuffed, and they have to squeeze the food and eat the food out the bag. So I'm imagining that being me, and I'm like to me that's inhumane.

I think about the bills and the issues that come to this building and the way we fight for animal rights and the way people go to jail for abusing animals, but yet we have human beings, and yes, some of them have committed some heinous crimes, and I have had that question put to me, "But what about the person that murdered somebody?" Operative word, person.

I'm not condoning murder in any form or fashion. Yes, you commit the crime, you should do the time, but my problem with this issue is that these people have to come home. They come back home to

Page 204

their families. They come back to their communities, and we have to deal with them, and if you cage somebody and you treat them like an animal, and you dehumanize them, and you strip them of their humanity of their mental capacity, of their spiritual capacity, you get what you get, and that makes nobody safe.

So for us to keep continue the conversation, you know, to keep people save and, you know, make sure everybody's protected and -- we have to also look down the road and understand that there has to be some form of rehabilitation for all inmates, because even if they're given 25 to life, and I know some people that have done 25 to life and been home in 25 to 30 years. They come back to society. Over 90 percent of these people return back to our communities.

So I think that's something we need to think about. Do we want them coming back better or worse off than they went in, because when you strip somebody down to the bare bones like these individuals are being stripped now, they have nothing to lose, nothing, and they come out, and they have no respect for authority, no respect for persons, no respect for anyone so -- I'm getting the signal.

MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for going on

Page 205

the tour with us, Representative Porter. It's great that a legislator stepped up and went into that facility. It's not an easy thing to do. I know you've done a lot of work with the closure of CJTS, the Connecticut Juvenile Training School.

One of the things that has come out from the experts today is the need for oversight, some kind of independent oversight to make sure that there is not only transparency but also accountability. Can you speak to, you know, how that's worked at CJTS or not worked, and what you think might make sense at the DOC level?

MS. PORTER: Well, I think it's required. Personally that's my opinion. Anything outside of that is the fox watching the henhouse. You're not going to regulate yourself if you don't want to and an agency -- you know, there is the propensity for people to break the rules, believe that they're above the law. You know, there's the code of silence, you know, in the street. It's called snitching.

I say we have the same mentality when it comes to COs, police officers, whatever it is. It's a club, and these people, they work together, and there's family, you know, and their job is to protect

Page 206

1 themselves. I believe there should be oversight in
2 the outside agency that would be unbiased in the
3 judgments that need to be made in order to bring
4 justice to whatever it is that's being looked at.
5 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for sharing
6 that. Michael.
7 MR. WERNER: Were you able to hear
8 the testimony from Ms. Bourn from the public defenders
9 who spoke earlier?
10 MS. PORTER: No, I was not.
11 MR. WERNER: So they were discussing
12 18-10b, and I was curious in your role as a lawmaker,
13 this law has to do with folks who are on death row
14 remaining in solitary confinement until they die. Do
15 you have an opinion about that law?
16 MS. PORTER: That people that have
17 been sentenced to death row remain in solitary
18 confinement?
19 MR. WERNER: Until they die.
20 MS. PORTER: Until they die.
21 MR. WERNER: Yeah.
22 MS. PORTER: Well, I mean, for the
23 State of Connecticut it would be irrelevant since
24 we've done away with the death penalty. So are you
25 saying that even though that has been done away with,

Page 207

1 they're still sitting in solitary confinement?
2 MR. MCGUIRE: Well, what Mr. Werner
3 is talking about is that when they abolished the
4 provision, they said that the folks that eventually
5 would be taken off death row or life in prison special
6 circumstances have to stay in solitary-like
7 conditions. So they're staying in Northern
8 essentially. They can't be evaluated like other
9 prisoners by the DOCK and people who have gone to a
10 less restrictive facility.
11 So I think what Mr. Werner is asking
12 whether you think that's a problem or not, that
13 they've taken away the discretion of the Commissioner
14 of Correction and mandated these people stay in those
15 harsh conditions for the rest of their lives.
16 MS. PORTER: I don't support
17 solitary confinement for any reason. So I would say I
18 don't support them being there on death row even
19 though that's been repealed and done away with. I
20 mean, are we rehabilitating people or is it a strictly
21 punitive system, and I think that's what we need to
22 figure out in the State of Connecticut. What are we
23 doing to deal with inmates?
24 They're never coming home, never,
25 right? They're there until they die. Where is --

Page 208

1 where is the humanity in keeping them in solitary
2 confinement? You're talking about restrictions to no
3 human contact. I mean, we're social. What does that
4 do to people? I don't believe that, you know, justice
5 should be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.
6 Yes, they committed a heinous crime,
7 and they're doing their time, but I don't think that
8 their time should be done inhumanely. I think that
9 there's a level of respect and regard for people's
10 person and for their mental health and for their
11 physical health and for their spiritual health that
12 needs to be taken into consideration.
13 My God, they're never coming home,
14 and from the stories I've heard prison is not a place
15 anyone wants to be in much less restrictive
16 administration restrictions where you're in solitary
17 confinement.
18 MR. WERNER: Thank you.
19 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you,
20 Representative Porter, and we look forward to hearing
21 about your future trips to Northern, and if you find
22 anything, we'd love to incorporate it into the record.
23 MS. PORTER: Absolutely, and thank
24 you all again.
25 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you. Next up is

Page 209

1 Traci Bernardi. Traci, if you would try to keep it to
2 three minutes, and that will allow us time to ask you
3 questions.
4 MS. BERNARDI: So I want to touch
5 base on a few things that people talked about since
6 you guys already heard my testimony. When people are
7 brought into the facility to see what the facility is
8 like, I know especially for York there's a lot of
9 acting that goes on so you're not going to get a clear
10 picture of what the facility is like.
11 You'll get the picture of
12 everybody's on their best behavior, and, I mean,
13 literally about, I don't remember, maybe four years
14 ago, five years ago our prison was so overpopulated
15 that we had people sleeping on the gym floor, and
16 because we were past the cap, our warden put people on
17 buses and had them driving around.
18 So what I'm saying is until the
19 people left, they drove around New London, and what
20 I'm saying is -- and then they hide stuff very well,
21 and that's why I feel like it's my job for the people
22 that are still in there to be their voice, because
23 you're never going to get an accurate picture unless
24 you're talking to people.
25 I will say that there are people

Page 210

that -- I'm not saying that inmates are innocent, and that nobody does anything crazy or anything like that, because that would be a lie, you know. For me one of the times -- I mean, as I said, I did seven years in solitary confinement, but one of the times in the early --

When I first went to jail, I went to seg for walking too slow to breakfast. It's call malingering, faking illness, and I really was tired. Like I was by myself. I wasn't hanging out with other inmates walking slow just to get more extra time. I literally walked slow to breakfast and went to seg for five days.

When you're in seg, the Commissioner talked about phases, and they're saying now -- allegedly they're saying that there's 40 people at York that are -- there might be 40 people on AS, but let's count the people that are on CC. Let's count the people that are on CM. Let's count the people that are on CM and CC.

MR. MCGUIRE: Can you say what those are?

MS. BERNARDI: CM is closed monitoring. It's gang related. Your first phase you go on closed monitoring. If you were ever in the

Page 211

computer before like designated as a gang member, which my case was actually gang related -- and I think it's important to even touch base about my case, because if you look at me or you talk to me --

Literally when I came out of jail, I worked at a summer camp with 47 kids, and that's because I was trusted to do that, because people knew who I was, not what my crime was. They did know about my crime, but people don't see us as people. I spoke at Polaris. It's -- you guys are aware of Polaris. It's like a DCF school for kids that are -- they have to go there. They're misbehaved. Like they sanction them to finish school there.

I went to speak there, and one of the guys that's like a guard there told me, you know, until you talked I never thought of you guys as people, you know, and it reminded me of when I got out, I kept telling my mom, "Mom, I'm psyched. I'm going to be a person again. You know, I'm going to have real clothes. I'm going to --" But at the same time I was so deeply affected every single day by not just the solitary but the treatment, and I think that that's the root of it.

If there's some way to dismantle and retrain the staff in a way that they have sensitivity

Page 212

training or just things that make them understand that, yes, you are here to make sure this person does their time. No, you are not here to punish them, to make their time harder. You are not here to call them, you know --

When I was 19 years old, I didn't think that my family loved me. I was a normal kid who was rebelling against a stepmother and my father, and I thought I was going to find love in a gang, and I joined a gang, and then one thing led to another and somebody died, and I was a participant in it, but did we plan it? No. Did we -- but for the entire time I was there there was a rumor, and it was perpetuated by staff that my victim was pregnant.

The day I walked out the door staff told another staff, "Oh, why should she go home? She killed a baby," but there's no -- they don't -- they base their decision on what they hear about you instead of you guys were in society the whole time. These guys lived in society. They could have Googled my case. But instead like they literally --

I had a staff tell a whole roll call of new guards that we were the worst of the worst. That's what me and my codefendants were there for. We killed a woman that was pregnant, and God forgive me,

Page 213

yes, she died, but she wasn't pregnant. The way that they're allowed to just --

These staff thought that for the whole time -- all these new staff thought that, you know -- and there's a difference. It shouldn't be, but in jail it's looked upon differently if you kill a baby versus you were in an incident that led to somebody dying, you know, and that's how we were looked at, but it was something that was perpetuated by staff, you know.

I just feel like until people get to the root, and the root is figuring out how to deal with the staff and, like I said before, the grievance system is a catch 22, because we report it. We have 30 days to get through the chain of command, but each staff that we go through has 30 days to get back to us.

So if you know that what I'm reporting is something very serious, you're not going to get back to me until the 28th day, and then you're going to say have fun getting up the rest of the chain in two days, and you know you can't get those requests answered within two days. So every grievance that goes in doesn't meet the timeframe so it's just dead and --

Page 214

1 You know, I talked with Commissioner
2 Semple about that before, you know, at another hearing
3 at he Hartford Public Library when I first got out
4 that if the grievance system continues to be a catch
5 22, there's no way they could weed out, because the
6 Commissioner said, you know, he has so many staff.
7 It's hard to know who's who, you know, and it's the
8 truth.
9 But if the grievance system,
10 especially for those people inside, because inside you
11 have to give your grievance to a staff to put in the
12 box. That staff is not going to put your grievance in
13 the box, and there was a young lady up here earlier,
14 and she was talking about the medical needs. I
15 literally heard people. They go to people's doors.
16 They diagnosed a girl with hepatitis
17 C at her door out loud in front of everyone. Like
18 there's no privacy for medical. There's no privacy
19 for anything when you're in restrictive housing.
20 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for that
21 information about the grievances process. I think
22 that kind of goes in line with the oversight
23 recommendation that many of the experts spoke on. Any
24 questions for Traci? Thank you so much for sharing
25 your story.

Page 215

1 MS. BERNARDI: Thank you.
2 MR. MCGUIRE: Barbara Fair.
3 MS. FAIR: Hello again. Some of the
4 things I wanted to talk about have already been talked
5 about so I won't go over them again, but I think the
6 one about independent accountability is very, very
7 important, and one of the things we have to think
8 about when we think about funding, I don't think it
9 should be state funded, because I think if it's state
10 funded, again, it's not going to be independent, and
11 we're not going to get what we really need, and that's
12 people who are completely disconnected from the system
13 to look in and see what's going on so we can actually
14 fix it.
15 When I went up to testify, I had a
16 choice between my testimony and a letter that I had
17 written when my son was in prison, and I'm glad I had
18 the opportunity to quickly read that, because when I
19 was going through my stuff, I found it, and it really
20 had me tearful this morning, because it brought me
21 back to that day, but here is the letter, because I
22 did a lot of working to get my son some kind of
23 relief. I talked to everybody wrote everybody
24 including the ACLU, legislators, DOC commissioner,
25 everybody to help my son, but here's the letter.

Page 216

1 "Hi. I visited my son yesterday and
2 had to fight through the tears while driving all the
3 way back home to New Haven. Again, his name is
4 Keishar Tucker, and he's back for a technical special
5 parole violation for the umpteenth time. He ended up
6 in Osborne due to a ticket for disobeying a direct
7 order. He said the correctional officer asked him to
8 return to his cell, and he didn't move fast enough.
9 So she used her power to send him to segregation where
10 he was caged for 22 hours a day.
11 Prior to his return on the violation
12 he was in a halfway house. His violation was leaving
13 the house without permission. He went to the Hill
14 Health Center, because he was having a breathing
15 problem. He did it without permission, and clearly he
16 was wrong for doing that, but to end up in solitary
17 confinement, which I think was above and over. He was
18 forced medicated and told if he didn't take the
19 antipsychotic medications, which were three, Depakote,
20 Cogentin and Haldol, that they would force Ativan in
21 his system, and he would not make parole unless he
22 agreed to take them.
23 So he took the medication even
24 though he knew all the bad side effects and what it
25 had did to him before, but, I mean, that was just

Page 217

1 stipulation that he would not make parole if he didn't
2 take them. I met with -- I explained to the meeting
3 that I went to up in Hartford -- sorry. I got off
4 track.
5 Recently I met with correctional
6 officials including the deputy warden, APRN,
7 psychologists and social worker and asked them why
8 they were administrating psychotropic meds to my son.
9 I asked if he was experiencing psychosis or
10 hallucinations, anything that would lead them to give
11 him antipsychotics, and I was told no, but that he
12 had -- there was some mention that he had a
13 psychiatric history in the past.
14 I explained to them at the meeting
15 that history was several years ago, and he was no
16 longer on meds. An officer said he found him leaning
17 against a wall crying. I asked the nurse at the time
18 does that behavior indicate psychosis, and she agreed
19 with me. It just means someone's in distress. Being
20 in distress is not indicative of experiencing
21 psychosis. No one could tell me why they came to this
22 conclusion.
23 I told them about the bad experience
24 he had with those meds before and was adamant about
25 discontinuing his medication regimen. To make a long

Page 218

1 story short, when I visited my son, he was so sedated
2 his eyes were glazed, and he was putting on weight
3 quickly. I was worried about diabetes, which is a
4 side effect from the antitrophic drugs.
5 He was asking me if he made sense
6 when he talked. He said he didn't feel like hisself
7 anymore, and he spent most of his time reading. He
8 also informed me that the first week blood tests
9 revealed that the medication was too strong, and that
10 only happened because I, you know, reminded him when
11 you're on antipsychotics, you need to be having
12 monthly blood work done.
13 I talked to the nurse and revealed
14 medication was too strong. They reduced it. I tried
15 to get info from the social worker. She was very
16 defensive, was of no assistance to me. I spoke with
17 the commissioner, the deputy warden, and staff about
18 my concerns for the harm that this medication will do
19 to him long term, and I assume my concerns were
20 disregarded, because he's in really bad shape.
21 In this state of mine he's
22 vulnerable to anyone who wants to take advantage of
23 him. I am sick that this is allowed to happen. I am
24 sick that this overmedication of prisoners is not a
25 major concern, a risk to mental health and wellbeing

Page 219

1 of our loved ones. I'm sick that I feel so helpless
2 to help him.
3 A professional clinical social
4 worker would know that many of these men will suffer
5 depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress
6 disorder, and antipsychotics are not the quick fix for
7 dumbing these individuals down. They do not address
8 the underlying issue of how incarceration impacts many
9 prisoners. I'm afraid how much my son has lost
10 already and always afraid that there will be no coming
11 back.
12 I'm again reaching out for someone
13 to care enough to see me through this crisis. I'm
14 losing my son and it hurts. I wrestled in my sleep
15 all last night and several times trying to get the
16 thoughts of my son's situation out of my head so I
17 could sleep. Someone needs to question the
18 credentials of these prescribing and administering
19 these drugs. I've seen too many young people walking
20 around in blank stairs.
21 I refuse to have this for my son's
22 future. I refuse them to allow them to destroy him.
23 He said to me he's in block with some really crazy
24 people, and he wonders how he will ever, what he ever
25 did to deserve this besides crying one day when he was

Page 220

1 in pain, something that's quite normal to me," and
2 then I asked someone to please get in touch with me,
3 because I can't do this alone.
4 And so this is a lot of what I was
5 going through in that situation when my son was in
6 there. But like I said I called everybody I possibly
7 could to reach out. Please do something to give him
8 some kind of relief. But like I said this morning
9 what I continue to do is work. My son is safe now.
10 I've got him off all the drugs, but I still feel
11 there's so many thousands of people that are in there
12 that don't have this advocacy in the outside that are
13 suffering and especially in solitary confinement.
14 I think someone really needs to look
15 into the overmedication of these people. My son, when
16 he went in prison, he was in there, he had suffered
17 depression, because of course he's never been in a
18 cage before so he had problems. But by the time he
19 came out of solitary, he was completely psychotic and
20 so many --
21 Much of mental illness didn't begin
22 before they went to prison. It began once they were
23 incarcerated, and putting them in solitary confinement
24 just exacerbated that. So I'm hoping that you will
25 really take serious what we're saying about people,

Page 221

1 because they are people, and that's what we need to
2 think about first. They're human beings, somebody's
3 loved one. Somebody cares about them, and we can't,
4 because they're in prison, and they feel that whatever
5 they do to them is okay. So thank you very much for
6 hearing from me.
7 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for sharing
8 that, Barbara. We definitely do get that. So we only
9 have a court reporter for eight more minutes so Claire
10 Kim is going to read a quick statement.
11 MS. KIM: Thank you, everyone. My
12 name is Claire Kim. I'm a student at Yale Law School,
13 and I'm here on behalf of Mr. Malcolm Rahmeen, who is
14 a survivor of solitary confinement and granted me
15 permission to read his 2012 Senate testimony.
16 Since my confinement at Northern
17 Correctional Institute began, I have seen and heard
18 enough of the negative and destructive to last me or
19 any man a lifetime. I was first transferred to
20 Northern on December 3, 2010. Northern is
21 Connecticut's supermax prison where inmates are
22 generally held in solitary confinement in what is
23 called an Administrative Segregation Program or ASP.
24 The ASP at Northern is a minimum of
25 305 days in duration or 7,200 hours. Out of the 7,200

Page 222

1 hours ASP prisoners spend 6,807 hours in a 7 by 12
2 foot cell. Less than 20 of these 7,200 hours are
3 dedicated to any sort of rehabilitation-related
4 programing.
5 ASP prisoners are afforded only a
6 small view of the outside world for this period,
7 through a 3 foot by 5 inch slit in their cells.
8 That's it. We were not allowed to have or watch any
9 TV. To exit the cell for exercise, phone calls or
10 visits the ASP population at Northern must endure
11 cavity searches.
12 While in Phase I of ASP a prisoner
13 is required to bathe with iron Smith and Wesson
14 shackles clamped on his ankles. During my time at
15 Northern I estimate that approximately 40 percent of
16 the prisoners on my unit were in single cell isolation
17 for 23 hours a day.
18 To this day I do not understand why
19 I was forced to endure those many months at Northern.
20 I was classified as a level five, which is the highest
21 and considered the most dangerous score in the CDOC.
22 I never assaulted a CDOC employe. I never assaulted a
23 prisoner in the CDOC. I never set fire, tried to
24 escape or was ever charged with possessing contraband
25 while in the CDOC. I never destroyed state property

Page 223

1 while I was in CDOC say for two incidents while I was
2 on suicide watch placement.
3 On December 11, 2010, just eight
4 days after I had arrived at Northern, I was placed on
5 suicide watch. I was placed in cell 101 on cellblock
6 one in a strip cell, which is no different from a
7 regular cell save for the top iron bunkbed and the
8 table-stool unit being removed. On suicide watch we
9 were often left in handcuffs, shackles, tether-chain
10 and padlock for hours and sometimes days on end. The
11 cell was freezing, and it was impossible to properly
12 use a toilet or feed ourselves.
13 After being placed on suicide watch
14 in cell 101 I was placed on this in-cell restraint
15 status for 24 hours unprotected. Shortly after this I
16 witnessed an incident that traumatized me and truly
17 impressed upon me the conditions at Northern.
18 In February of 2011 I watched a
19 prisoner as he started bashing his head against the
20 cell door window. That man was suffering and had been
21 completely denied the mental health care that he
22 needed. He was depressed and hurt. He needed someone
23 to understand. So it seemed to me then when he
24 started banging his head, that it was more like a cry
25 for help, boom, boom, boom.

Page 224

1 However, he started to gather
2 rhythm. He gritted his teeth, boom, boom, boom, boom,
3 and I realized that he was self sedating. The
4 physical pain was quickly becoming preferable to the
5 psychological and emotional pain. I watched him in
6 his agonizing bliss and his tears mixed with blood
7 from his wound.
8 A prison guard had been by earlier
9 and had seen the prisoner hurting himself, but there
10 was no injury then so the guard kept going. Now he
11 stopped. I could tell by the guard's profile that for
12 just a brief second he softened and humanity was
13 coming through. But just as quickly as it came, it
14 went, and he walked away as if those streams of blood
15 were water. While he walked past my cell I asked him
16 to help the prisoner. He said, "It's just a little
17 blood."
18 In March 2011 I again attempted
19 suicide by hanging. That time my cries for help were
20 met with cell extraction. Guards rushed into my cell,
21 beat me, and sprayed mace in my face. Following this
22 I was taken to yet another strip cell, placed again on
23 suicide watch in the same mace-covered restraints. I
24 remained hogtied in chains like this for 72 hours. A
25 third suicide attempt in May 2011 met with a similar

Page 225

1 response.
2 On all three occasions my days-long
3 confinement in the strip sell only exacerbated my
4 mental condition. At one point I angrily protested to
5 a corrections officer that no human being should be
6 treated this way. He responded "That's even
7 considering you're a human being." I saw other
8 prisoners accept this notion that they were or had
9 been made less than human in attempt to end their own
10 lives. This should come as no surprise.
11 Can less than 20 hours of group
12 programs comment for 6,807 hours of social isolation
13 and reduced environmental stimulation as well as the
14 repressive cavity and other search and restraint
15 policies? Is this current curriculum prudent and in
16 its current state is it worth the communities' tax
17 dollars and resources? Does a set amount of isolation
18 and sensory deprivation pose a risk to the mental
19 health of its subjects and thereby the community at
20 large once these individuals are released directly
21 from their tiny cell into your neighborhood? You
22 cannot isolate chaos and expect rehabilitation.
23 When prisoners are smearing their
24 blood and feces on walls, eating food out of their
25 toilets, when they are swallowing pens, overdosing,

Page 226

1 asphyxiating, cutting and hanging themselves, one
2 should begin at the very least to do a thorough
3 evaluation to find out what and put in place the
4 reforms needed.
5 As a man of many mistakes but even
6 greater dreams and hopes, I'm compelled to declare out
7 of the isolation that enveloped me that it's time for
8 institutions like Northern to be reformed. I believe
9 in the American ideals of a equality and individual
10 dignity, and I know we can and must do better. Thank
11 you for the opportunity to be heard.
12 MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you for reading
13 that, Claire, and do thank Mr. Rahmeen for that
14 testimony. It's very powerful. And then our final
15 speaker is Professor Hope Metcalf.
16 MS. METCALF: Hi. Good afternoon,
17 and thank you for staying I think past -- oh, we have
18 one minute. I'll try to be brief, and I believe I was
19 asked to come back just to highlight a few of perhaps
20 more of the practical reforms that the commission
21 might consider as you wrestle with what you've heard
22 today and I know you also have experienced through
23 your tour at Northern.
24 So I have already introduced myself
25 and our clinic. Just a quick recap, we've been

Page 227

1 interviewing people and investigating conditions at
2 Northern since 2010, and we have been in very
3 productive conversations with the Department of
4 Corrections since January 2012. So it's been good to
5 see many of the practices changed.
6 There are still continuing issues
7 that I will address very briefly at the end of my
8 comments, but I'd like to start with the affirmative
9 changes that we've seen, and that I think can and
10 should be codified into Departmental policy in
11 preferably a more lasting form such as a statute.
12 So the first change, which is
13 absolutely critical, and it was one of the first
14 things that happened at Northern, was in fact to
15 decrease the numbers. So when we first started going
16 into Northern, the story that you just heard from our
17 former client, Malcolm Rahmeen, was quite typical.
18 So at that point there were 250
19 prisoners in what is called Phase I of administrative
20 segregation. That number now hovers around 30,
21 although -- and I should mention that doesn't -- the
22 30 number is not for all forms of isolation within the
23 Department. It's just that one specific program. But
24 that should suggest to you, which is a really
25 important truth, which is that what they were doing in

Page 228

1 2010 there were ten times, roughly ten times as many
2 people who had somehow managed to get into the most
3 extreme form of isolation and the most punishing form
4 of confinement that we have in this country.
5 The folks who we met through our
6 interviews included people like Mr. Rahmeen who had
7 been arrested on third degree larceny charges. They
8 included a person who had been arrested for stealing
9 $17 worth of cosmetics from a Walgreens, and that
10 person was back in on a parole violation, and due to
11 various mental illness issues had ended up at
12 Northern, and it seemed that --
13 And we also met people who had
14 committed more violence crimes or any violent crimes.
15 Those people had no violent histories whatsoever. We
16 also met people who had committed violent crimes
17 and/or had participated in violence while at Northern,
18 but there was an astonishing range.
19 So when we first were interviewing
20 people, we were really taken aback by how many
21 low-level offenders were there and how many people had
22 ended up in this sort of dead end of administrative
23 segregation through just a series of run-ins, no
24 serious incidents or no disciplinary incidents.
25 So the first thing the Department

Page 229

1 did was basically decrease that number. So they
2 undertook the review of every person who had been
3 there for longer than three years, and they also, in
4 effect, heighten the threshold for why one should be
5 admitted into this extreme form of punishment.
6 My understanding is that in effect
7 at this point to qualify for administrative
8 segregation one has to commit some fairly serious act
9 of violence against staff or other prisoners, and I
10 think that that is absolutely critical to getting the
11 numbers down. But I think we can and should do more.
12 I think there should be a
13 presumptive term past which no form of isolation is
14 permitted, and I think that if a prison system cannot
15 figure out how to grapple with and deal with a
16 prisoner after six months, then something's not
17 working.
18 So Northern was never designed to be
19 the end station. The sort of myth of Northern was
20 that it was supposed to change individual behavior,
21 and that's why there was a sort of phase system. But
22 the fact is is that for people for whatever reason --
23 there were in fact many people who deteriorated over
24 time. Some people did make it out in the 10 to 12
25 months that it was supposed to take. Many people did

Page 230

1 not.
2 So when we first started seeing
3 people in 2010, it was not unusual to meet people like
4 you heard Ms. Alston today whose brother entered at
5 age 17, and he's now 33. She has never shaken his
6 hand. He has never sat with a family member without a
7 thick plexiglas screen. In fact, the only person who
8 he has seen in any social setting whatsoever is myself
9 and my students in 17 years.
10 He's 33 years old. He spent most of
11 his life in that setting, and if you look at his
12 disciplinary record, he is not worst of the worse. I
13 don't accept that whatsoever. It's simply the fact
14 that the prison system has failed to find an
15 appropriate setting or to provide him any exit ramp.
16 It's all too easy to put them in, but there's no exit
17 ramp, and unless we force them to do, so there will
18 always be people like Mr. Alston, and it's simply just
19 a devastating waste of human potential.
20 So I think there should be a
21 presumptive hard time limit. There is no reason to
22 place juveniles or people with serious mental illness
23 in solitary. It's counterproductive. And then the
24 last piece I just would like to say is we must know
25 about what's happening within solitary, and that means

Page 231

1 we need to have clear and regular reporting on the
2 numbers of people in solitary. We need to be able to
3 track the number of incidents of people who are in
4 solitary and the duration of their periods. David?
5 MR. MCGUIRE: Do you have a
6 suggestion based on other states or systems about what
7 that presumptive hard limit should be? What is a
8 reasonable number or range of numbers?
9 MS. METCALF: So no state, to my
10 knowledge, has passed a hard limit. I mean, the hard
11 limit under international human rights law is now the
12 Mandela Standards for minimum treatment. The minimum
13 standards on the treatment of prisoners it would be 15
14 days.
15 Based upon my conversations with
16 correctional officials in this state and around the
17 country, I used to work in the Liman Program so I have
18 had conversations with correctional officials in this
19 state, that's an unworkable figure. I think six
20 months would be extremely generous.
21 I think if the standard under
22 international law for the use of isolation is that it
23 should be for the shortest possible duration and as a
24 last resort so that the idea would be for it to be
25 used really as "a cooling off period." That if there

Page 232

1 is a violation incident, if there is some kind of
2 systematic threat to the system, that you place
3 somebody in this very extreme form of isolation until
4 you can figure out a safe way to proceed. I can't
5 think -- six months is plenty of time to be able to
6 figure out an alternative, and there are alternatives.
7 So I can tell you what other states
8 are doing in terms of alternatives and what
9 Connecticut is starting to do, which is sort of what
10 you would expect, right, which is that if there is
11 someone who has proven themselves to have, for
12 whatever reason to have been unable to just -- they're
13 disruptive, they're violent, that you proceed in baby
14 steps. That there are ways that you can in fact
15 safely encourage socialization, and that's what we
16 should be going for so that time in prison should be
17 about socialization, not antisocialization, which is
18 what we see.
19 So Northern has the capacity to do
20 some group programing, and they're starting to do
21 that. I question whether or not that's going to be
22 effective in that setting. I posit that it probably
23 is not, but I don't know.
24 MR. MCGUIRE: One other observation.
25 Yesterday on the tour the administrators mentioned due

Page 233

1 process at least a dozen times as justification why
2 this is fair, and people get regularly reviewed during
3 the appeals process.
4 Do you feel comfortable weighing in
5 on whether that is meaningful due process? Are there
6 hearings that the appeals are meaningful, and if not,
7 do you think there's any reforms that we could
8 recommend that would solve that problem?
9 MS. METCALF: So to my knowledge --
10 so there are two types of -- let me say there's two
11 types of processes we can talk about. There's the
12 process that happens before someone's placed into
13 solitary, and then there's the process that is
14 supposed to happen on an ongoing basis once they're
15 placed there.
16 So as to the first question, I think
17 that the process for getting people in is not perfect,
18 but it does resemble what we might think of as a
19 process meaning that you get notified as to the reason
20 why you're going to be placed at Northern. You do
21 have an opportunity to respond even though you
22 wouldn't, for example, have an opportunity to contest
23 the evidence against you. You don't have an
24 opportunity for any kind of representation during that
25 hearing. So there are ways that one can strengthen

the initial process.

What most concerns me is in fact the process for exit. So I mentioned before that there is no exit ramp out of Northern. Rather it's a series of -- you played as a kid Chutes and Ladders, when you go into one place, and you get down, and you have to keep moving back. I think that's a better way to think about what happens once you get into the system. Its incredibly difficult to get out.

So to my knowledge there is nothing that resembles -- there are reviews. Those reviews are not transparent. The prisoner does not participate in them so far as I'm aware. It may be that they have changed their practices, but under the rules there is no requirement for anything resembling a hearing. There's no notice given to the prisoner. They in fact aren't given specific reasons for their retention.

I think that there have been some efforts to come up with what are called individual management plans for prisoners on an ongoing basis, and I think that that's a good direction so that there would be concrete steps for people to take in order to -- and positive incentives are another important piece of the puzzle. But, no, I'm a great skeptic of

any claims that formal processes exist in current form that would in any way make up for the fact of the type of abuses that we're talking about.

Finally, I would just like to add that the types of mistreatment that you've heard about today I don't think any -- no amount of process could protect from. So the idea about due process, right, is that there are certain sorts of deprivations that we tolerate as a society, but that we say only with a certain, only with some measure of protection are we going to make that deprivation.

Professor Resnik talked about the form of extreme isolation and mistreatment you've heard about today as an Eighth Amendment claim, which means under no circumstances should any person, regardless of if you had the best lawyer possible representing you, should you been submitted to torture, and that's what we're talking about in its extreme form.

So under Ms. Alston's brother there is no amount of process in a civilized society that should permit him to experience what he has, which is to spend 17 years of his life, over half of his lifespan in solitary confinement and the extreme deprivations at Northern.

MR. MCGUIRE: Thank you, Professor Metcalf. So we're going to wrap up, and I want to remind everyone in the audience that we're keeping the record open for one month until March 7. So anyone that wants to submit additional testimony, stories, recommendations, we're happen to receive them, and that can be by e-mailing our staff.

There is information over there. When you leave, you can take if you would like that. Additionally, our committee is going to meet tomorrow at noon telephonically to kind of debrief today, but I appreciate everyone coming out. I appreciate the staff from D.C., Barbara and Evelyn, for coming out and I hope everyone got something from the support hearing. Take care.

(Whereupon, this hearing was concluded at 4:12 p.m.)

CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

I, Jacqueline V. McCauley, a Notary Public duly commissioned and qualified in and for the State of Connecticut, do hereby certify that the Connecticut Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights hearing was taken on February 7, 2017 at 10:04 a.m., and reduced to writing under my supervision; that this hearing is a true record of the testimony given during the hearing.

I further certify that I am neither attorney nor counsel for, nor related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this hearing is taken, and further, that I am not a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, or financially interested in the action.

IN WITNESS HEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 15th day of February, 2017.

Jacqueline V. McCauley
Notary Public

My Commission expires: 12/31/2019

$

$17 228:9
$700 90:5
$72.4 90:4

0

0 49:17,24

1

1 37:14 203:6
1,400 160:13,18
1.4 137:8
1.6 58:6
10 83:12 89:7,9,10 144:3,4 146:1 229:24
100 130:4
100,000 25:9 66:6 135:23
101 223:5, 14
10:04 3:1
11 170:12 187:1,2 223:3
11:10 48:14, 16
11:15 48:16
12 47:11 157:2 163:6 222:1 229:24
12-hours-a-day 28:21
12-month 14:6
13 45:11 50:5
130 158:7
14 101:4 150:7
15 16:1 27:2 33:9 44:21 46:25 82:8 83:12 89:2 103:1 113:12 122:2 136:8 140:16 153:14 158:7 163:6 164:3 231:13
15-minute 13:19 121:15 169:6
150 161:3
16 126:11 138:15,20
16,000 138:20
16-hour 201:12
17 8:18 24:24 44:22 107:5,14 127:24 128:4 230:5,9 235:23
173-year-old 63:12
18 44:14,18 45:16 86:6,19 103:17 118:23 127:23,24 140:21 141:5
18-10b 169:22 173:19 178:25 179:20 186:9 187:1 206:12
18-85a 119:2
1800s 113:13
1830s 25:11
19 45:11 212:6
1934 152:22 153:3
1960s 145:16
1970s 63:5
1980s 24:14
1990s 24:15
1995 24:21 170:22
1:15 131:3
1:29 131:3

2

2.4 58:4 92:7
20 22:13 48:5 87:16 88:12 89:8 164:3 170:19 222:2 225:11
200 50:1
2000 128:4
2000s 24:15
2001 119:3
2004 25:1
2005 24:21

150:2

2008 24:23

2009 70:4

2010 63:21
167:23
221:20
223:3
227:2
228:1
230:3

2011 70:4
223:18
224:18,25

2012 186:12
221:15
227:4

2013 24:23

2013/2014
135:18

2014 18:14
30:6
135:24

2015 13:25
15:2 16:14
17:3 18:2
40:10
41:12
70:15
135:12
150:23
153:11

2016 16:24
17:13

2017 8:18

2018 42:9

20s 23:17

21 9:11
138:6
139:2
161:8

22 125:16
135:19
136:8
138:15,21
140:6
147:13
153:14
199:11,17
213:14
214:5
216:10

22-hour
138:11

23 56:22
88:13,24
89:4 100:2
102:24
116:24
125:8
222:17

24 12:16
56:22
88:14
100:2
156:2
223:15

25 86:6,19
162:7
186:12
204:12,13,
14

25,000
135:13

250 227:18

250,000 57:9

26 50:4
154:13

28th 213:20

29th 49:2

2:23 169:11

2:43 169:11

3

3 84:7
187:11
221:20
222:7

3,760 57:19

30 83:1,11
86:5 103:1
107:1
135:19
152:10
157:8
168:15
204:14
213:15,16
227:20,22

300,000
158:10

305 221:25

30s 23:17

33 26:9
138:18
230:5,10

330 98:13

34 126:11
135:18

35,000 31:3

36 162:5

4

4 16:15
157:2

4,000 160:14

4-point
114:5

4-volume
63:10

40 24:22
63:3
159:20
210:16,17
222:15

40,000
160:17

400 137:17
152:9

41 139:23

44 25:1

45 31:12
36:14
107:1

45,000 58:3

450 57:19
47 134:22 211:6
4:12 236:17

5

5 50:3 202:4 222:7
5,000 117:17 160:15
5-minute 48:13
5.1 137:19
50 13:16 14:6,8,9 134:4 135:16 140:23,24 141:6
500 137:17
52 136:15, 16
54,000 139:24
55 37:4

6

6 109:18
6,807 222:1 225:12
60 28:20 32:5,20
60-minute 121:24
60s 45:2
65 37:3
67,000 135:19 137:9

7

7 57:10 150:7 222:1 236:4
7,200 221:25 222:2
70 13:1
70,000 137:11
700 160:22
72 135:21 224:24
75 154:14

8

8 181:22
80,000 25:4 135:23
800,000 138:19
83 29:1
85 32:8 43:23

9

9 109:18 181:22,24
90 83:18 91:13 101:7 204:14
90-day 83:16 107:12
99 128:4

A

a.m. 3:1
A.T. 69:9
ABA 63:19
aback 228:20
abandon 61:6
abandonment 19:18
abiding 101:8
ability 10:11 176:11,12 194:2
abolished 186:25 207:3
abolishing 186:18
aboveground 173:17
absolutely 37:20 208:23 227:13 229:10
abuse 13:5 37:24 59:25 60:24 61:3 64:11,15 69:12 73:20 124:9
abuses 235:3
abusing 203:17
abusive 124:15,16
ACA 16:13 152:17
academic 5:13
academics 102:4
academy 79:25 125:1
accelerated 20:15
accept 225:8 230:13

acceptable 47:3

accepted 90:16

access 10:9 13:6 14:14 20:20 73:4 84:3 92:18 201:16

accommodate 7:9

accommodating 79:7

accomplish 34:13

accomplishments 55:13

accordance 94:16

account 144:23 145:6 178:4

accountability 36:21 52:25 205:9 215:6

accountable 99:19

accounting 145:12

accreditation 152:17

accredited 16:5,14

accumulated 122:21

accumulates 122:21

accurate 209:23

accurately 177:8

accuse 107:19

accused 113:5

achieved 54:16

achieving 122:9

acknowledge 61:12

acknowledged 75:21

acknowledges 12:7

acknowledging 34:4

ACLU 144:19 215:24

act 17:2 57:18 107:8 116:21 117:15 145:11 189:6 191:6 203:1 229:8

acting 158:14 209:9

action 20:17 41:20,24 42:6

actions 103:15

active 177:15

actively 71:21

activities 11:5 17:15 89:11 91:6 132:23 158:22 162:12

activity 89:10 94:13 175:13 184:18

actual 26:18 93:13

acute 61:5

ad 87:8 95:11

adamant 217:24

adapt 75:12

add 112:5 142:10 156:21 185:22 235:4

addiction 60:2 114:4

addictions 118:12

addicts 118:10 157:24

addition 7:6 9:18 24:10 59:13,22 64:24 95:20 97:12 115:12 178:21

additional 6:25 7:20 42:19 55:23 57:19 167:10 236:5

Additionally 236:10

address 17:8 22:5 51:13 68:1 89:19 93:20

169:20
219:7
227:7

addressed
67:24
167:23

addressing
10:5 15:2
17:16
20:18
56:13
131:15

adds 36:8

adequately
24:5

adherence
41:24

adjudicated
40:17 41:4

administering
219:18

administers
16:12

administrating
217:8

administration
5:1 11:15
97:1
117:7,13,
18 118:13
152:5,14
208:16

administrative
5:18,23
6:13 25:6
38:6
49:11,15
51:22
80:20
81:18 82:6
83:9 84:3,
25 95:24
96:3
103:18
134:9
154:13
166:14
181:1
185:16
221:23
227:19
228:22
229:7

administrative ly 89:19
96:21

administrator
70:5 82:7

administrators
132:13
133:17
232:25

admissions
57:9 58:3

admitted
229:5

adolescent
23:24
39:18

adolescent-specific
21:1

adolescents
13:2,7
55:5 66:16

adopted
63:20

adult 10:16
27:25
31:23
32:3,4,17
33:15
40:19
44:13,15,
18 45:12,
14 46:10
66:10 86:8

adulthood
27:15

adults 14:16
27:11 28:1
48:9

advances
17:10

advantage
99:9
218:22

adverse
27:20
30:19

advice 71:24

advise 5:5

advisory
3:4,11
5:5,21
7:17 102:2

advocacy
11:10
43:11
220:12

advocate
8:25 9:9
97:22
112:24
130:12

Advocate's
8:22

advocates
25:17
67:12
104:13

advocating
11:11

Affairs 3:23

affect 10:6

affected
32:10 35:1
211:21

affecting
183:21

affects
183:18

affiliated
143:12
181:3
184:7,8,
10,14

185:11

affiliates
184:6

affiliation
43:4
143:12
190:25

affirmative
227:8

afflicts
64:17

afforded
222:5

afraid 77:9
123:10
130:12
219:9,10

African-american
31:25 58:4
92:6

African-americans
92:4

afternoon
3:21 7:22
169:15
185:21
195:23
226:16

ag 134:8
194:12

age 4:25
45:16
126:11
140:19,25
141:5,6
155:10
230:5

agency 4:22
9:11,24
10:21
46:16 52:2
100:5
205:17
206:2

agenda 101:3

aggregate
133:22
142:2
158:6

aggression
98:1
159:13

aggressive
49:9 58:13
87:23
141:1

agitation
114:20

agonizing
224:6

agony 64:17

agreed
216:22
217:18

agreement
144:1

ahead 46:21
113:20
180:14

Aid 63:4

aim 105:18

aiming
134:14
168:21

air 121:11
129:7
163:13
182:11
198:25

alcohol
114:4

Alexis 25:16

allay 78:1

allegedly
184:14
210:16

Alliance
23:4

allies 85:25

allowed
39:9,21
120:11
129:1
174:1
183:1
213:2
218:23
222:8

allowing
94:23
112:1

alluded 8:8

Alok 3:22

Alston
102:11,12
103:6,9,10
126:9
127:23
130:22
230:4,18

Alston's
235:20

alternative
76:12 77:3
87:19
97:25
100:24
232:6

Alternatively
8:14

alternatives
14:22
54:22
55:16 56:5
57:21
67:8,15
75:16
76:5,9
232:6,8

altogether
25:13

amazing
54:16
153:18

ameliorate 193:20

amendment 94:8 146:22 147:4,6, 11,20 148:8,20 149:6,9 235:14

American 3:23 16:5 56:9 58:21 63:17,20, 22 67:5 152:16 226:9

Americans 66:6 145:11

amount 64:17 76:17 90:6 106:15 141:16 160:4 187:20 225:17 235:6,21

analysis 57:5 87:7 92:15

analyzed 57:8 58:2

anatomically 27:14

and/or 132:2 228:17

anecdotally 166:10

anger 129:6, 8 183:22 189:1

angrily 225:4

anguish 56:23

animal 98:8 114:6 116:21 203:16 204:3

animals 23:12 174:22 203:17

animated 152:24

ankles 222:14

Annie 14:23

announced 10:12 40:9

answers 40:4 53:24 136:15 158:24

antipsychotic 216:19

antipsychotics 114:19 217:11 218:11 219:6

antisocial 43:3

antisocialization 232:17

antitrophic 218:4

anxiety 25:20 74:21 111:1,2,21 114:20 176:9 189:13 219:5

anymore 38:18 51:10 95:14 161:23,25 183:25 218:7

Anytime 15:25

apartment 184:25

apology 131:16

appalling 105:22

appeal 82:16,17

appeals 146:15 233:3,6

appeared 167:16

appears 19:23

applaud 66:2 69:17 173:11

applause 132:15

applied 53:1 56:2 97:9

applies 119:6

apply 80:16 82:16 97:9 165:22 179:20

appointed 11:2 133:18

approach 32:25 49:9 54:5 67:22 80:13 86:19 97:14

approaches 25:13 33:22 34:5

80:25

approaching 170:19

approval 59:17

approved 83:10

approximately 14:6 31:3 57:9,14 58:3 98:13 222:15

April 186:12

APRN 118:7, 17 217:6

arbitrarily 26:13

architectural 194:22

area 62:7 149:15 179:13

areas 10:6 96:4 195:9

argue 104:14 147:17

argument 51:1 87:24 147:6,20 149:10

Arkansas 70:11 145:16,17

arm 18:15

arms 64:11

arranging 81:15

arrest 45:18

arrested 228:7,8

arrests 45:21 46:8

arrived 25:16 223:4

Arthur 132:4,5

article 29:21 30:4,8 98:17

articulate 169:1

artist 113:21

ASCA 49:7 53:22 132:13 133:20

Asian 3:22

asks 154:7

Asnuntuck 98:10 100:15 101:6

ASP 221:23, 24 222:1, 5,10,12

aspect 60:24 150:6

aspects 56:19 91:7 139:22

asphyxiating 226:1

aspiring 153:24

assault 19:7 46:5 78:13 108:3 159:13

assaulted 75:7 222:22

assaulting 107:19 113:5

assaultive 50:19

assess 76:22

assessing 114:18

assessment 60:13 82:11

assessments 61:4 72:5

assigned 36:8

assignment 105:14 166:13

assist 16:20

assistance 218:16

assistant 22:11 169:16

associate 69:24

association 14:3 16:5 63:11,17, 21,22 132:12 133:17 152:17

assume 93:13 118:16 218:19

assumes 149:21

assuming 95:1 199:13

assurance 58:24

astonishing 228:18

asylum 22:25

Ativan

216:20

atmosphere
195:10

attached
127:9,13

attachments
59:5

attack 74:19
75:19

attacks
25:25
115:2

attempt 57:1
224:25
225:9

attempted
18:22
224:18

attempts
172:4
189:10

attention
20:6 42:17
84:6,10
106:4
124:3

Attica 132:6

attorney
8:21 32:12
33:25
34:10 40:6
43:22 63:4
101:14
179:18
180:7
185:20

attractive
100:4

attributed
96:7
142:18

attributes
64:25
65:24

attuned
164:14

atypical
150:14

audience
40:13
65:23
131:12
236:3

auspices
169:22

author 63:9

authorities
10:8 58:25

authority
82:5 98:20
204:23

autism 31:14

autonomy
172:10

avail 53:7

availability
60:1

avenue 88:9

Avery 4:10

avid 25:16

avoid 53:19

avoiding
67:23

awarded
119:5

aware 55:17
211:10
234:13

awareness
190:10

awful 115:25

awhile 54:7
82:3
102:14
201:11

B

baby 212:17
213:7
232:13

back 20:11
51:4,8
84:8,13,
14,17
85:16
89:24,25
90:10
100:16,22,
25 108:1,2
110:12
122:6,11
128:10
130:3
136:15,21
145:18
147:13
150:23
158:20
160:8
163:6
167:4
168:4
180:9
182:9,20
183:5,23
184:1
190:21
200:18
203:25
204:1,14,
15,18
213:16,20
215:21
216:3,4
219:11
226:19
228:10
234:7

background
39:7 49:2

backgrounds
6:19

bad 23:7
78:11
121:8
129:6
168:2
216:24

217:23
218:20

bag 203:12

bags 203:10

bait 162:10

ban 155:23

Bandy 8:22
22:10

bang 121:16

banging
71:22
117:5
223:24

Bar 63:17,
20,22

Barbara 4:17
7:24 8:12
102:20
112:5,16
116:1
215:2
221:8
236:13

bare 122:22
204:20

barriers
89:21
195:3

barring
179:4

bars 58:23

base 139:1
209:5
211:3
212:18

based 4:24
21:8 51:24
52:25 53:1
54:21 56:2
83:18 97:2
158:6
170:4
171:7
179:2,18
190:7
231:6,15

baseline
140:14
168:25

bashing
223:19

basic 58:23
59:22
84:22
106:1
133:16
153:5

basically
36:15
91:22
119:4
132:4
134:24
136:15
138:18
149:17
229:1

basis 25:13
143:12
201:21
233:14
234:21

bathe 172:14
222:13

bathroom
18:19
109:18

Bay 151:12

bear 101:23

bears 64:3

beat 224:21

beats 49:16

beautiful
181:22

bed 109:19
120:22

beds 38:18

beep 123:18

beeped 122:1

began 24:14
220:22
221:17

begin 29:13
98:25
132:23
220:21
226:2

beginning
88:21
142:23
144:14
145:14
164:7
170:22

behalf 11:11
221:13

behaves
36:20

behavior
13:15
14:10,11
18:4,11
19:5 20:23
24:17
27:22 28:9
39:15
72:18 77:5
78:13
85:15
105:10
113:3
125:12
143:15
176:25
177:1
178:19
179:2
209:12
217:18
229:20

behavioral
28:6 43:9
58:22 60:6
171:5
194:4

behaviors
14:2,3,7
29:8 75:21

175:1
176:5

beings 23:12
47:9 89:11
154:3
158:22
203:17
221:2

believer
50:14

believes
19:21

belong
116:13

benchmark
141:10

beneficiary
100:8

benefit 53:7
166:10

benefits
9:18 93:6

bereft 58:23

Bernardi
102:23
116:3
128:16
130:23
209:1,4
210:23
215:1

Bethany 4:9

BHATT 3:21

bias 30:2
179:24
180:2

biasly
104:18

big 86:21
87:17
97:21
130:14
165:19
180:3
192:6

biggest
72:12

billion
33:10

bills 203:14

bipartisan
4:21

bird's-eye
166:11

birthday
113:1
181:24,25

bit 36:11
40:7 49:21
86:23 98:6
128:9
131:6,19
133:4
135:7
146:8,17,
18 149:25
154:16
164:11
166:1
186:4
194:24
196:25
198:5

bizarre
169:2

BJS 158:10

black 141:15
154:14

Blame 183:14

blank 114:13
219:20

blanket
121:18

bleeding
18:25

blind 60:23

bliss 224:6

block 121:19
181:4,5
182:3
184:9,13,
17 185:10
219:23

blood 74:18
218:8,12
224:6,14,
17 225:24

blue 116:7,
9

blurred
190:12

board 22:21
128:25
152:22

boasts 49:13

bodies 56:6
119:20

bodily 19:7

body 114:9

Bohor 4:17

boiling
122:16

Boise 153:20

bond 107:7

bones 204:20

book 139:9
144:21

Booker
151:25

books 35:25
108:17
110:21,22,
23 133:9
134:16
137:25

boom 223:25
224:2

bored 99:19

borrow 77:23

borrowed
98:15

bothered
51:7

bottle 147:23 148:1

bottled 189:6

bound 17:21 19:9 183:25

boundaries 127:14

Bourn 169:13,15, 16 180:7, 11 185:20, 24 186:7 187:3,7,25 188:7 190:13 191:23 193:14 194:1 195:1,20 206:8

box 88:6 214:12,13

boy 34:20

boys 16:13 18:9,12 30:23 31:10,25 40:24 44:23,25 45:5,8

brain 23:14, 16 27:18 86:4 123:16

brains 27:7, 13

Branch 15:20 41:4

brand 185:4

bravado 47:15

brave 125:23

break 6:24 47:25 48:13 130:1 164:3 166:1 169:6 205:18

breakdown 115:5

breakfast 210:8,12

breast 114:21

breath 182:11

breathe 198:25

breathing 216:14

breeds 65:1 105:5 124:8

brick 128:15 201:5

bridge 192:5

Bridgeport 71:6

briefing 7:3,4

briefly 18:5 28:17 63:24 131:24 149:24 195:25 227:7

bring 29:15 79:9 91:15 97:17 99:4 151:3,15 206:3

bringing 35:6 153:23

brings 184:17

broad 9:14 10:8 165:1 167:20

broke 18:15 181:3,12

broken 57:2 64:12 113:23

brother 110:2,8 126:8,20 127:21 230:4 235:20

brother's 105:17 106:9

brought 28:18 44:20 63:7 67:12 86:9 122:19 160:21 209:7 215:20

budget 86:18 89:23 90:5

build 92:14

building 117:8 129:10 153:19 195:11 201:13 203:15

built 38:3, 11 93:5

bullet 138:11

bunch 102:25 134:11 139:7

bunkbed 223:7

Bureau 152:6 158:9 159:1

burnout 129:13

bus 143:20

buses 209:17

busy 72:4 74:25

button 134:19

buzzing 174:16

buzzword 144:3

C

cage 113:4 199:8,9,16 204:2 220:18

caged 114:7 144:21 174:22 216:10

cages 184:15

caging 115:11 116:22

California 22:16 26:8 38:22 134:10 142:10 143:11 151:12

call 49:12 78:23 91:4 96:1 107:12 108:19 123:3,12 125:2 129:20 134:10 136:8,9 139:12 145:19 147:5,19 155:8,14 159:18 182:1 210:8 212:4,22

called 7:19 12:19 14:14 28:15 34:8 40:24,25 46:13 67:19 117:19 118:2 122:20 125:2 134:8 135:14 144:5,21 145:19 149:16 151:12 153:12 158:18 166:13 175:11 205:20 220:6 221:23 227:19 234:20

calling 34:1 73:19 123:7 174:14

calls 121:13 139:8,17 140:7 183:3 222:9

calm 20:10

calmer 159:7

camp 211:6

candor 54:10

cap 209:16

capable 80:7

capacity 118:8 140:16 204:5 232:19

capital 151:1

capping 16:15

capture 138:7

cardiovascular 114:23

care 9:17 10:1,24 20:6 32:25 54:21 55:18 56:7 58:14,20, 21 59:8,20 60:23 74:17 76:19 77:10 90:22 114:14 125:5,6 136:8 161:10 183:16 219:13 223:21 236:15

careful 90:13 155:11 198:21

cares 19:22 221:3

carry 62:17 108:15

carrying 109:1

carved 58:20

case 19:12 41:6 52:5 72:21 75:22 95:2 105:9,17 126:24 145:23 150:2 151:8 163:21 194:19 211:2,3 212:21

cases 46:12 78:1 88:15,25 93:18 105:18 148:16

Casey 14:23

catch 121:18 125:16 213:14 214:4

category 36:25 149:7 187:14

caught 131:19

caused 72:20 105:10 115:5

causing 25:11 115:12 148:25

caution 87:19

cavity 222:11 225:14

CDOC 222:21,22, 23,25 223:1

ceasing 28:25

cell 12:11 18:18,21, 22,24 19:2,4,13, 16 65:8 73:3 87:15 88:1,15 89:4,9 104:12 107:17 108:1,16, 21 109:4, 12,21 110:1 111:4,17 116:9,23 121:21 122:3,4,21 124:2 134:14 144:2 153:1 172:7,13 174:2,16 178:5 181:12,19 183:4,13 192:13,25 199:25 200:1,16, 19 216:8 222:2,9,16 223:5,6,7, 11,14,20 224:15,20, 22 225:21

cellblock 223:5

cellmate 123:18

cells 12:15 24:14 26:21 38:2 56:22 75:19 106:3 110:24 120:2 136:10 140:11 143:4 150:7 194:3 197:13,15 200:1 222:7

center 5:11 71:6 100:17 196:2 201:3 202:2 216:14

centers 25:7 98:12

central 23:21 62:3

CEOS 133:18

certification 97:16

CGSA 119:2

chain 213:15,21

chained 114:6

chains 104:11 224:24

chair 3:4,10 132:8

chaired 63:11

Chairman 42:22 46:23 54:11 81:11 164:6

chairs 87:22 88:7

challenge 141:25 161:10

challenged 50:11

challenges 62:4 131:21 142:6

challenging 91:10,15 140:17

chance 110:6,21 146:12 162:25

change 11:20 25:12 79:8 94:11,21 100:14 122:10 128:10 153:7,22 155:16,17 156:25 157:10 160:3,10 161:12 163:9 227:12 229:20

changed 95:10,16 152:5 169:3 193:24 227:5 234:14

changing 41:22 42:3 152:11

chaos 52:4 225:22

chaotic 74:25

characteristics 188:5

characterize 138:10

characterized 89:3

charge 36:5 46:2

charged 44:18 45:15 46:2,4 107:6 150:20 222:24

charges 28:19 228:7

Charles 25:15 64:9

chart 139:9

check 201:21

checkboxes 71:9

checked 17:4

checkoff 157:4

checks 13:20 192:12

cheerful 142:13

chess 109:10

chicken 191:3

chief 66:13

child 8:22, 25 9:9,12, 19,23,24 11:11,13 16:21 80:22 115:7

child-specific 10:9 11:10

childcare 10:23

children 9:13,16, 23,25 10:1,22 11:3,7 13:16 14:23 15:7 16:11 17:23 30:22,23 31:9,11, 12,14,20 32:1 35:12 39:12 40:23 41:7,8 42:9 112:20 114:15 129:15

choice 90:3 215:16

choose 106:25

chose 196:22

chosen 38:19

chow 117:3

Chris 3:19

Christian 103:9

chronic 107:13 109:23

Chutes 234:5

CI 101:13 103:15

circular 166:15 195:6

circularity 166:16

circumstance 172:11

circumstances 26:3 47:3 50:17 51:9,13 75:6 83:3 85:21

134:25
167:19
170:10
178:16
186:5,8,
11,13,20
207:6
235:15

circus
197:23

cite 159:2

cited 5:12
135:11

cities 29:3

citizen 11:8
200:10

citizens
101:8
115:11

city 4:11
9:5 22:21
37:3 39:5
54:25 55:3
57:6 63:5,
8 92:13

City's 63:9

civil 3:5
4:20 5:2,5
6:17 87:1
112:7
145:14
153:6,8

civilian
100:14

civilized
37:23
146:20
162:13
235:21

CJTS 40:8,
12 41:7
45:8,13
205:4,10

claim 39:25
115:9
149:8
153:24
235:14

claims 149:5
235:1

Claire
221:9,12
226:13

clamped
222:14

clarify
46:11
128:1

class 93:7
160:7
186:16

classes 6:6
30:1 95:7
186:10

classic
88:20

classification
94:16
144:11
171:1
186:8
189:20

classified
104:18
141:23
222:20

classify
179:1

clean 121:3

cleaned
120:23

cleaner
202:2

clear 42:1
53:24
72:21
118:3
136:24
142:17
198:9
209:9
231:1

clearance
74:24

clearer
23:10

Clemens
160:20

Clemens's
161:2

client
227:17

client's
175:19

clients
44:11
101:14
170:7,17
171:3
172:3,20
173:1,21
174:12,18
175:2,9
176:19
177:2,9,
12,21
179:11,20
186:16
187:8,17
188:9
190:4,24
191:11,17
192:7
193:23
194:12

clinic 166:2
226:25

clinical
19:12
20:20
22:11
57:19,21
60:18,23
61:8
112:17
130:6
219:3

clinician
19:15

20:5,9 70:5

clock 18:15

close 25:12 66:7 69:2 81:8 125:4 127:6 153:17 193:21 199:5

closed 73:15 124:7 181:13 193:25 194:11 210:23,25

closer 99:3 122:9 154:16,18

closest 198:6

closing 61:24

closure 40:9 42:8,10 205:4

clothes 19:4 100:14 185:2 211:20

clothing 18:23

cloud 109:16

club 205:24

clunking 121:22

clutches 122:11

CM 210:19, 20,23

co-drafted 22:20

cochair 63:21

code 205:19

codefendants 212:24

codified 165:24 227:10

codifies 68:5

codify 168:8

Cogentin 216:20

cognitive 25:25 43:9 66:22 171:18

coin 198:13

collaborate 96:12

collaborative 11:20

colleague 46:17 51:12 142:7,12 164:19

colleagues 26:5 49:8 53:22 71:13,18 82:4 83:24 90:7 91:12

collect 4:22 182:1

collecting 31:1

collectively 25:4

college 91:14 98:9 100:10,15

colloquium 67:11

color 4:25 29:24 30:23,24 31:10,20, 25 32:9 45:5 115:23 141:8 149:13 184:3

Colorado 143:9,21 144:7 151:23 159:25 160:11,12, 18

colorful 202:2

combat 39:16,17

comfortable 192:20 233:4

command 213:15

commenced 3:1

commend 61:24 63:19

comment 130:18 164:6,8, 17,21 177:20 225:12

commentary 132:14

comments 7:25 52:21 169:20,24 170:7 175:15 227:8

commission 3:5 4:20 5:4 8:12 54:12 61:25

112:7
131:15
145:15
153:6
168:5
226:20

commission's 4:18

commissioner 48:18,25
55:13
56:17
62:16 66:1
67:9,21
68:22
69:3,9
79:4 81:11
84:21
87:10
89:8,16
94:1 95:5
97:24
101:12
125:10
132:14,17
136:3
157:3
168:21
170:3,25
173:11
194:6
207:13
210:14
214:1,6
215:24
218:17

commissioners 6:8

commissioners's 157:4

commit 26:10
186:11
203:23
229:8

commitment 56:12,17
62:10

commitments 131:19

committed 16:15
20:17
40:18,20
41:21
42:6,8
46:7
128:19,20
161:12
170:9
182:24
203:18
208:6
228:14,16

committee 3:5,11,23
5:7,21
6:23 7:18
21:4 27:1
29:18
33:19
40:13 95:6
102:2
106:11
125:21
126:6
131:15
151:6
180:16
185:15
186:1
236:10

committee's 14:18
17:17

Committees 5:5

committing 20:19

common 56:25
65:6
122:13
175:25

commonly 26:17
82:18

commonsense 80:17
100:24

communicated 109:10

communicating 183:22
185:7

communication 118:5

communities 100:22
204:1,16

communities' 225:16

community 19:20,25
29:2 59:16
84:8,12,15
92:19
100:10,15
126:13
143:20
144:1
161:2
172:24
173:3
225:19

community-based 54:22

compare 94:4

compared 36:17
139:2,12
141:9,11
147:15

compelled 226:6

compelling 64:6

compensate 58:25

competencies 97:18

competency 39:1

complete
143:25
155:12

completed
70:16

completely
31:6 167:8
215:12
220:19
223:21

complex 24:2
47:8,9

complexities
66:24 67:2

complexity
64:4

compliance
45:24

compliant
45:15

complicated
94:6

complicating
172:16
176:7

compliment
91:22

components
43:9

compound
117:2

compounded
13:3

comprehensive
20:17
41:20

computer
211:1

concept
82:25

concepts
146:19

concern 59:5
60:6 88:3
218:25

concerned
95:25

concerns
11:8 59:5,
25 60:18
61:14
75:22
77:23
112:10
142:19
152:25
218:18,19
234:2

conclude
7:13
135:22
152:20
178:23

concluded
236:17

conclusion
217:22

conclusions
41:16
149:25

concrete
234:23

concurrence
150:24

concurrent
41:13 42:6
83:4

concurs
36:12

condition
104:10
105:8
118:20
142:1
163:20
225:4

conditioned
199:18,21

conditions
6:1 11:9,
16 12:23
13:23
15:13,17
18:3 20:18
21:11
26:12
35:22
42:4,18
104:4,8
106:3
147:16
148:10
150:14
160:2
163:22
170:11
171:16
175:4,5,12
180:2
186:14
207:7,15
223:17
227:1

condoning
203:22

conduct
26:18
59:18
126:2

conducted
11:9 13:22
86:11

confidence
184:23

confident
184:21

confidentiality 10:10

confined
13:2
21:10,24,
25 26:22
30:11
31:23
64:13
135:9

confinement

5:9,17,20
6:11 11:9,
16,24
12:4,8,10,
14,18,20,
21 13:18,
23 14:13
15:3,14,18
16:7,9
17:5,9,13,
17 18:3
20:18
21:12,21
22:22 23:8
24:13,20,
22 25:10,
19 26:6,14
27:3 28:4,
13 29:5,14
31:20
32:24 36:3
38:1 42:18
46:24
54:15
55:5,11,15
56:1,5,10,
15,19
57:7,11,
15,22
58:5,12
62:2 64:6,
13,14,20,
24 65:4,7,
12,16,24
66:6,9,17,
18,19,20
67:23
68:6,18
70:7,10,
17,21
71:2,5
72:2,8,25
73:13
74:3,9,12
77:1 87:3,
5,14
88:13,22
102:1,17
103:18,23
104:5,14
105:5,24
106:6,13,
14,19,22,
23 107:1,
3,5
112:13,20
116:5,13
117:22,24
129:24
131:25
133:6
134:2,7
135:24
136:7
142:20
143:16
144:23
145:1
147:1,3
148:10
150:24
151:2,7,11
152:2,8
153:25
160:14
161:8,14
169:23
170:2,21
171:4,11,
14 172:1
173:6
174:8,20
176:23
177:6
179:5,9,21
180:19,24
182:22
185:6,18
186:15
187:24
188:17
196:8,20
197:6,10
199:11
202:8,21,
23 203:4
206:14,18
207:1,17
208:2,17
210:5
216:17
220:13,23
221:14,16,
22 225:3
228:4
235:24

confining
15:22

conflict
93:3

conflicted
19:18

conflicts
76:22
196:11

conform
153:21

confused
110:10

confusion
74:22

congregant
89:10

Congress
4:22

connect
129:17

connected
109:19

Connecticut
3:4,10,20,
25 4:1,3,
5,7,9,11,
13,15 5:7,
10,16,19
6:7,14
9:10 11:25
13:24
15:19,20
16:4,12
17:18
22:17
31:18,22
33:13
35:2,15,
19,21,22
40:15 41:3

44:21 45:4 49:1,5,13 50:4 52:1, 18 53:11 54:17 55:14,20 62:1,7 70:4 84:10 94:7 98:19 101:23 102:1 103:23 106:14 112:8,14, 18 119:2 132:16,19 133:2 139:13 142:9 143:9,17, 21 154:15 161:14 164:12,21 165:6,9,22 168:20 171:12 173:14 186:18 194:14 197:9 205:5 206:23 207:22 232:9

Connecticut's 5:15 91:11 138:1 164:13 221:21

Connecticut-specific 165:11

consensus 67:15,18

consent 17:16

consequence 60:16

consequences 28:8 56:2 61:9 113:14

consideration 14:19 17:18 103:21 208:12

considered 43:19 46:25 75:1 222:21

consist 199:3

consistent 99:23 172:3

consisting 25:3,23

consolidated 91:20

constitute 60:21 65:25

constitutes 153:15 186:4

Constitution 4:24 145:10 146:23 149:20,21

constitutional 65:18 88:18 149:16 151:9

constraints 7:12

construct 156:7,8 157:19

construction 23:22 117:9,10

consultant 41:15 70:9

consulted 22:17

consumer 80:15 85:10

consumption 59:19

contact 27:15,17 106:3 118:4 126:15 127:2,19 139:16,20 143:5 150:10 162:11 173:3 175:23 180:25 187:10,14, 15 197:20 202:13 203:2 208:3

contacts 127:17 187:5

containment 26:23

contemporary 146:19

contend 61:20

content 50:12 83:15,22 119:19

contest 233:22

context 31:17 58:11

contingencies 147:20

contingency 148:8

contingent 147:20

continue 21:4 22:4 27:13 74:8 105:17 204:7 220:9

continued 19:3 161:1

continues 45:6 214:4

continuing 42:17 227:6

continuous 15:7

continuum 134:1 138:24

contraband 19:7 222:24

contract 40:25

contracted 41:14

contraindication 71:10, 11,15

contrary 28:23 64:21

contrast 135:5

contributed 18:10 84:18

contributes 66:13 177:1

contributing 151:23

contributions 54:19

control 24:16 28:6 38:5 45:24 61:10 117:21 118:7 121:9 172:10,12 184:4

controlled 150:6

controversial 8:6

convalescent 123:17

convene 164:3

conversate 199:6

conversation 35:4 67:14 142:21 148:21 176:13 183:15 193:1 196:23 204:8

conversations 227:3 231:15,18

converted 186:19

convicted 40:20 107:5 113:7 158:13 170:9 186:12

convince 120:5

cool 118:10

cool-off 83:2

cooling 231:25

cooperate 75:7

cope 107:8

copies 134:17

coping 115:14,17

copyrighted 185:4

core 198:22

Corgel 3:19, 20 37:9 92:3

Cornell 65:22

correct 44:14,16

correction 6:8 17:21 20:24 32:18 38:24 40:21 45:14 48:19,25 49:3 70:4 87:11 89:14 91:5 106:22 107:19 108:15 109:16 127:5 174:9,24 182:19 200:24 201:8 207:14

correctional 10:15 11:17 13:24 14:25

15:16
16:5,13
17:24 18:8
31:18 32:2
33:6 35:15
39:6
40:16,23
44:15 45:9
50:2 51:6,
17 52:12
56:11
57:20
58:19,20
60:9,11,14
63:11 70:8
71:6
75:12,16
76:2,7
78:17
80:9,19
82:19 85:2
99:12
102:13
103:10
104:13
107:21
109:23,25
117:22
119:16
124:14,19
132:13
133:17
139:16
152:16
155:3
157:12
160:21
161:1,16,
20 166:4
171:7
195:15
216:7
217:5
221:17
231:16,18

corrections
17:2 22:21
30:21
31:24
32:14,17
38:21
45:12
46:10 49:2
62:13
67:12 69:9
75:4 86:21
87:8 91:5
112:15
113:25
117:25
154:24
168:1,7
225:5
227:4

correlating
84:24

correlation
157:24
159:4,6

Corrigan
105:12
115:18

corroborates
197:2

Cory 151:25

COS 108:20
111:12
174:6
175:21
177:25
178:6
183:9
192:13
198:14
205:23

cosmetics
228:9

cost 33:10
57:16

could/maybe
170:13

counseling
73:5

counselor
111:7

count 120:10
140:4
210:18,19

counted
156:20

counterparts
141:17

counterproductive 230:23

countless
112:10
115:16

countries
37:23

country 12:9
13:15 25:3
27:4 28:14
36:14
37:16,22
49:14 54:1
63:13
64:23
71:25 76:7
78:8 87:20
88:4 91:13
92:22
104:2
135:25
155:4
156:11
165:3
228:4
231:17

counts
143:15

county 37:3

couple 17:8
18:5 44:17
69:5 92:16
104:6
106:19
136:1

Coupled
82:10

courage 75:3

Courant
29:22

court 7:6

15:20 41:4 110:5,12 135:12 146:15 150:2,3,13 151:8 162:4 221:9

Court's 186:18

courts 151:11

cover 14:9

coverage 7:5

covered 15:4

crafting 77:3

crazy 18:18 200:17 210:2 219:23

create 9:2 20:25 53:4,5 60:22 161:10

created 9:11 36:19 186:8

creates 52:22 60:16

creating 85:13 99:14

creation 9:21 56:4

creative 113:21

creatures 64:19

credentials 61:8 219:18

credible 115:7

credit 95:18 98:15

cries 224:19

crime 66:15 107:6 114:1 128:19,20 182:25 189:20 203:23 208:6 211:8,9

crimes 148:6 170:8 203:18 228:14,16

criminal 46:2 70:2 93:19 132:18 148:5 156:9

criminality 190:7

crisis 15:8 19:5,11 63:8 78:8, 19 122:16 123:3 219:13

criteria 5:23 12:17 82:13 143:2,3

critical 24:1,4 54:14 55:4 56:18 60:10,24 61:2 69:18 227:13 229:10

criticisms 33:4

crowds 111:22

cruel 147:4, 15,25 153:15

crunch 89:23

Cruz 180:17,18, 21

cry 223:24

crying 115:2 217:17 219:25

cuffed 122:18

culturally 58:14

culture 36:13 39:11 45:23 47:16 69:7,8 79:8,16 101:15 124:8 189:24

curious 94:2 157:22 159:24 190:3 206:12

current 38:17 40:7 74:8 76:25 103:22 225:15,16 235:1

curriculum 225:15

custodial 61:7 62:3 93:3,4

custody 9:25 16:9 40:19,20 55:18

97:18
112:14
114:17
134:9
158:18
186:6
194:3

cut 18:15
75:18 90:4
93:7,8
130:16

cutoff 87:11

cutting
71:21
108:14
172:5
226:1

Cybulski
52:10
98:12

cycle 121:24
184:12
185:13

cyclical
162:24

cysts 148:16

D

D.C. 4:18
236:13

dad 159:20

daily 91:6

Dakota 144:9

damage 24:8
27:6
123:16

damaged
188:20

damaging
24:16
27:10

danger 17:20
69:12

dangerous
26:15 28:7
38:4 47:19
68:13
116:12,14
157:13
171:6
180:2,4,6
192:18
196:20
222:21

Dannel 42:7

Dannemore
88:16

dark 153:1
173:16
201:5

darkest
68:24

darkly 117:6

data 11:18
30:1 31:1
32:7 44:3
45:19
52:15 66:7
87:18
136:18
137:22
138:16,17
140:22
141:7,17
142:2
158:6,23
159:2
162:16
163:4
165:14

data-driven
6:9

daughter's
181:24

daughters
181:22
182:4,11
184:23

David 3:3
231:4

day 29:12
56:22
71:24 75:1
87:16
88:7,14,
17,24 89:4
104:12
110:5
113:4
116:7,9
120:14
129:11
144:14
145:1
152:3
156:2
157:5
161:8
163:13
178:2,5
179:19
181:14,24
182:2
199:12
201:3
211:21
212:15
213:20
215:21
216:10
219:25
222:17,18

day-to-day
74:4

daycare 9:18

dayroom
174:1

days 18:18
19:9 20:13
27:2 46:25
67:13 71:5
83:2,11,
12,18 89:2
100:11
103:1
107:1
113:12
120:18,19
135:19
136:8

140:16
152:10
153:14
157:8
163:6
168:15
203:5,7
210:13
213:15,16,
22,23
221:25
223:4,10
231:14

days-long
225:2

DCF 211:11

de 25:16

de-normalize
144:10

dead 117:3
122:3
191:10
213:24
228:22

deal 39:2
44:10
47:15
49:10 81:2
88:11
129:3
154:8
187:21
189:9
200:25
204:2
207:23
213:12
229:15

dealing
50:18
85:21
97:11
192:3

deals 97:8

dealt 42:25
51:2

death 9:12
57:17
94:2,3,6
108:6
129:10
134:15
169:21
170:17
171:4,8
173:18
186:17,19,
24 190:15
206:13,17,
24 207:5,
18

debate 72:17

debrief
236:11

decade 5:19
142:22

decades 27:5
92:20
114:4
162:9

December
41:12
221:20
223:3

decency
64:23 67:6
103:20
146:19

decent
124:20

decide 76:17
146:10
178:6

decision
57:25
60:18 83:8
97:2
135:12
146:14
150:4
155:15
156:3
157:6
180:1
186:18
212:18

decision-making 82:5

decisions
56:7 72:2
115:23
156:5
200:11

declare
226:6

declares
27:2

decompensate
187:21

decompensation
188:8

decrease
5:16
227:15
229:1

decrees
17:16

dedicated
51:5 52:13
76:13
98:13
166:5
222:3

dedicated-security
135:15

deemed 26:15
171:5,6
180:20

deep 55:12
56:10
121:12
137:12
142:6
143:19
198:1

deep-seated
93:20

deeper
42:15,16

deepest 200:22

deeply 112:4 143:23 148:16 211:21

defamed 8:7, 10

default 69:15

defender 169:16

defender's 169:7,13, 17

defenders 23:1 206:8

defense 173:2

defensive 218:16

defer 146:7

deficiency 117:16 167:16

deficits 25:25

define 12:3 57:2 87:11 88:24 142:1 170:20

definition 12:7 88:20

definitions 15:4

definitively 135:10

degradation 155:23

degrade 156:4

degraded 8:7,10

degree 38:25 49:5 228:7

degrees 91:14

dehumanize 204:4

Delaviez 4:17

Delaware 51:16

delegatee 157:4

deliberate 113:16

delinquent 40:17

deliver 59:7

delivered 73:2

delivery 21:5 41:15 60:14 191:16,22

delusions 73:10

demands 93:19

demographics 140:18

demonstrates 74:2

denial 4:23 13:5 106:4

denied 223:21

denouncing 25:17

deodorant 121:5

Depakote 216:19

department 9:13 10:21 13:10,14 16:11,17, 22 17:6, 14,21,22 20:24 21:23 40:21,22 41:7,14,20 42:5,9 46:7 48:18 55:9 70:4, 13 91:4 112:14 113:25 117:24 152:4 168:6 227:3,23 228:25

Departmental 227:10

depend 170:20

depending 7:18 47:25 114:18

depends 47:10 139:10,13

depravation 162:10 163:11

depressed 111:20 122:14 223:22

depression 25:20 74:21 111:1,20 115:2 121:12 181:7,14 189:13 219:5 220:17

deprivation

24:3,6,7 35:12 117:14,19 118:2,6 145:8 148:2 155:22 157:19 158:17 225:18 235:11

deprivations 235:8,25

deprive 121:10 155:25

deprived 27:8,15 35:24,25 118:3 119:23 150:9

deprives 119:19

depriving 148:9

depth 18:12 145:8

deputy 217:6 218:17

describe 24:5 131:24 132:3 150:4 203:6

describing 142:3

description 145:7 150:12

descriptions 136:14

deserve 103:20 127:16 128:20,21 219:25

design 185:2 194:22 195:4

designated 126:24 132:18 190:25 192:18 211:1

designed 105:21 195:4 229:18

designs 185:3

desire 29:16 72:19 77:17

desk 87:24, 25 109:20

desks 88:4

despair 176:18

desperate 122:23

desperately 114:14

despondency 21:17 22:3 176:18

destroy 219:22

destroyed 222:25

destructive 29:7 47:24 221:18

detached 104:4

detail 165:13

detailed 6:10 152:1

details 176:14 202:24

detained 13:17

detention 14:22,25 15:21 25:7 41:6 55:10 127:8 137:1

deter 123:8

deteriorated 229:23

deteriorating 72:20

determinations 82:15

determine 6:14 67:14 170:25 188:3

determined 146:2

detrimental 173:5

devastating 230:19

develop 73:13 90:1

developed 28:12 36:13 57:21 61:16 76:4

developing 27:7,18 62:16 76:8 139:23 160:5

development 5:2 23:14, 16 27:9 55:7 86:4

developmental 31:11,15 66:21

devoted 113:21

diabetes 114:22 218:3

diagnosable 13:3

diagnosed 141:23 214:16

diagnosis 114:18 130:9

dialogue 130:19

Dickens 25:16 64:9,16

dictate 50:12 83:22 94:17

dictated 50:10 86:18

dictates 53:14

die 20:1 206:14,19, 20 207:25

died 65:12 212:11 213:1

difference 101:15 120:19 130:14 213:5

differences 34:4

differently 76:16 142:1 186:5 213:6

difficult 3:13 24:4 47:21 57:5 65:2 175:5 177:15 178:15 181:9 185:5 188:1,23 234:9

difficulty 36:2 114:21 163:22 175:16

digest 200:8

dignity 3:15 8:9 64:23 146:20 226:10

dilemma 94:11

diluted 200:6

dimension 80:8

diminished 113:24

direct 23:1 96:13 106:24 107:9 111:16 113:1 146:11 147:6,11 158:24 169:24 216:6

directed 142:11 179:14 189:3

direction 78:2 95:21 98:18 145:18 234:22

directly 22:1 101:25 143:24 147:10 160:23 166:23 225:20

director 160:21,25 161:2

directors 136:18 161:17,24

dirty 120:22 121:10 122:21,22

disabilities 10:1 13:4 30:22,24 31:2,9,12, 15 66:22 144:22 145:11 171:18,19

disability 4:25 29:24 93:8,15

disabled 158:2 163:25 171:17

disabling 115:8 138:8 148:11,25 156:4 163:20

disappeared 110:15

discharge 60:7

discharged

5:24 45:11

disciplinary
16:9 30:19
75:8 96:10
103:15
113:2
134:10
162:6
228:24
230:12

discipline
53:1
76:15,25
156:24
157:1
160:7

disconnect
56:25

disconnected
215:12

discontinued
118:19

discontinuing
179:7
193:21
217:25

discrepancy
39:12

discretion
127:10
135:4
170:24
178:25
179:21,22
207:13

discrimination
4:23
149:14

discuss
133:3

discussed
41:13
70:24
149:2

discussing
167:8
206:11

discussion
5:8 9:2
11:6,22
50:22
53:10,21,
23 54:20
81:20
90:12
138:2

discussions
81:16

disease
114:23

disguised
117:25

disheartened
196:9

dislocation
159:11

dismantle
211:24

disobeying
106:23
107:9
216:6

disorder
13:3 43:18
219:6

disorders
31:15
43:13

disorientation
28:9

disorienting
195:5

disparities
5:25 32:14
57:25
58:15
92:11,18
93:21
154:18
156:14

disparity
29:22
156:23
179:23

display
197:23

disproportionate 24:12
31:20
37:14 44:6
92:9
147:24
148:25
149:12,13

disproportionately 6:15
30:18,22
31:10,11
45:5 92:5
115:22

disregarded
218:20

disruptive
24:16
39:15
232:13

disservice
198:8

distinction
68:16
88:23

distinctions
140:20

distinguished
62:25

distinguishing
87:4

distress
217:19,20

distributed
9:4 141:13

district
82:6,7
162:4

districts
31:3

diverse
47:10

diverted 96:14

Division 15:21 22:24 41:5

DOC 55:14 62:7 87:7 94:3 95:9 170:25 178:21 179:1 205:12 215:24

DOCK 207:9

doctor 65:13 68:20 86:4 118:19

doctor's 90:10

doctors 87:10 138:9 149:1

documentary 177:5 188:25

documentation 155:8

documented 16:2

documents 21:14

DOJ 15:13

dollars 33:11 225:17

doom 108:19

doomed 69:1

door 19:3 109:17 111:7 116:10,18 119:22 120:24 121:1,16 160:24 181:12 192:13,25 212:15 214:17 223:20

doors 124:2 195:2 214:15

dormitory 28:19,20, 24 195:9

double 128:22 136:9

doubt 55:25

Doug 4:15 29:20 89:15 128:6 159:16 189:17

dozen 233:1

drag 108:21

dragging 108:1

dramatic 45:3 84:23 160:10

dramatically 44:20 57:23 142:22

dreadful 64:16

dreams 226:6

drill 134:15 156:18

drive 81:6

driven 62:5 79:22 86:6,7 97:19

driving 209:17 216:2

drooling 114:10

dropped 5:20

drops 161:13,15

drove 209:19

drug 114:4 118:12,23 157:24 189:23 190:16

drug-free 115:14

drugged 114:7

drugs 218:4 219:19 220:10

dryer 121:22,23, 24 122:22

dual 56:13 60:13,19 61:5,11, 13,17,20, 22

dude 183:14

due 26:13 81:17 149:16,22 150:16 216:6 228:10 232:25 233:5 235:7

DUI 99:10

dumbing 219:7

dungeon 153:1

duration 24:2 59:12 140:8,9

221:25
231:4,23

Durbin
151:25

dust 122:21

dying 122:9
213:8

dynamic
174:9

dynamics
36:5 69:14

dysfunction
114:22

E

e-mail 127:5

e-mailing
236:7

Eagan 8:21, 24,25 18:1 29:20 30:3,7,12, 15 32:12, 16 34:10 40:6,14 43:22 44:2,16 46:15

earlier
27:10
36:11 38:8
41:10
50:22
51:12
53:22
72:11
74:10
104:9
127:14
143:18
162:18
174:6,13
178:18
179:4,19
189:8
190:23
193:19
206:9
214:13
224:8

early 50:1
88:15
177:25
210:6

earn 191:14

ease 101:21

east 4:6
134:21

eastern 4:18

easy 121:14
134:20
167:6
205:3
230:16

eat 203:8, 12

eating
225:24

echo 81:11

edge 151:3

educate
85:15
97:14

educated
74:11

educating
129:13

education
9:18 39:8
74:22

educational
11:12

effect
171:15
173:5
181:20
200:6
218:4
229:4,6

effective
28:11
55:16
128:12
232:22

effectively
186:15,19

effects
13:7,11
24:3,5
27:10,20
48:8 70:7, 17 74:12
114:20
171:24,25
216:24

effectuates
46:17

efficacy
9:15

effort 79:13
143:1

efforts 5:15
20:25
56:16
79:15
132:20
136:4
144:2
161:4
185:16
234:20

egg 191:3

eight-hour
201:12

Eighth
146:22
147:3,5, 11,19
148:8,20
149:5
235:14

elaborate
29:25
126:6

elderly
66:18

elected
169:8

electronic 61:1
eligibility 5:23
eligible 60:3
eliminate 98:2 160:6
elimination 55:5
eloquently 64:3
embarked 58:12
embarrassed 160:15
embrace 64:22 83:1 98:20 126:23 127:2
embraced 147:18
emerged 67:18
emergencies 31:5
emerging 14:17
emotion 189:5,6
emotional 57:4 127:4 224:5
emotionally 27:16
emotions 114:11
emphasis 49:22
emphasize 23:11 58:18 165:15
employe 222:22
employed 15:19
employee 46:5
empowered 56:7
empty 200:1
enact 68:11
enacted 68:5 160:1
enactment 63:18
encounters 57:19
encourage 125:4 176:25 178:19,20 232:15
encouraged 5:21 20:5
encourages 174:23
end 19:25 20:5 42:15,16 53:5 54:4 73:22 82:24 86:18 103:3 104:12 112:20,23 132:10 138:10 143:10 152:1 160:8 162:7 173:19 191:11 216:16 223:10 225:9 227:7 228:22 229:19
ended 95:16 117:9,10 129:15 190:17 216:5 228:11,22
ending 16:25 67:19 82:25
endorse 69:4
endowed 10:7
ends 5:25 149:12 161:4
endure 113:10 115:7 152:15 222:10,19
enduring 73:21
enforce 5:3
enforced 119:3
enforcement 46:12 73:20
enforcing 104:16
engage 26:7 29:7 62:5 66:24 67:1 72:16
engaged 14:7,9 20:25 28:20 41:14 42:12
engagement 29:14 61:21 85:13

87:21,25
88:8 92:21

engaging
19:6 20:14
77:6 78:13
90:20

engraved
27:18

enjoying
156:1

enlargement
114:21

enormous
144:24
149:4
160:12

enormously
137:12
140:17

ensure 20:21
54:15 56:7

enter 58:9
104:25
108:8

entered 19:2
113:25
181:11
182:19
230:4

entire 28:24
55:14 59:7
62:7 86:17
100:5
212:12

entities
37:18

entitled
119:5
153:5

entry 143:2

enveloped
226:7

envious
55:21

environment
12:25
52:2,12
53:6,15
62:13
73:15,22
75:13
84:4,11,13
85:8,9
95:4 96:3
99:5,15
100:5
174:21
175:6
200:3,13

environmental
150:9
225:13

environments
69:15

epidemiologist
54:24

equal 4:23
149:10

equality
149:8
226:9

equally
141:13

equate
163:19

equipped
37:6

era 145:14

Eric 4:6

erosion
56:11
60:22

erratic 28:9

errors 61:10

escalate
19:3

escalation
189:24

escape
222:24

escort 57:20

escorted
20:11

escorting
111:13

essence
50:16
51:25 52:3
80:4 82:5,
19 94:9

essential
68:4

essentially
64:1
169:23
207:8

Essex 4:4

establish
53:13 59:1

established
4:22 5:4

establishing
14:24
55:16

estimate
25:9 57:18
222:15

estimation
87:10

etcetera 5:3
161:21

ethical
76:23

ethnic 92:21
93:20

ethnicity
56:3
141:8,14
155:10

Europe 153:8

evaluate
15:17
41:15 60:8

evaluated 34:4 207:8

evaluation 15:10 226:3

Evelyn 4:17 7:24 8:12 236:13

event 16:2 83:5 146:11

eventually 202:19 207:4

everybody's 138:5 142:3 204:9 209:12

evidence 33:18 54:20 79:1 157:9 233:23

evidence-based 15:15 56:5 60:2 62:2 90:14,22

evident 25:11 92:12

evil 109:25

exacerbate 173:5 175:5

exacerbated 189:13,14 220:24 225:3

exacerbates 66:11

exacerbations 56:24

examination 13:14

examined 13:22

examining 92:11

examples 33:22 71:14 134:17 143:8,16 151:20 174:25

exceed 146:1

excellent 40:15 48:11

exception 94:22

exceptional 23:23

excess 57:19

exchanges 73:18

excluded 43:14

excluding 29:23

exclusive 193:12

excuse 143:22 180:20

excused 113:15

exempted 59:15

exercise 106:1 110:18 135:4 222:9

exhaustive 8:4

exigent 51:8

exist 75:25 82:9 104:7 164:16 166:6 235:1

existence 170:4 173:22

exists 74:1 117:24

exit 45:8 144:13,15 222:9 230:15,16 234:3,4

expect 7:5 8:8 39:24 225:22 232:10

expectancy 114:24

expectations 47:17

expected 43:11

expensive 28:5 33:7

experience 23:25 31:13 47:21,23 49:5 54:24 57:10 58:5 71:25 77:13,20 99:16 106:18 111:25 112:4 114:8 115:1 116:20 126:7 128:10 144:24 171:25 172:2 178:10 187:17

190:4,24
196:1,8
200:21
217:23
235:22

experienced
57:15
114:5
172:15
174:12,19
191:12
226:22

experiences
27:16
103:13

experiencing
112:22
176:5
188:21
193:6
198:18,20
217:9,20

experiment
124:11,12,
13,15,17

experimental
25:12

expert 55:9
59:17 70:9
164:20

expertise
77:2

experts
113:11
142:12
205:7
214:23

explain
44:12
71:12
81:22
132:3

explained
17:13
153:20
217:2,14

explaining
70:20
188:19

exploited
118:12

explore 6:2

explored
53:10

exponentially
36:15
190:6

expose 36:6

exposed
27:15,21

exposure
56:24 71:5

express
55:12
191:20
199:19

expressions
20:3

extended
90:8
101:10

extensive
18:3 55:7

extent
153:10
155:21
164:17
165:6
201:15

external
56:6 59:16
68:25

extra 123:21
144:24
210:11

extraction
224:20

extraordinarily 50:19
85:17
178:15

extraordinary
33:7

extrapolate
135:21

extreme 25:5
26:12
67:20
68:15
88:23
150:8
228:3
229:5
232:3
235:13,19,
24

extremely
27:13
33:16
167:18
231:20

eye 60:23
197:20
208:5

eyes 167:15
218:2

F

face 30:14
115:10
155:5
199:15
224:21

Facebook
181:2
184:2,8

facial 20:3
114:9

facilitate
192:5

facilitation
90:17

facilities
10:11,14,
18 11:7,
15,17,19
13:16,17

14:13 16:4 21:10,12 25:7 31:18,21 32:2 34:15 35:15,18 37:25 38:1 41:16 44:13 46:8 59:8 76:7 78:18 79:5 82:8 102:3 124:19 135:15 137:4,5 140:22 166:6 194:2,25 195:8 196:12

facility 16:13 18:13 19:14,17 20:19 21:1,22 25:2 40:17,23, 25 41:17 44:13,15, 18 45:18, 22 46:14, 16 49:19 50:3 51:2, 5 52:7,8, 10 83:5 86:17 97:1,2,6 98:5 101:15 103:11 104:25 159:19 161:9 166:4 182:23 193:25 194:8,13 195:16 197:11 205:3 207:10 209:7,10

facility's 13:19

fact 19:21 33:17 39:4 47:18 64:7 67:3,18 85:5 88:8, 14 94:22 115:10 130:5 138:12 145:23 148:3 153:7 166:23 167:1 168:6 188:18 197:9 199:22 201:16 227:14 229:22,23 230:7,13 232:14 234:2,17 235:2

fact-finding 4:21

factor 46:9 75:2,15 172:17 176:7 180:3

factors 79:12,14

facts 131:24 145:5

failed 75:23 105:18 230:14

fair 102:19,20 112:6,16 129:12 130:21 132:20 150:19 154:25 200:24 215:2,3 233:2

fairly 149:11 229:8

fairness 146:8,17

faith 181:8

faking 210:9

fall 137:8 162:5

falling 24:19

familiar 46:18 97:7 124:10

families 9:13 16:12 17:23 34:25 40:23 41:7 42:10 101:23 204:1

family 19:19 85:23 103:12 104:25 114:14 115:16 119:9 130:5 161:1 172:18 181:7,21 187:5,10 202:16 205:25 212:7 230:6

famously 143:11

Fascism 153:8
fashion 203:23
fast 126:17 216:8
fatal 61:10
father 86:15 104:21 113:21 212:8
favor 79:13 84:12
fear 79:18, 20 80:5 104:3
features 43:18
February 181:24 223:18
feces 225:24
fed 35:13 119:21
federal 5:3 6:16 13:9 24:23 37:4 93:10 133:19 135:17 138:16 145:10 151:24 152:6,13 162:4
feed 109:16 203:9 223:12
feel 19:23 85:11 111:21 112:22 114:13 123:7 129:8 177:12 181:15 184:8 185:6 191:21 197:22 199:20 200:9,14 209:21 213:11 218:6 219:1 220:10 221:4 233:4
feeling 101:15 115:4 172:9 173:15,16 176:18 177:1 192:1 193:2
feelings 189:1
feels 8:10
fees 119:8
fell 108:2
fellow 50:20 64:19
felon 184:25
felony 46:3, 4
felt 20:7 197:19,24 200:3
female 44:23 95:22 96:5
fewer 141:2
field 38:10 127:7
fields 145:25
fight 75:9 106:25 203:15 216:2
fighting 39:17 107:1
figure 38:12 86:15 138:14 141:22 154:6 165:17 207:22 229:15 231:19 232:4,6
figuring 213:12
file 8:15
filed 17:7
fill 38:2 71:7
filled 184:13
film 104:19
filthy 106:3
final 7:22 68:19 162:14 180:23 226:14
finally 48:21 60:5 73:11 88:21 111:9 120:15 122:6,7 235:4
find 18:7 87:9 88:5 96:21 129:15 145:5 146:21 147:17 154:20 195:15

208:21
212:9
226:3
230:14

finding
77:19

findings
18:6
41:13,19

finds 55:20

fine 17:25

finish
122:12
211:13

fire 222:23

first-time
58:3

firsthand
131:20

fix 125:13
163:10
215:14
219:6

fixated
138:10

fixed 138:23

fixing 34:22

flag 144:18

flat 147:6

flavors
141:7

flood 75:19

floor 209:15

Florida
70:12

floridly
71:17

fluctuated
194:10

flyers
166:18

focus 9:22
12:15
55:24
60:10
70:20
135:5
165:1
176:12

focused
34:21 57:7
70:6 87:18
179:24

focuses
69:25

folks 12:22
40:12
52:6,13
54:3 78:19
80:1,13,25
86:15
95:10
100:18,22
101:4,7
158:1
186:5
187:19
193:23
206:13
207:4
228:5

follow 60:6
182:17
186:23

follow-up
44:9 46:23
48:4

follower
184:22

food 118:3
119:18,23
120:3
174:15
203:10,11,
12 225:24

foot 222:2,
7

for-profit
37:21

force 58:11
63:16
119:25
216:20
230:17

forced 88:11
113:10
114:6
120:21
121:8,22
123:24
216:18
222:19

fore 178:4

forefront
132:19

foreign
25:15 69:8

forensic
69:24 71:4

forget 32:19
45:1

forgive 30:7
212:25

forgotten
104:19

form 27:14
66:9
137:18
148:14,15
153:25
167:13
172:5
178:16
203:22
204:11
227:11
228:3
229:5,13
232:3
235:1,13,
19

formal
165:25
235:1

formed 113:9

forms 23:9

153:15
166:6
172:5
185:17
227:22

fortunate
91:12,18
98:16
112:23

fortunately
49:13

forward 3:16
52:14 99:1
126:17
193:4
208:20

foster 10:24

found 11:23
14:5 18:24
19:10
21:23
57:9,12,22
58:2,4,8
86:14
113:5
123:18
128:12
135:18
136:21,23
139:24
140:21,22
141:2,4
143:19
150:20
157:24
181:2
215:19
217:16

Foundation
14:23

Fourteenth
149:9

fox 205:15

framework
55:7
60:13,25
61:16
154:5

France 22:18

Francisco
28:16
32:20
42:23

frank 142:23

frankly 51:7
78:16
85:21
86:20
91:10
94:12

freaking
110:4

free 100:21

freedom
202:5

freezing
223:11

frequency
66:2

frequent
162:23
166:18

fresh 121:10
163:12
198:25

Friday 183:2

friend
113:20
117:5
180:17

friends
184:7
187:10
202:17

front 7:24
54:4 86:18
161:18
214:17

frontal
23:14

frustration
27:23

frustrations
19:17

Fs 183:10

fulfill
83:11,12
91:16

full 7:7
80:18
137:10
182:19

fully 113:9
145:25
147:18

fun 213:21

function
93:22

fund 119:6

fundamental
64:21 67:5
104:2
178:11

fundamentally
64:6

funded
215:9,10

funding
58:21
93:10
215:8

future 101:5
170:8,10
208:21
219:22

G

Gaddis 4:10

gaining
28:14

gains 88:9
168:8

game 72:6
123:19

gang 43:4

126:24
143:11
181:3,5
184:9,13,
14,17,18
190:19,25
210:24
211:1,2
212:9,10

gangs 184:6,
15 185:11

gap 192:5

garments
126:23

Garner 55:17
97:6
115:18

gather 6:13
224:1

gave 65:5
98:20
193:19
202:11,18

gender
155:10

general 7:4
26:7,11,16
35:23
36:12
47:18,23
72:23
79:11
89:14 95:3
96:19
99:10
133:4
134:2
141:9,11
163:17
188:4
189:15

generally
5:17 32:17
58:23 74:5
95:24
99:23
170:25
221:22

generation
91:8

generous
231:20

gentleman's
190:22

genuine
192:4

geometrics
59:4

girl 214:16

girls 18:9
40:24,25
45:1

give 30:5
65:21
80:19,22
94:24
98:25
102:8
106:24
118:9
129:23
130:9,18
131:10,11
137:19,21
141:7
146:24
153:18
158:24
162:2
174:25
180:9
183:9
187:22
198:9
214:11
217:10
220:7

giving 4:19
126:1
150:19

glad 215:17

Glanville
4:14,15
29:19,20
30:6 89:16
91:25
128:7
159:17
189:18

Glastonbury
4:13

glazed 218:2

glimpse
137:22

gloves
182:20

go-to 118:11

goal 49:17,
24 98:3
122:9
162:11
163:8

goals 19:24
91:16
161:2
184:24,25
185:9

God 181:13,
18 208:13
212:25

good 3:2,
21,24 4:2,
14 8:24
22:8 43:20
48:23
54:11
76:10
79:25
81:13,14
88:10
91:18 94:5
96:6 101:2
102:16
103:8
104:1
105:6
106:10
110:6
112:6,8
118:3
138:16

157:19
169:15
174:11
176:24,25
177:1
178:18,19,
20 180:13
183:23
185:1
195:23
200:23
226:16
227:4
234:22

Googled
212:20

governed
187:1

government
13:9
133:18

governments
22:17
154:1

Governor
21:2 42:7
91:21
132:16
168:21

grabbing
148:1

gradually
72:20

graduate
101:5
144:18

grain 124:22

Granby 4:7

Grant 100:9

granted
85:18 86:2
221:14

grapple
33:2,17
67:2 88:21
156:22
229:15

grappling
42:14 87:2
154:8,20
156:11

Grassian
25:22

grateful
3:14
165:14
182:10
199:12

grave
142:16,19

great 9:5
30:3
47:15,16
101:11
103:4
131:5,9,11
168:17
185:25
205:1
234:25

greater
226:6

greatest
4:11 27:6
115:19

grew 24:22,
23

grids 140:8

grievance
110:13,14
125:13,14,
16 213:13,
23 214:4,
9,11,12

grievances
214:21

gritted
224:2

gross 140:20

ground 7:3
28:14
70:21
108:22
137:23
190:8

group 23:2
27:24
57:13,14
62:25
68:9,12
73:5
151:24
175:10,13
193:4,7
225:11
232:20

groups 36:25
92:21
104:17

grown 36:15

growth 24:25

gruesome
166:18

guarantee
118:13

guard 116:6,
16 120:4,7
124:14
187:15
211:15
224:8,10

guard's
39:19
224:11

guards 36:5
117:22
119:25
120:2,13
121:15,20,
25 123:1,
8,19
124:3,19
127:5
212:23
224:20

guards'
124:3

guess 108:19 128:8 159:18 178:22 189:21 190:9 193:16 199:11,17

guidelines 16:16,17

guilt 53:2

guilty 107:2 113:5

gulf 74:1

guy 118:11 145:24

guys 124:9 185:9 209:6 211:10,15, 16 212:19, 20

gym 209:15

H

habitat 139:4

Haldol 216:20

half 21:11 57:11,12 65:12,14 66:8 137:15 139:25 180:22 235:23

half-starved 120:1

halfway 182:14 216:12

hall 117:4

hallucinating 111:5,10

hallucinations 25:25 73:10 217:10

hallway 108:13 173:20,21

hand 28:10 48:3 119:13 162:8 176:13 230:6

handcuff 108:11

handcuffed 18:20 107:17,18, 24 108:8 183:4 203:7,11

handcuffs 108:1,9 120:25 121:2 183:5,6,7, 8 223:9

handful 44:24

handle 6:5 37:6 44:1 181:9 188:13 191:5

handled 41:4

handout 9:2

hands 121:2 122:18 182:20

hang 39:19

hanging 210:10 224:19 226:1

Hanoi 64:14

happen 45:12 65:4 84:17 100:3 110:10 123:13 155:6 168:3 192:9,10, 12 218:23 233:14 236:6

happened 107:23 109:2 110:14,15 123:13 177:21 218:10 227:14

happening 39:25 43:12 110:8 155:6 182:4 230:25

happy 62:19 100:19 124:20 168:9 181:25 192:24

harass 183:12

hard 49:17 52:1 93:9 105:24 110:23 129:16 144:6,8 145:6 157:11 161:4 182:12 185:1 200:7 214:7 230:21 231:7,10

harder 143:2 163:24 167:6 212:4

hardship 150:15

harm 26:4,7 57:8,11, 12,14,16, 18,22 59:23 72:12,21, 25 73:23 74:3,21 76:24 87:17 104:1 105:6 113:11,12 115:12 148:25 149:3,13 172:4,5 189:4,8 218:18

harmed 6:7

harmful 21:22 31:7 61:11 62:14 66:16 73:13

harming 13:13 15:24

harms 56:14 144:24 151:7

harsh 106:2 152:7 156:24 207:15

Hartford 3:22 4:15 9:5 20:9 29:22 104:6 214:3 217:3

hat 184:3

hats 101:16

Haven 106:14 112:17 116:4 125:25 131:18 180:18 184:7 216:3

Hawaii 49:15

HBO 177:5 188:25

head 11:1 34:1 48:19 63:6 71:22 108:24 110:3 121:19 219:16 223:19,24

heading 78:2 117:3

headline 30:5,9

heads 197:13

headway 52:16

health 6:4, 16 9:17 10:1 11:12 15:10 19:11 23:2,3,10, 20 28:8 29:9 38:20 43:19 50:23,25 51:3 54:21,25 55:3,8,10 56:1,3,7, 11,23 57:1,6 58:9,19, 20,21,22, 25 59:2,8 60:6,9,12, 14,15,17, 25 61:2,6, 7,16,17,21 62:3,5 65:20 70:7,8 72:1,4,16 73:1,4,25 74:4,7,10, 17,22,24 75:9,21 76:14,19, 23 77:2,6, 10 78:9 82:11 92:19,23 93:3,11 95:9 96:12,13, 19 105:25 111:7,8, 10,13 123:3 159:22 161:10 175:3,16, 22 176:6,8 188:12 191:16,18, 22 192:16, 19 193:1, 12 201:20 208:10,11 216:14 218:25 223:21 225:19

healthy 25:23 27:9

hear 102:5 110:7,8 116:11 120:1 121:22 146:18 154:22 170:2 192:13,14

198:17
206:7
212:18

heard 50:22
69:3 72:11
76:4 83:19
96:14
100:3
102:2
103:12,13
104:9
109:5
112:9
132:14
133:3,25
138:8
141:12
147:9
148:11
149:1
165:1
166:8
169:25
172:17
174:13
175:14
176:17
177:9,25
179:4
194:21
196:25
197:2
203:2
208:14
209:6
214:15
221:17
226:11,21
227:16
230:4
235:5,14

hearing 3:1, 8 6:12
33:20 99:5
102:4
106:11
125:25
150:19
168:15
196:17
208:20
214:2
221:6
233:25
234:16
236:15,16

hearings
233:6

heart 74:19
118:20
129:16
140:12
181:12

heighten
229:4

heightens
73:16

heinous
203:18
208:6

held 8:17
24:22 26:9
109:22
113:6
157:5
162:5
170:22
171:16
173:18
183:19
221:22

helmets
108:20

helped 61:20

helpful 48:2
126:2
164:18
168:14

helping
101:3

helpless
19:23
112:23
115:4
219:1

helplessness
172:9

helps 84:19
94:19

henhouse
205:15

hepatitis
214:16

Herrington
84:20,21

hesitant
44:4

hey 136:2
161:22

hidden 93:18

hide 209:20

high 25:9
38:24,25
57:8 59:24
74:18
78:16
93:14
105:19
132:10
158:13
159:6
186:13,20

high-bond
194:18

high-quality
77:10

high-security
135:14
186:7

higher 25:8
72:22
162:25

highest
157:6
222:20

highlight
75:3
171:22
226:19

highly 28:4, 11,20

57:12

highly-productive 29:12

Hill 216:13

hire 118:7

Hispanic 31:25

hisself 218:6

historical 32:25

historically 9:22

histories 228:15

history 13:4 36:18 43:17 118:18 217:13,15

hit 45:25 78:6 175:15

hoarded 18:24

hogtied 224:24

hold 24:12 123:25 145:18

holders 153:4,11

holding 24:11 99:20 147:12

home 60:7 104:24 105:2,7 111:11 118:18 123:17 129:5 175:15 182:10 201:11 202:5 203:25 204:13 207:24 208:13 212:16 216:3

Homeland 55:9

Homer 54:12

honor 132:7 183:11

honored 62:24 67:10

hoodie 126:22

hooey 90:18

hope 3:16 52:3,4 53:3 77:7 84:19 91:23 99:16 101:17 142:7 164:20,22 170:3 176:19 226:15 236:14

hoped 161:2

hopeless 19:24

hopelessness 177:2

hopes 115:16 226:6

hoping 89:25 109:15 187:16 220:24

horrible 65:3 138:25 169:3

horrors 67:23

hospital 38:18

hospitalizations 114:3

hospitals 10:14 38:14 54:25 75:25

host 21:19 85:3

hot 178:2

hotel-sized 121:4

hour 88:17 147:13 178:5

hours 12:16 15:6 16:15 20:12 21:15 33:8 47:11 56:22 57:20 87:16 88:13,14, 24 89:4,8 101:13 122:5 135:19 136:8 138:6,15, 21 139:3,4 140:6 144:4 152:2 153:14 156:2 157:2 161:8 163:6,13 174:16 181:13 199:12

216:10
221:25
222:1,2,17
223:10,15
224:24
225:11,12

house 38:4
41:1 45:10
105:21
108:6
171:12
179:21
182:14
216:12,13

housed 40:12
94:3
102:13
103:10,14
105:12
113:2
182:23

houses 25:4

housing
16:24
17:1,12
49:10
51:21 62:7
70:15
75:24
118:1
134:11
138:5
141:16
143:10
144:11
161:20
171:1
179:9
194:17
214:19

hovers
227:20

hug 126:8

hug-a-thugs
124:23

huge 39:21
75:8
160:17

huggers
124:23

human 23:11,
13 27:13
29:9 47:9
55:7 56:12
60:12,21,
24 61:15
64:5,23
67:6 69:18
75:20
80:23
89:11,13
104:1,3
106:1,2
117:20
118:4
127:1,16
146:19
150:10
154:2
158:22
162:11
166:2
187:14
203:17
208:3
221:2
225:5,7,9
230:19
231:11

humane 54:21
55:16 62:2
67:22

humanitarian
152:24

humanity
115:20
129:17,21,
22 153:5
204:4
208:1
224:12

humanizing
112:18

hundreds
21:14,15
87:17
184:9

hung 122:7,
8,10
123:17

hunger 172:6

hurry 111:16

hurt 18:16
80:6 123:4
149:17
203:1
223:22

hurting
53:19,20
80:7 224:9

hurts 219:14

hygiene
118:3
121:8

hyperfocused
176:14

hypersensitivity 25:24

I

i.e. 153:1

Idaho
153:18,21

idea 37:13
62:6
115:24
116:12
139:18
144:1,10,
12,14
153:7,10
179:3
231:24
235:7

ideal 97:4
194:23

ideally
69:13

ideals 226:9

ideas 61:19
92:8 93:5

149:5
155:24
157:17
193:20

ideations
191:20

identifiable
158:3

identified
157:24
158:1
202:25

identify
176:5
194:7

identifying
174:22

identity
23:21

II 83:14, 15,16,21
153:8

ill 26:20
37:1,2,10, 13 38:9
39:13 43:3
59:9,21
68:8
148:17,19, 22 149:3
151:21
152:19
159:1
161:5
171:12,13

illegal
184:9

Illinois
70:11

illness
38:12 55:6
66:12 70:1
73:7
141:19,24
158:14
175:3,11
189:12
210:9
220:21
228:11
230:22

imagine 39:1
43:17
121:1
150:25
203:5

imagined
129:14

imagining
203:12

imbalance
154:21

immature
27:23

immediately
117:9

immense
64:17

immigration
25:7 137:4

impact 27:11
30:22
34:24
35:17
61:11
77:19
200:11
201:7

impacted
50:24
85:20
102:1

impacts
52:17
219:8

impede 50:19

imperative
42:18
196:19

imperfect
141:17

implement
89:21 90:7

implemented
79:2
117:21
143:7

implementing
76:8 99:13

implications
21:19

importance
7:14
23:15,19, 21 24:4

important
3:14 9:2
12:2,5
14:17 28:3
30:15,16
33:16 35:4
41:2 42:13
44:3 49:22
50:7 54:19
72:24 74:7
76:6 78:6
82:21
85:17
88:22
128:17
129:12
131:14
155:2
161:7
168:8,10
172:19
196:21
200:8
211:3
215:7
227:25
234:24

importantly
76:22 77:4

impose 16:19
68:15
147:4

imposed
26:12

impossible 67:25 68:1 223:11
impress 21:8
impressed 81:13 223:17
impression 39:24
imprisonment 23:7
improve 21:5 61:21
improved 62:6
improvement 11:21 58:24
improvements 60:11 62:9
impulsivity 27:24 86:20
in-cell 223:14
in-depth 13:22 21:9 72:5
inability 19:20 114:9
inappropriate 18:9 27:17 31:7 197:20
incarcerated 32:2 36:16 39:7 44:22 54:22 59:25 79:21 86:10 92:5 98:24 99:6 100:20 105:1 126:10,12, 25 133:23 220:23
incarcerating 42:16
incarceration 53:17 54:23 58:11 118:24 119:8 132:21 219:8
incentive 51:24 52:10
incentives 37:19 105:16 234:24
incentivized 52:2
incentivizing 85:14
inception 33:9
incessantly 122:2
inch 222:7
incident 18:11 20:11 85:5 107:23 108:3 110:13 213:7 223:16 232:1
incidents 14:2,6,9, 11 28:25 29:5 31:4 155:15 189:8 223:1 228:24 231:3
inclined 197:19
include 77:3 114:20
included 10:13 17:15 25:6 30:4 61:22 228:6,8
includes 9:23 59:1 170:8
including 10:22 13:9 15:18 17:12 18:3 22:16 23:14 55:4,11 56:13 59:10 60:3,13 61:15 70:10 114:19 142:12 166:7 176:9 196:7 215:24 217:6
inclusion 8:16 29:15
inclusive 8:5
incomplete 155:9
inconsistent 73:19
incorporate 60:17 168:16 208:22
increase 25:20 74:19,21

170:13
190:7

increased
13:12
24:14
57:14

increases
22:2

increasing
20:20

increasingly
33:21

incredibly
61:18
81:13
113:18
135:3
154:12
234:9

indefinite
150:11

independent
4:21 9:11
205:8
215:6,10

indicative
217:20

individual
14:15 24:9
47:10
53:18 73:5
80:7 85:20
97:21
112:21
199:4
226:9
229:20
234:20

individualization 152:12

individualized
53:18
77:18
97:22
144:9
179:3

individuals
25:4,23
26:9,22,24
38:4 43:15
47:19
56:21
57:17
127:16
186:10
204:20
219:7
225:20

induce 25:21

induced
117:19
119:23

ineffective
28:5

inequities
154:9

infection
61:10

infirmary
51:6 71:20

inflict
64:18

inflicted
145:9

inflicting
148:23

inflicts
66:14

influence
27:17
80:13
85:24

influenced
96:20

influencing
90:25

info 218:15

inform 5:1
8:11

informal
167:14

information
4:22 6:10,13 10:9
61:19
63:14
139:22
144:17
155:9
157:23
159:10
214:21
236:8

informed
82:23,24
84:2 218:8

infraction
93:12,14
162:6

infractions
148:6
156:19

infused
117:17

inheritances
119:7

inhumane
64:7,21
65:17
104:1,10,12 105:23,24 111:23
153:16
178:21
203:13

inhumanely
197:6
208:8

initial
100:1
234:1

initially
41:23 45:7
86:16

Initiative
14:22

inject 52:3

injured

158:19

injuries
61:2

injury
57:17,23
59:23
72:16
224:10

injustice
198:8

inmate 71:19
75:5,6
76:1 78:10
100:13
116:8,10,
16 119:4,7
120:5,6,7
121:11
124:23
125:3
129:21
173:4
176:4
180:5
189:6
191:9,11
192:3
200:24

inmate's
47:14 73:3
105:16
116:9
150:6
198:16

inmates
26:5,15
27:3,5
28:7
37:10,12
50:20
72:6,14,
21,25
73:7,12,
16,18,24
75:18,23
77:18
78:2,21
85:1 92:7
93:4 94:2,
3 98:4
103:19,22
104:16
105:19,21,
25 108:6
109:3
119:14
124:16
125:5
161:21
169:21,25
171:1,13,
16,17
172:24
174:7,9
176:2
177:10
178:21
179:15
188:15,22
190:14
191:5,25
192:13,17
193:5
194:4,15,
18 197:4
198:15
199:5
200:5
201:10,15
202:14
204:11
207:23
210:1,11
221:21

innocent
210:1

innovative
28:11

inordinate
160:4

input 23:15,
19 24:3
55:9 56:6

insane 25:15

inside 11:19
56:25 59:8
69:7
108:21
141:1
143:15
156:17,24
161:6
185:8
189:25
190:8
198:5
200:2
214:10

insidious
149:14

insight
48:12
54:10
101:11
131:22

insignificant
38:6

insister
152:7

instance
123:25

instances
59:11 85:1
197:3

Institute
49:9 70:18
221:17

instituted
49:20

institution
36:19 37:5
39:21
49:19 50:3
82:19
99:12,13
100:11
102:13
107:15,21
109:23
118:7

institutional
57:3 135:1
159:13

institutions 5:13 10:19 28:1 38:11 39:5 55:17 119:16 159:7 226:8

instructed 7:11

insubordination 145:23

insulated 49:4

integration 94:23

intellectual 93:8,15

intelligence 131:22

intense 43:9

intensity 23:24

intensive 28:21

intent 113:16

intentful 20:4

interact 84:5 91:7, 12 163:24

interacting 80:1,2

interaction 23:23 29:10,11 80:23 89:13 95:1 163:18

interactions 83:23,24 86:8 90:21 163:25

interactive 28:21

intercom 110:1,2 123:19,20, 25

intercoms 122:1

interest 17:7,10 54:3 76:1 77:17 137:25 189:7

interested 29:21 42:24 52:20 112:18 165:4

interesting 189:19

interests 52:13 56:8

interim 34:1

internal 148:3,4 156:8

international 46:25 133:5 153:3,12, 24 231:11, 22

interpersonal 163:25

interrupt 185:20

intersection 6:3

intervene 53:16 74:16

intervening 33:23 42:14

intervention 15:8 33:14 34:3 78:8, 19

interventions 77:25

interviewing 86:12 227:1 228:19

interviews 11:18 228:6

introduce 3:7 8:20 102:8 117:18 133:13

introduced 226:24

introducing 22:10 60:12

invest 38:19,20 163:12

investigate 9:14

investigated 11:15

investigating 166:3 227:1

investigation 13:22 15:13

investigations 17:15

investigative 10:4,8 18:2

invitation 9:1 48:24 54:13

invite 130:17

invited 6:18 65:21

invites 174:23

inviting 54:6 62:24 69:23

involuntary 114:9

involved 3:17 9:12, 24 10:2 28:22 41:9 60:25 63:3 73:23 88:16

involves 60:14

involving 150:2

Ira 102:12 103:10,14, 15 105:12 126:10,23

Ira's 103:12

Ireland 22:18

iron 222:13 223:7

ironically 66:12

irrelevant 176:15 206:23

irreversible 113:11,12

Island 22:23 26:4 69:10 76:3

Islands 137:16

isolate 80:23 143:24 225:22

isolated 47:18 53:15 72:21 73:15 87:3 104:12 128:23

isolating 15:22 139:6 156:22 194:4

isolation 12:1,4,11, 14,18,25 13:5,8,12, 19 14:4,16 15:3,5,18 16:2,8,15, 18 18:10, 21 19:10 21:20,22 22:2 24:6 25:5,18 26:9 27:6, 21 28:18 31:2 32:23 34:7 35:13,23 36:8 37:19 47:2,12,20 49:10,15 50:25 51:22 56:22 67:20 68:16,17 72:14,19 73:3 74:14 75:5 76:5 77:21 78:1,3 80:20 87:15 88:23 92:8 98:2 107:13 109:23 110:24 111:4,17, 23 134:1,3 135:5 137:12,18 138:25 139:6,15 140:7,17, 20 142:6 143:20 150:8 151:13 154:10 155:1,8 157:3 158:1,3 165:18 166:4,6,24 167:5 170:22 222:16 225:12,17 226:7 227:22 228:3 229:13 231:22 232:3 235:13

Israel 22:18

issue 6:18, 19 11:23 49:6 54:5 64:5 67:24 71:1 86:19 90:9 94:6 96:13 143:17 157:21 165:16 186:6,24 192:8 203:24 219:8

issued 13:10 14:21 15:1 16:17,23 17:6 18:2 41:17,20

issues 6:16 51:3 95:9 131:10,15

132:9,19
142:8
156:11
164:13
165:7,11,
21 167:11
171:5
191:19
193:20
203:15
227:6
228:11

J

J2 122:20

jaded 72:4

jail 28:24
55:3 57:9
58:1,3
62:7 63:8
71:14 76:3
92:25 93:2
128:21,22
133:20
158:12
183:25
203:16
210:7
211:5
213:6

jails 5:15
25:8 37:4
38:15
39:5,10
56:25 63:9
66:10
67:20
104:5
136:25
137:1

January 86:5
227:4

Jay 67:10

JDAI 16:16

Jennifer
169:13,16

Jepeal 4:6

Jessica
168:17

Jessie
133:14

job 71:6
79:25
80:3,10
81:14
91:22
125:11
128:11
184:24
185:1
201:23
205:25
209:21

John 4:12
42:20
46:21
67:10 81:9
84:20
164:1

join 81:20

joined
212:10

joining 40:6

jointly
124:1

Journey
40:25

judge 150:25
162:4

judgement
143:23

judges
146:5,6

judgments
206:3

Judicial
15:20 41:4

judicious
50:21

Judith 131:7

July 42:9

jump 195:12

June 151:24

junior 38:24

jurisdiction
137:16
139:10
155:11

jurisdictions
24:18
91:19
135:18
136:16
139:11,24
143:22

justice 5:1
10:2,23
11:4
13:10,14
16:17,22
17:6,14
21:3,5,23
32:17 34:2
40:18 41:9
70:2,14,18
93:19
132:9,18
135:11
148:5
150:12,23
152:5
156:9
158:9
159:1
206:4
208:4

justification
157:11
159:8
191:8
233:1

juvenile
10:2,15,
20,23
11:4,17,25
12:24
13:15,17,
24 14:21
15:16,21

16:13,19
17:9 18:8
21:3,5
25:6 26:20
27:5 30:21
31:17,22
32:2,17
33:1,6
34:2,8
36:24
40:15,16,
18 41:5,9
44:8,13
45:9
103:14
127:8
137:3
140:22
205:5

juveniles
10:12
12:11,14,
15 13:1,12
14:4,21
17:1,11
21:23
34:13 37:8
48:8 68:7
95:8 127:7
148:23
152:19
230:22

K

Kapoor 48:21
69:21,22,
23 77:24
78:5 82:12
96:18
175:14

keeping
143:13
159:9
191:9
208:1
236:3

Keishar
102:16
106:9,12
110:9
112:4
216:4

Kennedy
135:11
150:13,23

kick 45:25
121:16
124:2

kid 45:22
212:7
234:5

kids 143:9
149:19,20,
22 156:13,
14,16
203:3
211:6,11

kill 78:22
213:6

killed
110:3,9
160:24
212:17,25

killing 20:1

Kim 221:10,
11,12

kind 36:24
44:12 73:7
75:18 76:8
86:18
88:19
96:18
97:19
98:17,20,
22 99:7
107:25
108:1
137:12,22
138:15
139:9,18
140:25
147:21
148:8
149:6
154:6,8
158:5
162:10
163:3,4,7,
11,19
166:10,14
167:14
169:2
174:24
178:12
187:22
189:1
195:14
197:1,20,
23 199:10
200:5
201:20
205:8
214:22
215:22
220:8
232:1
233:24
236:11

kindness
131:22

kinds 35:14
65:3 77:24
134:18
158:15
163:22

kiss 182:11

knew 70:25
116:7
118:17
137:7
161:3
197:14
211:7
216:24

knots 122:5

knowing 39:2
57:4 117:5

knowledge
74:10
76:11
231:10
233:9
234:10

knowledgeable

6:18

L

labels 87:7

lack 9:10 74:9 75:2, 15 76:11 106:1,2 115:20 126:7 167:12,13, 14 175:19 191:18

lacked 184:21

lacks 36:21

Ladders 234:5

lady 196:7 214:13

lag 76:7

laid 165:13,22 167:22

land 148:1

lands 154:25

Lane 180:13,15

language 94:8

larceny 228:7

large 44:1 74:1 137:2 141:6 158:11 160:16 225:20

larger 39:11 141:15

lashes 146:2

lashing 145:20

lasting 27:11 227:11

lastly 123:11

late 113:13

late-night 122:3

latest 32:7

Latino 58:6 154:14

law 22:23 23:1 46:12 48:20 63:1,2 101:8 119:1,2 131:8,9,25 132:5,8 133:6 142:8 144:18,21 145:5 147:2,18 148:17 149:15 150:1,22 151:10 152:25 153:2 154:23 166:25 205:19 206:13,15 221:12 231:11,22

Lawlor 132:17

lawmaker 200:10 206:12

laws 4:24 5:3 6:17 10:10 17:18

lawsuit 119:1,3,6 146:4

lawyer 132:6 162:9 235:16

lead 51:13 73:8 98:18 217:10

leader 5:10 14:24

leaders 62:5,15 67:10 155:4 157:12

leadership 76:13 132:15

leading 77:21

leads 33:19

League 152:23

leaning 217:16

leap 141:21

learn 105:17 130:11 189:23

learned 82:23

learning 13:4 193:5

leave 75:11 83:13 119:10 121:17,25 172:7 180:8 182:15 185:10 201:13 236:9

leaving 157:10 199:25

216:12

lectures 71:3

led 9:20 22:22 50:17 55:3 63:18 105:13 107:20 151:25 212:10 213:7

Lee 8:22 22:7,8,11 35:20 37:9,20 42:22 43:7 46:23 47:7

Lee's 32:18

left 19:2 25:17 83:11,12 104:10 105:8 115:4 117:16 118:8 119:4 181:19 209:19 223:9

leg 18:25

legacies 62:17

legal 5:12 59:14 63:4 94:13 97:15 154:5 187:15

legally 59:15

legislation 68:4,7,10, 23 152:1 179:4

legislative 10:5 151:18

legislatively 89:18

legislator 200:9 205:2

legislators 84:2 215:24

legislature 10:8

legislatures 151:23

legitimate 75:21

leisurely 89:11

length 11:16 20:9 140:5 170:16

lens 57:24 87:1 89:18

lethality 57:8,12

lethargic 117:15

letter 190:23 215:16,21, 25

letters 183:14

level 22:2 39:1,8 47:2 50:3, 16,25 53:13 70:21 80:5 90:17 94:17,21, 25 96:25 103:19,20 137:23 139:13 146:5 152:9 190:16 195:16 200:12,22 202:4 205:12 208:9 222:20

levels 31:16 53:1 78:16,25 157:6 158:13 159:12

lexicon 144:3 149:16

liberal 143:3

Library 214:3

licensed 46:8 112:17

licensure 97:16

lie 122:17, 18 123:5 210:3

lies 82:6

life 51:18 86:16 114:2,24 117:2 150:6 167:11 169:23 170:11 176:20 182:25 186:21 198:7 204:12,13 207:5 230:11 235:23

lifesavers 124:22

lifespan 235:24

lifetime 113:19 114:2 221:19

light 69:11, 12 93:11, 22 121:17, 19 141:19 150:7 155:25 157:16

lights 156:2

likes 19:22

Liman 49:9 132:5 133:20 165:20 166:11 231:17

limit 7:10 87:6 89:1 163:18 230:21 231:7,10, 11

limitation 149:23

limitations 89:23

limited 7:25 15:5 58:16 62:20 68:7,8 80:25 84:3 94:14 180:25 187:11

limits 151:14,18 163:11

lined 86:1

linen 120:22 122:4,20

lining 122:25

link 13:11

lint 122:22

list 132:10 143:1

listen 80:24

listening 106:6

literally 129:9 137:22 209:13 210:12 211:5 212:21 214:15

literature 12:6 70:16 74:2 92:20

litigate 88:17

litigation 63:7 119:13

litigious 62:13

live 115:18 156:14

lived 123:16 212:20

lives 52:14 99:1 178:13,14 200:11 207:15 225:10

living 20:8 123:13 168:20

loaf 35:13

lobe 23:15

local 25:7 58:25 100:10

locales 97:10

locations 195:3

lock 123:5 200:2

locked 88:14 116:25 187:2

locking 19:3

log 120:8

logic 127:9

London 209:19

loneliness 177:3,9

lonely 177:12

long 19:21 42:7 43:25 47:6 56:22,24 72:9 88:7 99:7 104:8 108:12,13 112:19 113:18 117:24 123:5 126:8 129:14 138:24 139:21 140:14 145:13 148:21 155:9,16 166:22 170:18 171:15,16 172:21 173:20,21 179:12 185:8

201:4
217:25
218:19

long-term
74:19
154:10
165:18
166:4,24
187:23

longer 24:2
27:11
31:21
71:14
86:23
129:23
143:14,22,
23 168:7
187:9
217:16
229:3

longest
106:16

looked 14:1,
3 45:21
82:2
128:14
134:12
197:12
199:14
206:4
213:6,9

loosely 78:4

looser 84:7

lose 67:3
85:15 99:7
204:21

losing
219:14

loss 172:10
176:19
178:11

lost 124:4
133:11
181:21
219:9

lot 5:8
28:22 34:7
38:10
41:23
42:5,25
48:8 53:23
54:7 73:25
78:15
90:12
108:7
110:18,22
111:21,23
114:16
130:5
135:10
159:10,21
166:23
171:23,24
173:12
176:17
179:12
184:23
189:5
192:12
196:11
201:15
202:5,12,
14 205:4
209:8
215:22
220:4

lots 92:18,
20

lottery
119:7

loud 214:17

loudly 122:1

Louisiana
70:11

love 128:14
154:22
208:22
212:9

loved 104:22
105:2,7
112:22
130:12
198:7
212:7
219:1
221:3

loving
113:20
115:15
127:2

low 27:23
85:6 152:9
154:12
190:16

low-level
228:21

lower 156:23

lowest 49:14

loyal 113:20

loyalty
56:13
60:13,20
61:5,11,
13,17,20,
22

lunch 6:24

luncheon
169:10

M

Macdougall
180:24
181:4

mace 39:19
224:21

mace-covered
224:23

macing
111:17

made 5:16
7:15,16
8:5,11
56:8 82:1,
12,15 87:4
88:9 97:13
114:13
155:15
173:12
199:18
206:3

218:5
225:9

madness
151:3,4

magazine
98:17

magic 138:11

main 55:24
170:15

maintain
83:21
178:12

major 19:6
133:20
151:14
218:25

majority
31:24
72:13
86:15
103:16
177:17

make 6:5
35:8 51:24
63:25
66:23 67:7
68:3,19
83:8 87:23
88:22 92:9
113:18
115:23
122:5
123:1
128:11
130:13
133:12
134:25
139:8
143:1
144:25
152:2
153:24
157:10
159:7
161:22,25
163:22
165:8
183:3
199:1
201:21
204:9
205:8,11
212:1,2,4
216:21
217:1,25
229:24
235:2,11

makes 65:1,
2,19 77:1
88:2 97:2
120:19
161:23
163:23
200:14
204:6

makeup 23:13

making 52:16
60:18 72:2
143:1,2
151:6
165:5
182:17
200:11

Malcolm
221:13
227:17

malicious
113:16

malingering
210:9

malleable
23:16
27:13

Malloy 42:8
132:17

man 64:18
113:19,23,
24 118:9
160:20
162:5,17
202:6
221:19
223:20
226:5

manage 49:18
81:4 94:15
95:2 96:2

managed
94:10
131:21
228:2

management
16:10
26:18 59:9
66:25
94:12,17,
21 234:21

managers
61:8

managing
14:24
26:15

mandate 9:14

mandated
207:14

mandates
76:23

Mandela
90:11
153:12,21
231:12

manipulative
72:18

manner 94:10
99:18
113:14
115:21,25

Manson 99:13
107:14
113:3

manufacturing
100:15
101:6

March 8:17
224:18
236:4

marked 120:4
181:3

marks 153:7

Massachusetts

22:16
151:21
159:25

material
108:17
176:13

materials
55:24
61:23
132:2
134:18

matter
95:17,23
112:10
145:4
147:25
151:9
165:23
167:24

matters 5:6

mattress
122:22

maximum
22:15 95:3
102:17
106:13
107:21
122:19
195:13

mayhem 28:23

Mccain 64:11

Mcguire 3:2, 4 4:16
17:25 22:6
29:17
32:12
33:25 35:6
40:1,11
42:19
43:20 44:9
46:11,20
48:11,17
54:9,12
62:21
69:20
77:12 79:3
81:9 84:20
86:22
89:15 92:2
93:24 95:5
96:9 97:23
101:9,20
103:4
106:8
112:3
116:1
125:18
127:20,25
128:6
130:15,24
131:4
154:4
157:18
159:14
162:14
164:1
168:13
169:5,12
179:19
180:7,12, 16 185:19, 25 187:16
188:4
189:16
191:15
193:8,18
194:20
195:18,21
204:25
206:5
207:2
208:19,25
210:21
214:20
215:2
221:7
226:12
231:5
232:24
236:1

Mcguire's
36:11

meal 182:12

meals 172:14

meaning
23:21
169:22
233:19

meaningful
60:23 88:8
167:15
233:5,6

means 24:16
26:15 32:9
90:23
93:12
118:6
217:19
230:25
235:15

meant 14:15
96:13

measure
104:15
235:10

measures
12:1,21
36:7 39:17

meat 3:8

media 7:4

median 59:12
137:19

medical 5:12
8:23 20:6
35:16
61:1,10
65:22 71:3
106:4
111:6
117:4
118:18
193:13
214:14,18

medicated
114:6
216:18

medication
59:6,10,15
111:20
118:19
216:23
217:25
218:9,14, 18

medication-assisted 60:4

medications 73:2 114:19 216:19

Medicine 22:12 55:1 69:25

meds 118:16 130:10 217:8,16, 24

meet 11:6, 14 213:24 230:3 236:10

meeting 8:17 11:11 116:4 217:2,14

Melanie 4:8

member 3:25 23:3 46:1 63:16 126:25 211:1 230:6

members 3:6 7:18,19 19:19 29:18 40:13 104:25 112:6 114:15 125:21 132:2 169:8 172:18 180:16 184:19 185:15

memory 132:7 176:11

men 28:20 32:20 98:13 104:19 105:1 141:2,8 149:13 174:22 178:12 179:1 219:4

menstruating 120:20 123:23

mental 6:3, 16 11:11 15:10 19:11 23:10,19 28:8 38:12,20 43:13,19 50:23,25 51:2 54:21 55:6 56:3, 23 57:2 58:9,19 59:2,8 60:9,12 61:6 66:12 70:1,7,8 72:1,3,16, 20 73:1,4, 7 74:4,7, 10,23 75:9,21 76:14 77:2,6 82:11 92:19,22 95:9 96:12,19 105:25 111:8,10, 13 123:3 141:19,24 142:5 158:14 159:22 175:3,16, 22 176:6,8 188:12 189:12 191:16,18, 22 192:16, 19 193:1, 12 201:16, 20 204:5 208:10 218:25 220:21 223:21 225:4,18 228:11 230:22

mentality 205:22

mentally 26:20 37:1,2,10, 13 38:9 39:13 43:3 59:9,20 68:8 128:24 138:8 148:17,19, 22 149:3 151:21 152:19 158:2 159:1 161:5 171:12,13 181:9 183:24

mention 92:6 121:4 159:24 166:20 168:9 217:12 227:21

mentioned 5:7 7:8 16:16 29:22,23 37:10 42:23 46:24 53:22

89:20
95:13
101:24
126:10
127:5,14
176:10
177:10
232:25
234:3

mentioning
166:15,16
178:23

mentors
86:9,13

mentorship
43:10
86:12

mess 183:19

message
100:5

met 19:15
130:6
196:15
217:2,5
224:20,25
228:5,13,
16

Metcalf
142:7
144:20
164:20,23
165:12
168:14,22
226:15,16
231:9
233:9
236:2

method 25:18
28:5

methodology
136:17

metric 60:8

metrics
59:22

Michael 3:9
8:8 63:1
93:24
97:23
157:20
186:1
193:9
206:6

microphone
35:8

mid 23:17

middle
134:21

Mike 125:21
132:17

military
137:4

milligrams
117:17

million 66:8
90:4,5
137:8

mind 40:6
45:20
51:11,15
52:19
113:9,23
118:3
170:12
178:8
197:12

minds 177:14

mine 103:7
180:17
181:4
218:21

miniature
121:4,5

minimized
61:12

minimizes
74:5

minimum
38:24
221:24
231:12

minor 190:5

minorities
6:15 43:24

minority
44:6

minute
155:20
164:3
226:18

minutes 7:17
8:1 16:1
17:24 40:2
102:9
125:19
131:1
200:15
202:19
209:2
221:9

mirrors
195:5

misadventure
56:9

misbehaved
211:12

misbehavior
105:16
156:12

misbehaviors
156:20

mismatch
39:23

missing 99:2

mission
54:20 62:4
91:16

Missouri
34:1,2

mistakes
226:5

mistreatment
235:5,13

mitigate
32:13
61:13

mix 129:6

mixed 224:6

model 6:9 34:2 76:4 78:25 92:14 94:16 181:6

models 78:7

moderate-size 91:21

modify 77:5 105:16

modifying 60:25

mom 182:13 211:18

moment 123:3 138:13 168:4 180:8 181:12 182:7

Monday 183:2

money 90:6 119:5,9,13

monitor 62:11 70:8

monitored 150:7 187:13

monitoring 210:24,25

monster 52:22

month 29:1 106:19 120:23 236:4

monthly 218:12

months 73:22 106:17,20 107:7,15 117:18 118:21 139:12 140:13 222:19 229:16,25 231:20 232:5

morning 3:2, 24 4:2,14 6:23 8:24 22:8 48:23 54:11 102:16 103:8 106:10 112:6,9 131:18 138:3,9 141:13 178:1 215:20 220:8

mother 19:18 104:20 112:11 114:25

motif 141:20

motions 185:8

motivated 72:18

motivational 86:12

move 9:7 46:10 52:2,13 143:24 144:6 190:20 216:8

moved 18:20 49:4 126:18 142:21 170:21 181:23

movement 5:11 89:7 151:10 153:24

movements 114:9

moving 84:13 95:20 98:8 99:1 149:8,25 158:17 168:22 193:4 234:7

multiple 11:8 14:10 15:4 17:15 18:23 19:6 20:25 29:3 31:16

murder 170:9 186:11 203:22

murdered 160:22 203:20

murdering 51:16

muscle 114:22

Mushlin 48:20 62:22,23 63:1 88:10 96:17

music 110:20 185:1

myth 229:19

N

named 160:20 180:17

names 125:3 134:12

naming 187:18

narrative 97:2 102:6

Nathan 18:14,18 19:3,5,8

nation 66:3

nation's 36:17

national 4:25 5:2 12:6 14:17,24 49:7 65:14 67:10 70:18 133:5 142:9,16 153:23 154:5,19 164:9 165:17

nationally 15:12 99:24

nations 27:1 115:10 152:23

nationwide 165:2

natural 60:16 157:16

nature 21:21 41:17 85:22 97:17 126:22 168:1

necessarily 189:3

necessity 58:18

neck 18:23

needed 114:14 117:16 223:22 226:4

Needless 27:5 73:21

needlessly 115:12

negative 29:10 191:25 221:18

neglect 60:24 61:3

neighborhood 225:21

neighborhoods 156:15

neighboring 69:10 120:2

neighbors 69:10

nerves 129:10

nervous 114:15 115:5 188:14

network 61:1

neurological 23:19

neurologically 27:23

neuropsychological 27:6

Neuroscientific 27:12

news 76:10 142:13

night 100:17 108:18 110:3 121:18 177:5 201:3 219:15

nightmares 111:3 115:3

nights 115:2 181:16

nobody's 125:14,15

noise 174:16

noisy 174:17

nominal 61:9

non-judicial 68:25

non-white 58:9

noncontact 187:11

nonetheless 59:17

nonviolent 26:20 38:5 113:25 189:22 190:16

noon 236:11

norm 157:7

normal 27:24 52:12 139:2,4 145:1 158:21 173:6 199:1,2, 21,22 201:21 212:7 220:1

normalized 169:2

North 144:9

northern 49:19 50:2,15 51:6 82:18 83:10,13

94:3
95:14,15
101:13
102:13
103:10,15,
16 104:7
105:14,22
107:21
108:4,8
112:12,25
113:22
115:17
126:14
127:21
128:2,3
154:12
159:19
166:4
170:21
173:10
174:11,20
175:12,18
179:7
189:19,21
190:17,20
191:16,24
192:7
193:21,22
194:11,22
195:1,10
196:2
201:4
207:7
208:21
221:16,20,
24 222:10,
15,19
223:4,17
226:8,23
227:2,14,
16 228:12,
17 229:18,
19 232:19
233:20
234:4
235:25

note 19:12
28:3 56:18
72:24
73:11
189:15

noted 35:11

notice 172:9
178:10
234:16

noticed
101:14
152:8
166:9,11

notified
233:19

notion 67:24
68:5 69:4
86:20
89:12
225:8

notwithstandin g 10:10

nuisance
74:25

number 5:16
10:4
24:12,21
25:8 26:19
35:24
36:15
37:14
43:22
44:1,21
45:21
59:11
60:3,5
81:6 83:20
100:2
129:23
135:11
136:1
137:2
140:1,23
141:4,6
146:2
154:12
158:11,25
160:6,21
163:13
165:17
170:12
194:15
227:20,22
229:1
231:3,8

numbers
24:20 31:8
44:21 45:3
46:7 49:14
78:19
84:19,24
88:25 96:7
99:23
134:13
156:23
159:25
160:8,15,
18 161:3,
13 163:8
194:7
227:15
229:11
231:2,8

numbing
114:10

numerous
26:1

nurse 108:23
217:17
218:13

nutrition
36:1

nutritional
35:12,17
119:19

nutshell
82:20

NYU 48:20

O

obesity
114:22

objection
59:6,10,
12,15

obligated
10:17

obligation
83:12

168:24
169:4

obligations
10:25
97:16

observation
11:18 15:8
155:3
232:24

observations
172:1

observed
25:20
39:18
69:11
171:23
188:18
189:2

observes
146:11

obsessions
28:8

obsessive
26:1
176:10

obstacle
192:6
193:3,4

obvious
118:4
146:25

OCA 10:17
11:4,23
13:21 18:2

occasionally
44:23
114:8

occasions
14:10
18:23
162:19
225:2

occupies
37:3

occur 13:17
72:13

occurred
57:20 58:1
65:15 83:6

occurring
39:20

occurs 23:22
26:16
36:24
196:12

offences
172:21

offender
12:24
82:23

offenders
11:25 17:9
21:2 27:19
28:18 29:7
31:23
32:5,8
33:1,15,23
36:24
42:15,16
43:2,23
44:8,24
46:18
95:13,22
162:23
228:21

offends
146:19

offense
44:19
45:16 46:6
147:23
151:1
152:8
186:12
189:23

offenses
190:5,16

offer 87:25
93:23

offered 88:5
120:8
177:22

offering
178:1

office 4:18
8:22,25
9:9,21
10:3,7,25
11:1 33:5
41:11
46:18
169:7,13,
17 188:6

officer
19:16
46:16 49:3
57:20
75:4,7
78:14
107:19
109:25
110:1
113:5
139:17
198:11
216:7
217:16
225:5

officers
38:24
73:12,18,
24 75:14,
19 78:9,21
85:2
104:13
106:22
108:15
109:16
161:20
174:10,11,
24 182:19
200:25
201:8
205:23

offices
196:24

official
54:25
154:24

officials
135:3,20

146:3,6 169:8 196:15 217:6 231:16,18

oftentimes 36:2 96:20 105:7,19

Ohio 98:16 150:3

Oklahoma 69:6

okra 145:25

older 140:23,24

Olivia 4:4 35:8 79:3 193:18

omnipresent 60:20

on-the-job 79:24

one's 23:17 53:2 88:15

one-hour 187:11

one-to-one 15:7

ongoing 56:11 233:14 234:21

opaque 36:20 167:8

open 6:25 7:4,21 8:17 23:6 28:19,20 168:15 236:4

open-ended 128:9 166:12

open-heart 118:20

opened 86:5 100:1 116:9,18

opening 7:16

opens 30:10

operate 65:2 69:4

operation 63:9

operational 34:19

Operative 203:20

opinion 42:24 47:1 59:14 74:6 128:19 146:12,18 162:7 193:11,15,17 205:14 206:15

opinions 8:8 23:5 54:23

opportunities 83:23 85:13 89:6 90:23 94:25 143:5

opportunity 8:13 62:18 69:17 76:15 87:25 98:21 99:8 103:11 112:8,9 130:19 169:19 196:6 200:4 202:11 215:18 226:11 233:21,22,24

opposite 29:13

optimistic 89:24 90:4

option 88:5 160:7 193:4

order 7:8 43:5 77:4 78:16 106:24 107:9 111:16 118:13,16 121:20 131:17 206:3 216:7 234:23

ordered 118:17

ordinary 23:25

organization 8:7 23:3 49:7 63:12

organizations 8:15 53:23 87:8 154:1

organized 145:17

orientation 98:3

origin 5:1

Osborne 216:6

other's 97:15,20

out-of-cell 83:23

out-of-the-box 100:9

outcomes 21:6 29:6 57:7 59:2

61:3

outdoors 199:13

outlawed 103:24

outright 73:20

outset 7:2 12:2

outsourced 37:18

over-policing 156:12

overblown 23:14

overburdened 77:9

overcome 115:13

overcooked 119:21

overcriminalization 132:23

overdosing 225:25

overmedicating 121:11

overmedication 218:24 220:15

overpopulated 209:14

overrepresented 141:9

oversee 82:8

overseeing 143:3

oversight 21:3 56:6 58:19 59:1 63:14,23 68:23,25 69:7 205:7,8 206:1 214:22

Overuse 67:20

overview 79:16 145:3

overwhelmed 20:7

overwhelming 26:19 181:14 183:23

overwhelmingly 21:16

owe 84:16

oxygen 24:1, 8 124:4

P

p.m. 236:17

pace 20:15 48:20 63:2

Pacific 3:23

packet 29:21 30:5

pad 123:23

padded 18:21 19:13,16

padlock 223:10

pages 21:14

paid 84:5, 10

pain 113:10 115:8,17 181:9 220:1 224:4,5

painful 113:19 115:15 177:11

Pam 102:12 103:5,8 126:4

panel 6:20, 25 7:16,22 8:20 40:2 48:13 54:14 62:19,25 67:11 80:25 81:19 86:4,24 95:14 101:11,20, 24 102:8 125:19

panelists 6:4 7:9,13 54:19 77:15 94:1 104:10

panels 6:22

panic 25:25 115:1

paper 71:8 96:22 110:20 123:24 183:16

paperwork 71:7

paramilitary 60:15

paranoia 26:1 73:9 176:10

paranoid 111:22 175:24 189:14

parent 115:7

parents 104:21

parole 45:15 216:5,21

217:1 228:10

part 6:20 22:23 33:12 35:4 37:15 43:10,12 44:25 49:7 61:15 70:6,22 91:5 93:21 129:18 141:25 157:4 175:19 184:12,16 186:24 196:23 198:1,2

participant 212:11

participate 9:1 54:13 62:19 74:8 130:17 234:13

participated 131:20 228:17

participating 3:15 73:1 92:22 98:14

participation 62:15

partner 85:23

partnered 49:8

party 59:17

passed 231:10

passion 90:17

passionate 90:25

past 5:19 48:5 95:15 115:15 209:16 217:13 224:15 226:17 229:13

path 62:12 77:21

pathway 201:4

patient 57:5,15 61:3 87:18,22

patiently 185:21

patients 56:8 57:2 58:4,6,8, 10 59:9,21 60:3,5 92:14,17, 25 93:4

pattern 191:13

pause 144:16

pay 42:17 84:6

paying 101:8

PBS 15:22 16:1

peel 122:24

peeled 122:25

peer 27:10 43:11,12

peering 197:17

peers 14:16

Pelican 151:12

Pell 100:8

penal 151:2

penalty 16:18 94:7 156:10,18 186:19,24 206:24

penitent 25:14

Pennsylvania 70:11 76:3 162:6

penological 6:7 179:8

pens 225:25

people 6:15, 18 13:18 21:8 24:22 34:14,16 36:16 39:1 43:3 44:11 47:11 50:1 51:8 52:11,22 57:10 64:3 65:6,11 66:1,8,13, 18,19,21, 25 67:16, 17 68:9, 12,14,21 70:1 72:9 79:21 80:2,15,24 81:13 87:21 88:5 89:14 90:20 93:13,23 95:8,15,20 96:5 97:8 99:6,19 100:21 101:3,22, 25 102:6 106:10 111:22 113:14 115:21,22

116:11,13
123:9
124:13,15,
18,22
128:18,24
129:4,13,
20 130:11
131:20
133:3,21,
22,24
134:4,13
135:4,6,9,
13,19,23
136:3,20,
25 137:8
138:15,19
139:19,24
140:6,19,
23,25
141:5,6,22
142:5,15,
23 143:4,
13,19
144:2,6,22
147:10,22
149:13
151:13,15
152:2,10
154:13
157:9,11,
13,15
158:4,9,
14,19
159:1,9
160:4,13,
18 161:5,
14,18
162:2,21,
23,25
163:12,22,
24 165:18
166:17,20,
23 167:9,
18 171:25
173:3
180:25
181:17
183:8,11
184:9,17
185:2,10
187:2,6
188:5,6
190:15
196:7
198:5,8,
15,17,18,
19 200:17,
25 201:8
202:16
203:16,25
204:8,13,
15 205:18,
24 206:16
207:9,14,
20 208:4
209:5,6,
15,16,19,
21,24,25
210:16,17,
18,19
211:7,9,17
213:11
214:10,15
215:12
219:19,24
220:11,15,
25 221:1
227:1
228:2,6,
13,15,16,
20,21
229:22,23,
24,25
230:3,18,
22 231:2,3
233:2,17
234:23

people's
200:11
208:9
214:15

percent
13:2,16
24:22,24
29:1 31:12
32:8 37:3,
4 43:23
57:10
91:13
100:2
130:4
135:21
137:15,19
154:14
204:15
222:15

percentage
37:12 41:8
68:13
137:14

percentile
101:7

perception
79:21
176:11
189:22
198:9

perfect
233:17

performance-based 15:11,
14 16:7

period 14:6
15:9 24:25
79:24 83:3
84:23
86:11
104:7
107:12
114:12
130:18
143:10
148:2
222:6
231:25

periodic
157:9

periodically
10:18

periods
12:16
72:10
103:1
231:4

permanent
24:8

permissible

154:2
168:25

permission
216:13,15
221:15

permissive
135:3

permit 16:8
235:22

permitted
229:14

perpetuated
212:13
213:9

persist
56:24

persistent
44:6 45:6

persistently
87:23

person 8:6
12:23
17:20 24:7
43:16
51:18
53:14,16,
19 80:6,23
82:7,12,16
85:24 89:5
99:18
106:21
108:21,22,
23 113:9
115:7
116:22
123:12,15
129:18
136:11
143:24
146:9,10
149:7
150:19,20,
21 155:16
157:5
163:16
168:24
176:15
182:24
199:8
203:20,21
208:10
211:19
212:2
228:8,10
229:2
230:7
235:15

person's
27:14 48:1
120:4
129:16

personal
11:18
101:21,25
102:5
112:4

personality
43:18

personalize
127:12

personally
21:13
104:3
140:15
157:3
205:14

persons 8:14
17:19
26:21 32:9
55:6 153:4
204:23

perspective
50:24 55:2
70:21,23
77:13
80:17
94:12
102:3
131:11
154:5
164:8
165:2
167:8
168:18
187:23

perspectives
56:18

pervasive
21:17

perverse
37:18

pet 99:9

petty 73:17

phase 49:20
50:4,15
83:2,14,
15,16,21
84:7
105:13
107:16
109:24
154:13
156:10
183:20
203:6
210:24
222:12
227:19
229:21

phases 50:6,
10 107:16
185:12
210:15

phenomenon
38:15

phone 139:8,
12,17
140:7
181:25
183:3,6
187:13
222:9

physical
14:15
20:22 26:2
57:7
64:11,15
105:25
144:22,25
171:18,25
195:3
203:2
208:11

224:4

physically
18:20
64:12
138:8
177:11

physician
23:9 54:24

picked 18:25

picking
145:25

picture
133:4,5,22
136:24
181:1
184:2,8
209:10,11,
23

pictures
183:13

piece 149:19
167:6
230:24
234:25

pieces 18:15

pile 53:2

pivot 62:1

place 12:10
29:9 52:11
68:24 69:7
78:11 82:5
83:9 90:8
98:1 99:7
100:6
105:11
108:5,6
118:2,22
129:2
156:22
160:1
208:14
226:3
230:22
232:2
234:6

placement
53:15
71:10,11,
15 72:3
74:20,24
81:24,25
83:2 101:5
223:2

placements
75:24

places 12:8
18:16
115:17

placing 17:1
28:17
56:21 72:9

plagued 69:1

Plains 63:2

plan 20:18
41:20,25
42:6,10
53:18 60:7
97:20
144:14,15
175:9
212:12

planned 31:6

planning
131:23

plans 77:18
97:22
175:9
234:21

plant 20:22

plate 139:5

play 85:4
123:19
151:19
176:21
184:16
190:8

played
109:10
234:5

plays 30:2

plead 107:2

plenty 232:5

plexiglas
187:12
230:7

poetry
110:19

poignant
177:7

point 9:6
12:22
16:14 33:1
35:16
39:18
41:25
44:20
45:19
50:10 51:5
53:3,16
56:14
58:17 64:2
66:23 67:7
68:3,19
78:12
84:15
85:12 87:4
95:1
111:19
116:17
119:11
122:16
133:9
134:22
163:5
167:24
170:7
177:19
196:14,22
202:20
225:4
227:18
229:7

pointed
168:23

pointless
119:3

points 23:18
55:25
63:25 64:1

Polaris 211:10

police 19:16 46:16 156:16 205:23

policies 10:22 21:1 34:18,19 41:22 165:25 225:15

policy 5:2 10:6 21:3, 19 70:20 160:1 227:10

political 154:1

poor 73:11 174:12

pop 197:14

popped 87:20

popular 61:18

populate 26:21

population 24:19,25 26:7,11,16 27:25 37:3 39:3 43:5 47:18 49:18 72:23 81:6 85:10 86:8,9,13 90:20 91:7,21 94:9,23 95:3 96:6 97:10 98:22 99:10 126:19 135:22 137:10,15, 24 138:15 141:10,12 142:5 154:15,17 155:5 160:3 163:17 171:11 172:2 188:1 194:10,23 222:10

populations 9:23 10:6 37:6 137:6 159:4 194:23

Porter 195:22,23 205:1,13 206:10,16, 20,22 207:16 208:20,23

portions 122:24

pose 225:18

posit 232:22

position 11:2 17:11 55:21 76:19 124:14 147:17 194:6

positive 45:4 52:16 173:12 234:24

possess 146:21

possessing 222:24

possibility 37:24 98:7 147:3,12 186:21 189:24

possibly 77:19 220:6

post-conviction 137:5

posttraumatic 219:5

postulate 93:1

potential 5:25 37:24 60:22 74:2 98:8 230:19

potentially 53:4 140:7

power 9:6 45:22,24 117:14 133:9 134:22 216:9

powerful 126:1 226:14

powerfully 34:25

practical 226:20

practically 124:2

practice 16:25 56:1,21 59:6,19 67:8 74:4 78:7 95:18,23 103:22,25 105:23 165:24 167:24 168:23

practices

55:10
227:5
234:14

pranks 203:3

prayed
181:18

prayer
104:23
105:1

praying
110:18

precepts
146:20

predecessors
95:18

predicated
26:25

prediction
26:17

predictions
28:23

predictor
26:4

preexisting
66:11
160:5

preface
132:25

prefer 94:15

preferable
224:4

preferably
227:11

pregnant
66:17
148:22
152:18
212:14,25
213:1

premiering
177:5

prepare
84:14

prepared 9:6
161:22
202:4

preparing
84:8

prescribing
219:18

presence
61:12

present
52:20

presentation
130:25
131:11
196:10

presented
8:4 71:7
93:16 97:3

presenters
7:9,15 8:9

presents
17:20

press 17:7
134:19

pressure
74:18 75:7

pressures
60:17,19
61:5,9

presumptive
229:13
230:21
231:7

pretend
124:16

pretense
167:12

pretrial
41:3,6
137:1
158:12

pretty 160:9
166:18
177:2

prevalence
59:24

prevent
13:20
20:22 73:8
168:4

preventing
72:25

prevention
17:16
22:13,19
23:4

previous
48:5 86:3

previously
11:23
13:10
25:23
82:14 99:6

preys 118:13

priceless
182:7

primarily
49:18 97:8

principals
56:13

principle
68:11

principled
75:9

principles
62:13
64:21 67:5

prior 94:11
113:6
123:14
216:11

prison 10:16
22:18 23:6
24:19,25
25:17
26:18
32:3,4
36:6,22,23
43:16 44:7
58:15
59:7,13
62:7 63:3,
22 69:12

70:22 71:2
72:13
73:2,14
75:24
76:15,25
77:2 93:2
102:18,24
105:11
107:7,8,22
114:3
116:25
119:18
125:9
129:20,22
131:10
134:2
135:19,20,
22 137:6,
9,24 140:3
141:9,11,
23 142:15,
24 145:17
146:3,6
147:15
148:4,6
151:12
153:19
154:15
156:25
158:16
160:4,14,
17 165:3
166:7,21
172:19
173:13
177:6
179:8
180:22
181:20
184:5,17
185:2
198:4
207:5
208:14
209:14
215:17
220:16,22
221:4,21
224:8
229:14
230:14
232:16

prison's
26:10

prisoner
71:8 76:18
158:11
181:6
222:12,23
223:19
224:9,16
229:16
234:12,16

prisoner's
76:23 77:5

prisoners
5:17,20
24:11,12
25:13
42:25
63:6,10,
18,20
72:16
77:20
81:18
137:17
153:3,10
157:14
159:11
207:9
218:24
219:9
222:1,5,16
225:8,23
227:19
229:9
231:13
234:21

prisons 5:15
22:14,15
23:7 24:23
25:12 26:8
36:13
37:4,5,17,
21 38:15,
22 39:10
56:25
63:14,15
65:1,2,15,
19 66:10
67:20
68:24
69:2,4,7
93:1
106:13
112:13,19
132:10
136:18,24
137:2
140:21
152:6
156:7
173:14

privacy
163:14
192:8
214:18

private
10:20
37:18 38:1
192:11

privately
192:23

privilege
125:24

privileged
48:25

privileges
127:17

problem 22:4
25:10
31:19
36:11,23
45:6,17
64:4 66:25
69:19
78:17
83:20 93:2
113:3
115:19
124:6
138:23
139:1
142:16,25
156:17
163:10
165:7
167:23
191:3

192:2,3
203:24
207:12
216:15
233:8

problematic
34:22
75:18

problems
26:2 33:19
39:20 60:1
69:1 76:11
129:5
134:7
158:15
165:3
166:12,25
167:10,22
175:3
176:11
188:12
220:18

procedural
146:8,17
150:16

procedures
10:19

proceed
198:21
232:4,13

proceedings
7:7 8:11,
16

process 5:24
8:7 23:22
26:14 43:8
50:9 52:3
75:8
81:17,23,
25 82:16,
17,20
84:12
96:24 99:1
126:21
149:16,22
150:16
152:19
154:25
167:7
214:21
233:1,3,5,
12,13,17,
19 234:1,3
235:6,7,21

processes
93:12,14
233:11
235:1

produced
10:4

producing
29:1

product
32:24

productive
227:3

profess
146:21

professional
23:10
51:17 75:9
219:3

professionalism 77:10

professionals
67:13
69:2,3
72:1,4,17
74:5,7,11,
17,23
76:14 77:7
80:9,19
96:20
127:11
175:22

professor
22:11
48:20
62:22 63:1
69:24
131:7,8
132:5
144:20
154:23
159:15
162:15
164:6
165:13,21
167:7,22
168:14,17,
22 226:15
235:12
236:1

professors
87:10

profile
224:11

profound
27:17
66:14
135:4
138:25
140:17

program 5:25
14:22 19:9
28:14
41:15
42:23
43:1,13
45:9 49:20
62:6 86:6
95:11
98:10
100:16
101:6
105:14,15
132:8
165:20
166:11
190:18
221:23
227:23
231:17

programing
13:6 27:8
28:22 29:7
35:25 48:7
76:12
90:23
98:23
143:4
144:10
167:13
179:11,14

222:4
232:20

programs
10:11,14, 15 13:24
15:16
17:24 18:8
21:18
22:1,19
28:12 33:6
34:8,16
46:9 48:4
50:4 62:3
73:6 76:4, 5 77:3
89:20
90:14,15
98:9 144:5
151:18
225:12

progress
41:24 42:2
54:16
55:21
61:25

progressive
14:20
91:21

Project
28:15 63:7

proliferate
39:22

proliferated
36:14

proliferation
28:13 88:4

prolonged
24:5

promised
117:8

promising
76:6

promote 61:1

promoting
54:20
60:11
87:21

promulgated
15:12,13

prone 53:5
157:25

pronounced
177:2

propensity
37:19
205:18

proper 151:8

properly
223:11

property
222:25

proportionality 147:22

propose 28:2
154:24

proposed
143:6
152:1

proposition
65:23

protect
15:24
39:13
158:20
184:16
205:25
235:7

protected
6:6 29:25
95:7 204:9

protection
4:24 27:25
66:20
149:10
235:10

protective
16:9 25:5
134:9
158:18
186:6
194:3

protested
225:4

protocol
123:3

protocols
20:22

proven
103:25
232:11

provide
33:14 51:5
55:8 57:25
63:14
134:22
159:3
175:6
230:15

provided
9:13 59:4, 20 145:3
177:20

provider
61:7 76:19
175:16
176:6
192:11
193:12,17

providers
20:8
191:24
192:16,20, 24 193:16

providing
10:23
175:17
179:10,15
193:13

provision
58:13
207:4

provoke
196:25

provoked
197:5

proximity
199:6

prudent

225:15

psych 114:3 118:16

psyche 113:11

psyched 211:18

psychiatric 13:3 25:22 38:14 42:24 75:25 77:25 217:13

psychiatrist 47:1 69:24 70:3,22 118:9 159:20 163:23

psychiatrists 70:25

psychiatry 22:12,24 38:10 71:4

psychological 23:20 26:2 66:14 70:17 73:23 74:12,14 77:25 108:7 111:24 167:17 171:24 224:5

psychologically 47:2

psychologists 217:7

psychosis 217:9,18, 21

psychotic 25:21 71:17 220:19

psychotropic 217:8

public 6:10, 20 7:1,4, 25 8:13 10:20 21:5 23:1 33:8 46:18 59:18 65:19 79:21 101:2 130:18 132:2 164:4 169:7,8, 13,14,16, 17 206:8 214:3

publically 9:15 59:24 130:13

publically-funded 9:16

published 13:25 33:5,7 42:10 67:19

Pueblo 40:8, 24

pulled 89:25 108:2 192:10,22 203:3

pulling 107:25 115:3 126:22

punch 45:25

punish 16:21 80:10 113:4 125:12 148:7,9,13 212:3

punishing 228:3

punishment 15:7 16:3 26:25 35:17 36:3,4 58:1 64:16 76:17 93:6 146:1 147:25 148:1 229:5

punishments 77:4 147:5

punitive 19:11 25:5 36:7 191:19 207:21

Purcell 133:14

purportedly 24:16 38:3

purpose 6:12 15:6 86:6 106:5 143:9 171:7 178:15 179:8

purposes 25:6

pursuant 17:1

pursuing 77:17

push 116:17

push/pull 79:12

pushing 96:22 128:9

put 4:20 35:11

43:23
49:22
53:17
57:13
65:23
75:17
76:19,23
90:8
105:11
108:10
116:13
121:1,22
122:19
124:13
134:18
135:4
143:15
144:2
147:23
148:14,18
151:2
152:9,17,
22 153:1
155:15
157:25
158:2,9,15
159:5
182:20
188:8
191:4
192:10
196:19
199:8
200:19
203:10,19
209:16
214:11,12
226:3
230:16

puts 104:22
156:10
191:1

putting 66:4
69:18
76:24
120:8
145:16
218:2
220:23

puzzle
234:25

Q

qualify
186:10
229:7

quality
58:22,24
59:20
167:11

quarter
24:11
33:10
137:17

quarterly
59:18

quell 159:12

question
29:20
30:3,16
33:16
34:9,10,21
36:11
37:15,21
38:8 40:15
41:11
42:22
43:21
44:3,10
47:8 48:5
55:22
76:18
77:22
79:11
84:22
86:25 87:2
88:11
94:1,5
104:17
126:4,10
133:23
135:8
138:4,6
139:4,19
142:4
145:4,9
146:25
154:7
155:3
156:10
158:8,24
161:6,24
163:3,4
164:2,10,
25 167:21
189:20
202:8
203:8,19
219:17
232:21
233:16

questioning
179:18

questions
5:22 7:18,
20 8:1
29:18 40:3
42:19
43:21
46:20 54:8
62:20
77:13 92:2
102:10
125:20,21
127:25
136:5,15
139:7
142:10
147:2
154:7
157:20
158:7
159:16
162:14
170:2
180:10,13
185:23
186:1,2
189:16
194:20
209:3
214:24

quick 96:5
219:6
221:10
226:25

quickly 9:7 86:3 96:8 145:25 215:18 218:3 224:4,13

quote 32:6 110:17

quoted 37:12

R

race 4:25 29:25 32:10 56:3 59:22 93:7 141:7,14 155:10

racial 5:25 32:14 57:24 92:11,21 93:20 154:9,21 156:13,23 179:23

Raemisch 160:25

rage 28:9

Rahmeen 221:13 226:13 227:17 228:6

rain 177:24

raises 159:12

raising 142:19 157:20

ramp 230:15,17 234:4

ran 40:24 142:24 198:2

range 10:5 61:9 228:18 231:8

ranks 49:4

rapidly 24:14

rate 24:24 36:17 72:22 101:6

rates 57:22, 23 60:1 85:5 93:15

Rausch 4:8

re-regulated 15:9

reach 19:24 220:7

reached 35:21 45:16

reaching 219:12

reacquaint 98:22

reactive 168:1

read 21:13 69:5 98:16 110:21,22 137:21 150:5,18 171:21 190:23 215:18 221:10,15

readily 76:12

reading 176:13 180:16 185:19 218:7 226:12

real 18:15 56:1 63:8 69:8,12 72:8 86:3 93:23 101:14 109:25 127:1 138:3 148:5 173:4 211:20

realistic 67:22

reality 38:5 104:4 105:4

realize 118:11 120:15 124:18 128:25 129:1

realized 224:3

reason 66:13 80:20,22 117:12 123:9 162:22 170:23 171:9 191:6 197:25 207:17 229:22 230:21 232:12 233:19

reasonable 191:17 231:8

reasoned 146:12

reasons 26:16,23 38:7 45:13 74:7 80:21

158:8
170:14,15
194:4
234:17

reassigned
194:16

rebel 105:19

rebelling
212:8

rec 174:1
178:1,5

recall
108:23

recap 226:25

receive 60:6
236:6

received
19:5 93:10
98:23
113:2
118:16
196:10

receiving
60:4

recent 5:8
13:13
17:14
24:19
35:22
58:14
194:9

recently 6:9
17:5,6
25:19
45:13
51:15
70:15 76:2
135:6
140:3
217:5

recess 48:15
131:2
169:11

recidivism
28:7 29:2
52:17
99:23
100:1
105:18
162:20

recognize
7:17 29:13
82:22

recognized
64:8
117:13

recognizing
179:14

recommend
10:21
168:6
233:8

recommendation
154:23
214:23

recommendations 10:5
16:25
41:18
70:14
101:17
128:11
165:5,9
236:6

recommended
11:20
16:25

recommending
152:12

reconsider
34:23

reconvene
169:6

record 8:17
20:2 132:1
168:14,16
208:22
230:12
236:4

recorded
25:1
187:13

recording
7:7

recordkeeping
155:14

records
10:10 61:1
155:12

recreation
144:4
167:15
177:20,22
183:6
198:23
199:2,9,10

reduce 49:18
54:15
114:23
132:21,22
134:14
136:4

reduced 29:4
57:23
89:23,25
113:24
218:14
225:13

reducing
20:19 28:6
41:21 46:7
55:15 98:1
179:23

reduction
5:14 29:1
45:4
84:23,25
160:9,12

Reena 69:23

reentry 98:4

refaced
117:8

refer 49:20
52:23
82:18
133:9

reference
82:13

referred 5:17,23 15:10 51:9 65:13 68:20 81:24 100:12

referring 19:25 90:11 189:8

reflecting 55:21

reflects 56:17

reform 5:9 17:2 21:4 22:18 25:17 62:4 63:3

reform-minded 62:15

reformed 226:8

reforms 20:15 22:22 55:18 88:21 152:14 168:7 226:4,20 233:7

refusal 145:22

refuse 120:1 129:20 219:21,22

refused 120:9

refuses 120:7

refusing 172:7,13, 14

regard 11:3, 22 49:6 55:13 81:21 90:14 180:1,3,5 208:9

regarded 38:8

regimen 217:25

regression 92:14

regular 59:1 124:13,15 141:20 147:15 158:3 177:14 201:21 223:7 231:1

regularly 11:6,14 27:8 59:23 162:2 233:2

regulate 205:16

regulated 153:2

regulation 26:13 169:3

regulatory 89:19

rehabilitate 105:15

rehabilitating 207:20

rehabilitation 16:20 28:11 33:14 48:7 73:6,8 105:9 204:11 225:22

rehabilitation -related 222:3

rehabilitative 33:8 167:13 195:15

reimagine 21:4

reintegration 52:9 98:12,14 100:11,16 196:2 201:2 202:1

reinvent 90:24

rejection 153:9

relate 59:2

related 61:3 133:6 210:24 211:2

relating 4:23

relations 178:20

relationship 19:19 80:8 134:1 192:5

relationships 73:12

release 17:7 84:11 186:22

released 41:12 45:13 166:23 180:22 182:7 225:20

relevant 11:6 14:18

reliance 54:15 55:15 99:16

relief 215:23 220:8

religion 4:25

remain 19:21 45:5 114:10 206:17

remained 19:8 224:24

remaining 7:19 206:14

remains 105:13

remarks 7:10,13 55:23 91:24 97:12

remedy 35:5 92:9

remember 33:25 42:15 108:25 109:4,14, 24 110:25 111:4,5, 12,16 117:1 120:23 127:15 138:16 202:6 209:13

remind 7:2 236:3

reminded 211:17 218:10

reminding 152:20

removal 170:24

remove 121:20

removed 43:5 53:7 223:8

removing 86:7

render 149:3

renders 119:3

rep 198:3

repay 119:8

repeal 178:25

repealed 207:19

repeat 69:1 166:17

repeatedly 19:1 75:10

repeating 64:3

replied 71:16,19

reply 135:18

report 9:15 13:13,25 15:17 16:23 17:13 18:2,11 20:16,17 22:21 35:10 40:10 41:12 42:4 45:19 47:14 67:19 132:6 134:3 143:18 158:13,25 176:4 188:16 213:14

reportable 16:1

reported 20:7 31:3, 14 59:11, 24 60:3 119:17 138:17 160:11 188:6,19

reporter 7:6 221:9

reporting 41:23 58:14 59:1 60:8 61:2 171:24 213:19 231:1

reports 10:4 13:11 100:1 174:17 177:25

representation 44:7 93:13,23 233:24

representative 195:22 205:1 208:20

represented 187:18,19 190:15

representing 22:25 54:23 235:17

repressive 225:14

repurpose 86:17

request 7:13 70:18 74:23

requested 118:15

requests 213:22

require 56:15 119:20

required 43:8 94:9 146:1 201:19 205:14 222:13

requirement 82:11 83:16 234:15

requirements 152:18

requires 56:6,12 157:6

research 5:13 27:12 38:10 70:19 72:7 86:7 87:17 136:5,16 158:5

researchers 12:13

resemble 233:18

resembles 234:11

resembling 234:15

resentenced 186:21

residences 10:19

residency 40:8 71:3

resident 112:17 180:18

residential 10:14

residue 153:9

resilience 48:1

resiliency 131:22

resilient 140:16

resist 164:10

Resnik 131:7,8,13 155:2 158:5 160:11 162:15 163:2 164:19 165:13,22 167:7,22 168:17,19 235:12

Resnik's 159:16

Resolve 28:15

resonated 197:8

resonates 196:13

resort 81:3 231:24

resources 48:1 76:13,25 79:15 89:22 179:10 188:11 194:7 225:17

respect 3:15 8:10 159:23 183:10 204:22,23 208:9

respected 185:2

respectful 159:15

respective 5:6

respond 33:1 36:10 77:24 78:12 233:21

responded 11:8 124:4 225:6

respondents 158:11,12

responding 86:16

response 8:13 19:5, 10 20:15 31:5 32:25 33:25 39:16,19 41:11 90:11 146:5 199:14 225:1

responses 30:19 164:15

responsibilities 99:21

responsible 51:16 198:15

responsive 161:11

rest 58:21 207:15 213:21

restore 178:25

restrained 18:20 19:2 45:25 87:24 144:13

restraining 46:1

restraint 18:4 19:7 20:19 40:9 41:21,22 87:22 88:7 223:14 225:14

restraints 104:11 114:5 224:23

restricted 138:5 141:16 143:10 148:14 161:20

restriction 148:15

restrictions 208:2,16

restrictive 12:1,21 16:24 17:1,12 49:10 51:21 70:15 75:24 118:1 143:2 179:9 195:10,13 207:10 208:15 214:19

restroom 203:9

result 13:5 19:1 29:16 96:13 103:15 113:1

results 58:2 73:17 189:4 191:20

resume 130:25

retained 105:20

retention 234:18

retrain 93:10 211:25

return 6:24 20:10 60:7 84:15 204:15 216:8,11

revealed 56:10 61:4 218:9,13

review 10:18 11:19 18:4 21:9 59:16,18 70:16 96:25 97:3 157:8,9 167:7 229:2

reviewed 233:2

reviewing 72:7

reviews 96:12 234:11

revising 70:14

revocation 94:9

revoked 94:7

Revolution 153:9

revolves 50:7

reward 176:25

rewards 77:4

Rhode 69:10

rhythm 224:2

Rick 160:25

rid 34:7

rightfully 34:23

rights 3:5 4:21 5:2,5 55:7 56:12 60:12,21, 25 61:16 63:7,10 64:5 65:18 67:6 69:18 87:1 104:1 106:2 112:7 145:15 152:25 153:3,6,9, 11 166:2 203:16 231:11

Rikers 22:23 26:4 76:3

rip 183:13

rise 29:5

rising 24:21

risk 12:21, 23 13:12 17:19 21:24 26:17 35:24 46:9 57:13 69:14 74:19,21 114:22 161:7 180:20 218:25 225:18

risks 57:6 72:8,12 74:5,14

road 53:14 54:4 204:10

robust 62:10

Robyn 195:22

role 30:2 61:7 101:14 206:12

roles 97:20

roll 212:22

room 12:19 13:18 14:14 15:3,18,23 16:9 20:10,11 80:18 82:4 97:18 109:17 121:17 123:5 136:17 140:24 141:13 142:7,12 173:25 182:19 192:11

rooms 122:1

root 211:23 213:12

roughly 32:6 100:2 137:11 228:1

round 137:11

routinely 59:11 74:11 76:16

row 94:2,3 108:6 134:15 169:21 170:17 173:18 206:13,17 207:5,18

rubric 135:2

ruined 181:10

rule 72:1 73:19 90:12 138:12

rules 7:3 57:3 93:16 148:6 150:21 152:23 153:3,12, 22 167:3 187:1 190:1,8 205:18 234:15

rumor 212:13

run 7:17 69:13 142:15

run-ins 228:23

running 86:22 99:17 131:6 159:14 166:25 198:3

runs 17:23 40:23 41:5 198:1

rushed 224:20

S

SAC 3:6 4:1 8:2 35:11 131:12

sad 144:23 150:5

sadism 113:17

Sadly 122:14

safe 44:5 65:1,19 85:8,9,11 104:16,24 111:21 118:18 157:15 158:21 196:21,24 204:6 220:9 232:4

safely 232:15

safer 159:9

safest 28:24

safety 20:21,22 21:6 26:23 33:8 50:19 101:2 103:21 104:15,17 135:1 156:8 163:18 181:18

Samuel

19:15,17, 23 20:5

Samuel's 20:3

San 28:15 32:20 42:22

sanction 19:8,11 148:4 152:11 211:12

sanctions 16:20 19:6 53:2

sane 132:20

Sarah 8:21, 24

sat 107:6 230:6

Saturdays 120:12

save 115:4 204:8 223:7

saved 124:1

scared 181:17 184:1 185:6

scary 47:19 184:12

scenario 52:5 95:2 120:9

schedule 7:7 20:8 177:13

scholar 113:20

scholarly 70:6

school 8:23 10:13 22:12 23:1 31:22 38:25 40:16 42:9 48:20 55:1 63:2 65:22 69:25 71:3 117:4 131:8 132:8 142:8 144:19 203:3 205:5 211:11,13 221:12

schools 30:20,25 31:13

scientific 70:16 74:1

scoop 198:5

score 222:21

Scott 48:18, 24

scratched 122:24

scream 124:2

screen 95:10 133:11 230:7

screening 43:7

search 225:14

searches 222:11

seared 197:11

seclusion 12:1,20 14:12,14 17:18,19 18:4 19:13 20:12,20 30:11,20 31:2,4,6, 13 40:9 41:22,23

seconds 122:2

secure 32:25

secured 40:25 59:14 95:3

security 12:21 22:15 39:17 55:10 57:1 60:16,17 95:3 102:17 104:15,16 106:13 107:21 180:20 186:13,20 195:13

sedated 218:1

sedating 224:3

seekers 22:25

seeking 20:6

seemingly 176:15

seg 71:21 87:8 95:11 123:13,14 124:6 134:8 194:12 210:8,12, 14

segregation 5:18,24 6:14 24:13 49:11,15 51:22 71:8,10, 12,16,23

72:9
74:20,24
75:17
80:21
81:19 82:6
83:9 84:4,
25 95:25
96:3,11
103:18
105:5
134:9
154:13
158:17
159:5
166:14
180:19
181:1
185:17
198:4
216:9
221:23
227:20
228:23
229:8

self-defeating
28:5

self-harming
14:2,7
72:17
78:13

self-injurious
18:11

self-loathing
21:18

self-reported
161:13

self-reporting
158:13
191:19

self-starvation
119:24

sell 122:20
225:3

Semple
48:18,23,
24 55:13
56:17
62:16 66:1
67:9,21
68:22
77:16
79:4,18,20
82:2 85:3
89:16 90:2
92:1 94:5
95:5,17
96:16
98:11
101:12,19
132:14,17
136:3
170:3
173:11
194:6
214:2

Senate
221:15

Senator
64:11
151:25

senators
151:24

send 96:11
106:23
107:12
111:9
157:1
216:9

sending 51:8
105:9

sends 100:5
121:11

sense 37:17
39:10 77:1
79:10 88:2
96:19
115:3
131:17
161:22,23,
25 162:20
178:12,14
195:7,12,
15 200:23
205:11
218:5

sensibility
163:15

sensitive
168:11

sensitivity
211:25

sensory 24:6
148:2
150:10
225:18

sentence
169:21
180:24
190:14

sentenced
171:3,8
186:17
190:14
206:17

sentences
172:25
176:20

sentencing
17:2 36:4
151:1

separate
68:12
155:24
156:3,5
157:16

separated
89:12

separation
68:16,17
87:5 89:3
155:22
157:18

September
18:14

series 41:18
228:23
234:4

serve 11:24
61:18
171:7
181:5

194:24

served 70:8
102:24
103:17
116:24
119:18
180:23

serves 118:8
179:8

service 20:8
55:3,8
60:9,12

services
9:16 11:12
15:21 27:8
34:1 35:25
41:5 51:6
56:11
58:9,22
59:3 60:15
61:6 70:9
92:19,23
191:16,18,
22 201:17,
20

serving
86:13
166:22
167:9
176:20

session 6:25
7:21
169:14

set 15:15
62:12
130:24
149:11
162:12
189:25
190:7
222:23
225:17

sets 87:18

setting
14:25
30:21
32:15,19
58:16
60:15,16
193:7
230:8,11,
15 232:22

settings
10:16
11:24
55:11
72:14
73:13
93:12
175:17

settlement
151:14

setup 176:23
202:3

sevenfold
36:16

seventeenth
113:1

severe 16:18
43:13
117:16
123:16
167:16

sex 4:25

sexual
114:21

shackle
108:11

shackled
108:8
122:19
200:20
203:7,10

shackles
108:9,14
222:14
223:9

shake 162:8

shakedowns
122:3

shaken 230:5

shaking
108:24

shampoo
121:5

shape 218:20

share 18:5
33:24
187:17

shared 62:4

sharing
48:12
77:12
106:8
112:4
128:8
130:16,20
206:5
214:24
221:7

shattered
113:23

sheet 7:23
127:5

shell 113:24

shields
108:20

shift
120:13,17
123:2
201:12

shine 93:22

shining
93:11

shoe 121:23
134:11

shook 198:22

short 6:23
84:23
86:22
113:19
130:17
159:14
176:6
218:1

shorter
103:8
172:25

shortest 231:23

shorthand 141:20

shortly 167:1 223:15

shot 110:3, 8 160:24

show 23:20 24:2 48:6 116:15 138:1

showed 109:8 116:4 124:13

shower 107:18,24 120:11,14, 17,18,24 121:3 178:1 183:1,5

showered 120:15

showering 121:1

showers 120:25

shown 188:15

shows 27:12 32:7 66:7 162:17 202:18

shutoff 123:20

siblings 104:21

sick 218:23,24 219:1

side 29:24 114:20 122:19 198:13 200:5 216:24 218:4

sides 198:12,13

sight 67:3

sign 7:23

sign-up 7:23

signal 204:24

significant 5:14 31:19 55:21 56:16 66:21 73:9,23 86:11 140:23 141:5 142:4 150:15 158:25 161:13,15 170:1,16, 24 171:10 172:16 174:3 187:20

significantly 5:21 30:23

silence 205:20

similar 24:4 41:16 56:18 72:1 224:25

Similarly 29:3

simple 64:5 100:23 107:10 116:21

simply 38:6 75:17 105:8 117:25 146:17 230:13,18

singing 181:25

single 24:14 31:4 108:16 118:7 136:9 167:21 211:21 222:16

sink 109:7, 9,11,19,20 140:12

sister 102:12 103:9

sit 66:5 69:13 114:12 119:12 153:7 198:17

site 14:1 42:11 82:18 84:17

sitting 139:3 207:1

situation 53:5 81:3 89:13 91:19 109:2 128:23 162:1 164:21 187:2,8 199:24 219:16 220:5

situations 164:9,16 197:4,5

six-days-a-week 28:21

skeptic 234:25
skills 98:25
skin 18:25 108:14
skipped 120:16
slavery 153:9
sleep 117:19 118:4,16 121:13,14 122:4,6 181:17 219:14,17
sleeping 114:21 209:15
sleepless 115:2
slice 183:9
sliced 116:10
slide 153:11
slim 197:16
slip 183:8
slit 222:7
slot 119:22
slow 210:8, 11,12
slowly 61:6
small 41:8 68:12 88:25 91:20 103:1 109:17 122:24 141:4 160:16 173:22 174:4 184:25 188:1 194:15 222:6
smart 181:22
smarter 34:20
smear 75:20
smearing 225:23
SMI 85:21 97:8 141:20
smile 20:4
Smith 222:13
sneaker 121:21
snippet 146:24 152:23
snitching 205:21
soap 121:4
sociability 162:10
social 14:16 23:12,15, 19,23 24:3,6 27:15,17 29:14 112:17 113:21 122:15 130:6 132:9 143:5 208:3 217:7 218:15 219:3 225:12 230:8
socialization 13:6 28:22 167:14 232:15,17
socialized 29:8
societies 162:13
society 29:16 36:20 38:19 63:4 68:25 159:21 204:14 212:19,20 235:9,21
sock 121:3
soften 129:16
softened 224:12
soil 104:11
sole 193:12,17
solely 171:7
solicit 7:1 77:2
solid 79:1
solitary 5:9,14,17, 20 6:3,10 12:4,8,9, 13,20 17:5,9,12, 17 22:22 23:8 24:13,20, 22 25:3,10 26:5,14,21 27:3 28:4, 13 29:4,14 36:3,12 37:11,25 46:24 54:15 55:5,11, 15,25 56:5,10, 15,19 57:6,10,15

58:5,12
62:2 64:6,
13,14,20,
24 65:4,7,
10,12,16,
24 66:6,9,
11,13,16,
18,19,20
67:9,23
68:5,14,17
70:7,10,
17,21
71:1,5
72:2,8,24
73:13
74:3,9,12
77:1 87:3,
5,14
88:13,22
101:22
102:1,17,
21,25
103:17,23
104:5,14
105:5,24
106:5,12,
14,18,21,
23,25
107:3,4
112:12,20
116:5,13,
24 117:1,
21,23
119:21
120:11,24
122:11
128:25
129:24
131:25
132:22
133:5
134:2,7,20
135:24
136:7,12
138:5
140:11
141:3,12,
16,24
142:19
143:15
144:23
145:1
146:25
147:3,24
148:10,15,
19 150:24
151:2,7,
10,17,22
152:1,7
154:10,21
155:17
159:5,7
160:2,13,
19,23
161:8,14,
19 162:19,
21,23
167:9
169:23
170:1,11,
18,20
171:4,11,
13 172:1
173:6
174:8,20
175:4,24
176:22
177:6
179:5,9,
12,21,22
180:19,24
181:11
182:22
183:2
185:5,17
186:15
187:23
188:16
190:2,17
191:4,8,9
196:8,19
197:6,10
199:11
202:8,21,
23 203:4
206:14,17
207:1,17
208:1,16
210:5
211:22
216:16
220:13,19,
23 221:14,
22 230:23,
25 231:2,4
233:13
235:24

solitary-like
6:1 207:6

solution
28:3

solvable
76:12

solve 233:8

solving
57:21

somebody's
221:2

someone's
50:23
51:16,18
108:21
121:21
217:19
233:12

someplace
182:18
193:25

something's
229:16

son 102:21
112:11,23
113:20
114:17
115:3,14
130:3,8
198:3,4
215:17,22,
25 216:1
217:8
218:1
219:9,14
220:5,9,15

son's
219:16,21

songwriter
113:22

sort 29:25

47:4 78:9, 11,12 79:11 89:9,10 128:11 164:8 165:1 166:17 167:10 172:11 174:22,23 189:23 190:6 191:2,13 195:4,5 222:3 228:22 229:19,21 232:9

sorts 235:8

source 61:19

spasms 114:22

speak 7:23, 24 49:21 50:8 98:6, 9 103:11 111:8 169:19 186:3,25 191:15 205:10 211:14

speaker 226:15

speakers 83:19

speaking 32:16 35:7 40:7 51:12 52:6 90:3 98:12 125:23 160:16 176:16

speaks 116:20

special 5:15 9:18,25 16:10 96:1 134:11 144:24 170:9 186:4,7, 11,13,20 207:5 216:4

specialist 25:22

specialized 97:6

specific 7:15 10:24 11:13 164:13 165:8 227:23 234:17

specifically 10:18 13:11 15:2,5 103:23

spectrum 31:14 55:18 59:7 67:16 190:12

spells 115:2

spend 22:9 27:4 85:19 104:8 140:6 200:18 222:1 235:23

spending 141:24

spent 19:13 21:11 47:13 67:13 79:7 83:5 101:13,22 102:25 103:16 106:16 114:16 116:25 185:5 200:15 218:7 230:10

spiking 43:25

spirit 113:23 115:4 130:1

spiritual 204:5 208:11

spit 120:2

spitting 19:4

spoke 20:9 86:4 206:9 211:9 214:23 218:16

spoken 198:6

spotlight 69:18

sprayed 224:21

spring 153:18

squad 108:19

squeeze 203:11

stabbed 64:12 181:18

staff 8:12 11:14 19:1,6 39:6 46:1 50:11,20 51:19 52:1 57:1 58:13

60:17
61:13,17,
18,21 62:5
73:16,25
77:8 78:9
79:6 83:25
85:11 86:6
89:14
90:25
91:3,9,13
93:3,4,10,
11 96:12
97:10,15
99:18
103:21
104:15
123:10
124:24
125:4
127:6
129:1,4
130:7
133:1
134:24
157:14
159:11
211:25
212:14,15,
16,22
213:3,4,
10,13,16
214:6,11,
12 218:17
229:9
236:7,13

staffing
78:16,25

Stage 203:6

stairs
219:20

stall 120:24

Stamford
3:25
124:11,12

stand 161:18
192:25

standard
84:7
140:25
231:21

standards
14:17,21,
24 15:1,
12,15,22
16:6,7
17:2 38:21
47:1 59:16
63:18
80:16
166:13
231:12,13

standing
108:23
197:15

standpoint
175:17

stare 114:13

stark 154:9

start 3:6
47:8
48:14,17
76:6 80:24
88:19
102:11
103:5,7
132:15
133:10
149:24
169:12,14
183:20
197:13
227:8

started 49:3
88:14 90:3
101:4
110:4,17
119:2
131:5
138:24
140:4
160:12
165:15
166:3
223:19,24
224:1
227:15
230:2

starting
34:12
136:3
232:9,20

startling
141:15

starts 7:21
33:24
177:24

starvation
172:6

state 3:11
5:4 9:12,
25 10:10,
15,21
17:10
19:16
20:13,17
31:1
33:10,22
34:5 35:10
37:5 38:17
40:19,22
42:7 44:5
45:4 46:5
49:1,3,16
57:5
58:15,25
65:11,15
66:1 68:6
72:20 84:1
91:20
98:16
112:7,10
113:11
119:1,5,14
132:12,16
133:17,18
135:2,3
137:23
148:24
149:17,18
151:11
154:17
158:6
166:7,14
168:7
195:17

198:3
206:23
207:22
215:9
218:21
222:25
225:16
231:9,16,
19

state's 21:3
166:5

state-run
10:15
11:17
13:23
16:12
17:23 18:8
33:5 40:16

stated 19:24
20:4
202:25

statement
7:14 8:19
17:7,10
180:17
221:10

statements
7:16 8:5,
11,15

states 5:6
17:15
24:10 25:1
29:4 31:19
63:15
66:3,8,10
70:10
133:19
134:5,21,
23 135:16,
23 137:13
138:18
142:15,19
143:7,18
150:13
154:1,20
155:11
164:16
231:6
232:7

States's
17:11

station
229:19

stationed
19:17

statistical
92:15

statistics
158:10
159:2

stats 50:2

status
13:18,19
14:12 19:8
40:7 41:25
57:2 83:21
84:16
95:19,22
96:1
143:14
171:8
186:20
223:15

statute
10:17
17:22
45:10
94:8,11
165:25
170:5,8,
15,23
171:2,10,
15 176:21
178:25
186:9
227:11

statutes
145:10

statutory
63:13
98:19

stay 106:25
180:13
207:6,14

stayed 182:4

staying
207:7
226:17

stealing
228:8

stepdown
144:5
151:18

Stephanie
4:3

stepmother
212:8

stepped
205:2

steps 173:24
174:2
193:22
232:14
234:23

sternal
25:24

Steve 180:14

Steven
180:13

sticks 18:24
196:16

stigma
92:18,22

stimulation
225:13

stimuli
25:24
150:10

stint 126:14

stipulation
217:1

stir 18:18

stones
156:15

stop 28:15
84:12
124:17
144:8

155:6
185:13,16
196:5

stopped
103:3
111:13
116:5
156:15
224:11

stopping
73:7

stops 144:7
185:14

stories
102:5
125:25
128:8
130:13,16,
20 208:14
236:5

Storms 4:2,3

story 44:11
65:5,6
106:9,11
113:19
133:16
140:25
190:5
198:12,16
203:1
214:25
218:1
227:16

straight
102:25
116:25
120:22
143:20

strap 145:17
146:2

strapped
114:5

strapping
145:20

strategies
90:8 91:17

Stratford
4:3

stray 62:11

streams
224:14

street 148:6
202:17
205:20

streets
141:1
143:25
156:12
160:23

strengthen
233:25

stress 32:22
219:5

stressful
167:19

stretcher
109:1

strictly
207:20

strikes
159:20
172:6

striking
165:19

strip 108:10
122:20
129:25
204:4,19
223:6
224:22
225:3

stripped
65:7
204:21

stroke
114:23

strokes
167:20

strong 181:8
182:5
218:9,14

struck 21:17
37:23
43:22 98:3
126:5

structural
194:22

structure
36:12 73:6
157:10

structured
56:12

structures
58:22,24

struggle
44:5
45:23,25
51:14,20
83:17
96:23

struggles
52:18

student
100:13
144:21
221:12

students
22:24
29:23
30:13 31:2
131:9
133:13
166:2
230:9

studied
18:12

studies
23:20 26:8
37:16 48:6
171:23
188:15

study 23:2
26:5
158:10

studying
22:13,25

stuff 111:3

130:10
209:20
215:19

stunned
92:24

stuttering
114:10

style 195:9

subcategories
148:22

subcommittee
63:22

subculture
39:9,10

subject 3:13
12:6 119:8
170:10

subjected
65:18 92:7
201:14

subjects
225:19

submission
118:14

submit 8:18
236:5

submitted
55:24
63:23
96:25
235:17

subset 149:5

subspecialty
71:4

substance
59:25

substandard
58:23

substantial
69:14 74:3
82:14 90:6

substantive
149:16,22

succeeded
38:13

success
55:14 60:8

successes
98:10

successful
56:16

sudden 160:6

sue 119:11

suffer 27:5
111:1
219:4

suffered
64:16
115:1
181:7
220:16

suffering
66:15
110:25
149:4
220:13
223:20

sufficient
78:19,24

sufficiently
79:2

suggest
118:25
155:7
178:17
227:24

suggestion
231:6

suggestions
32:13

suggests
52:16
58:15

suicidal
13:15
14:7,10
18:4,10
20:23
71:18,20
122:17
123:10
191:20

suicidality
14:2

suicide
13:13,16
21:24
26:10
66:14
72:12
122:12
172:4
189:9
223:2,5,8,
13 224:19,
23,25

suicides
13:20
65:13,14
72:13

suing 119:15

summarize
63:25

summer 211:6

sun 9:17
117:14
118:3,6
198:25

sunlight
121:10

superiors
75:11

supermax
22:15 25:2
37:25
112:12
135:14
150:3
166:5
221:21

supervised
15:25

supplementary
61:23

support 4:19

15:20
20:21
34:19 41:5
61:13 75:3
76:11
101:18
130:5
172:19,23
179:11,16
185:16
187:9
188:10
207:16,18
236:14

supported
75:10

supports
167:18

supposed
127:11,13
137:20
192:9
229:20,25
233:14

supposedly
26:14

Supreme
135:12
150:2,3,13
151:8
186:18

surgery
118:20

surprise
225:10

surprised
190:10

surprisingly
141:8

survey
154:19

survive
101:1
200:13

survived
112:11

survives
24:9

survivor
102:17,20
106:12
114:25
180:18
221:14

survivors
172:18

Susan 3:25
77:14

suspicious
175:25

sustain 62:9
100:23,25

sustainability
55:23

sustainable
56:4 60:11

sustained
54:17

swallowing
225:25

sweeping
155:16

symptom
34:22
175:23
191:7

symptoms
25:21 73:9
74:15
173:6
176:8
179:15
188:16
189:12,15

syndrome
25:23

system 10:2,
23 11:4,
20,21
28:24 32:4
40:18 41:9
44:7 49:25
51:25
52:21,25
53:4,25
58:1 59:13
61:16 62:8
70:2 72:6
74:8
75:10,12
76:25 77:8
78:20
79:23
85:6,14
91:20
93:19
104:14
105:13,14,
15,19,21
125:13,14,
16 133:19
135:17
137:13
138:16
141:23
145:17
148:4,5
151:2,24
152:6,11,
13 153:19
155:21
156:8,9,
18,19,25
157:5
160:14,17
164:13
166:21
167:5
168:2,3
176:3
184:5
185:12
190:6,12
207:21
213:14
214:4,9
215:12
216:21
229:14,21
230:14
232:2
234:8

systematic 232:2

systems 58:15 59:7 62:1,11,16 73:2 75:16,20 76:3 77:2 82:22 85:18 93:21 132:20 133:20 134:23 136:10 139:17 140:3 141:25 142:15,24 157:8 158:16,25 159:21 161:10,12, 15 165:3 201:25 231:6

sytem 86:2

T

table 130:7

table-stool 223:8

tackled 165:23

tactic 121:9

tactics 117:20,21

tagged 184:2

takes 41:7 42:4 75:3 78:15 129:21,22

taking 3:12 19:3 87:1 136:13 158:21 182:18

talk 12:15 34:2 65:21,22 67:21 70:19 87:14 89:8,22 94:14 95:9 109:4,9 122:15 123:9 129:19 153:18 164:11 171:20 192:22 194:21 195:25 196:6 202:7,10, 11,19 211:4 215:4 233:11

talked 19:19 77:16,19 80:14 130:7 133:2 157:22 181:13 188:25 196:18,24 209:5 210:15 211:16 214:1 215:4,23 218:6,13 235:12

talking 16:18 30:17,19, 20 31:21 32:10 44:25 67:3,4 109:10 117:20 124:5 140:12 153:13 168:11 179:15 188:3 194:14 199:1 207:3 208:2 209:24 214:14 235:3,18

talks 116:19

tampered 120:6

tampering 64:10 174:14,15

Tanski 4:12 42:21 46:22 81:10 164:5,25

task 63:16 74:25 176:12

taste 120:3

taught 74:13,18, 20

taunting 73:19 174:14

tax 101:8 225:16

teach 22:24 184:22

team 55:14 78:11 97:14 173:2

tear 122:4 183:13

tearful 215:20

tears 216:2
224:6

tease 183:12

technical
216:4

technology
99:4,8

teenagers
86:10

teeth 224:2

telephonically
236:11

telling
78:22
133:2
137:5
138:18
139:24
211:18

tells 120:7
139:9

temporary
26:23

ten 40:1
86:9 98:24
127:8
139:3
151:16,17
169:18
228:1

tenable
87:24

tenor 7:14

tens 143:13
151:13

tensions
73:16

term 9:10
31:21
166:22
168:7
218:19
229:13

terminology
12:3
90:15,16
196:14

terms 23:16
29:23,25
39:2,7
40:8 49:14
50:8 59:11
77:24 87:8
94:17,25
97:5 99:20
101:3
134:3
136:16
139:6,17,
18 140:19
141:14
147:1,21
148:3
151:10
156:3
160:8
167:16
170:3
179:19,23
232:8

terrible
144:1
148:12
151:12
159:11

terribly
156:21

testified
142:9

testify 3:18
215:15

testimony
6:21 7:1
22:7 63:23
64:25
69:21
77:16
101:22,25
102:9
112:2
126:1
131:5,20
164:4
169:7
171:21
180:9
195:19
196:25
198:2
206:8
209:6
215:16
221:15
226:14
236:5

tests 218:8

tether-chain
223:9

Texas 139:11
143:11

thankfully
51:10
65:25
100:10
181:8

therapeutic
22:1 99:15
167:17

therapies
97:25

therapy 60:4
73:5 98:8
99:9
115:15
144:4
175:10,13
193:4

thick 230:7

thing 21:8
32:22
33:24
34:11 37:7
52:19
83:17 84:9
85:24
86:21
90:13 99:2
110:6
124:5
128:17
142:3

145:20
148:24
158:1
168:22
178:9
179:6,10
196:13,16,
22 197:8,
11 198:24
205:3
212:10
228:25

things 12:2
13:21 14:1
21:16
32:21 34:6
35:14,24
41:21
43:21
45:20 65:3
69:5 85:7,
22 91:2
96:6
97:13,17
98:7,8,21,
22 100:9,
20 103:2
106:4
119:15
122:15
126:21,22
128:10
139:7
148:5
158:15
171:22
172:8
173:8
174:18
175:1
176:1,3,4
177:8
178:23
182:1
188:21,24
205:6
209:5
212:1
215:4,7
227:14

thinking
26:1 109:5
138:22
151:6
181:19
189:14,21
196:5
201:7

thought
34:20
73:25
96:14
111:11
112:19
130:3
133:1
175:15
182:9
189:18
192:19
197:2
202:17
211:16
212:9
213:3,4

thoughtful
58:18

thoughts
52:21
110:20
165:10
175:24
176:10
219:16

thousand
143:19

thousands
21:14 41:8
87:18
112:24
151:13
220:11

threat 65:20
134:25
135:1
232:2

threatening
62:14
107:6

threatens
123:4

threats
174:14

threshold
53:13
229:4

thrive 77:11

throat
116:10

throw 156:15

throwing
111:17

thumb 72:2

Thursdays
120:12

ticket 96:11
106:24
107:2,11
216:6

tickets
107:9,10
113:2
156:19
179:25

tie 18:23
121:2
122:4

tier 105:13
120:15,25

till 120:3
121:1

time 3:12
7:12,19,20
14:14 15:9
19:22 21:7
22:10
26:24
28:12
38:23 42:5
47:24 48:9
50:7,10,13
51:5,21
53:2,17
54:17

56:16
62:20
63:8,24
65:9 70:6
72:5,10
79:7 80:12
83:4
84:16,24
85:6,12,19
86:11,23
95:2
101:22
103:1,17
104:7
106:16
107:4,16
109:22
111:4
112:1
114:13,16
115:10,18
116:17
117:4
121:16
122:8
123:15
124:3
126:16,25
127:1,3
129:2
131:16
135:18
140:5
141:24
148:2
150:5,8,18
151:1
159:15,16
162:9,21,
22 164:24
167:3,9
168:11
170:16,18
176:6,9
177:13,17,
18,20,22
181:5,19,
20 182:6,
15 183:3
185:5
187:20
188:23
196:4
198:3,4
200:18
201:14
202:15
203:7,24
208:7,8
209:2
210:11
211:21
212:3,4,
12,19
213:4
216:5
217:17
218:7
220:18
222:14
224:19
226:7
229:24
230:21
232:5,16

timeframe
83:22
213:24

timeframes
51:24

timeout
50:16

times 26:6,9
57:14
58:4,6
72:15 92:7
112:13
113:10
114:7
120:10,12
121:20
123:14
134:14
182:14
183:1
210:4,5
219:15
228:1
233:1

tinted 117:7
122:22

tints
117:10,13

tiny 68:13
225:21

tired 129:2
210:9

tit-for-tat
73:18

Tocqueville
25:16

today 3:16,
18 4:17
6:4 7:5,8
8:4,5 40:6
45:20
66:3,5
70:19
72:11 94:4
104:5
105:12
115:14
126:2
131:6
157:22
166:8
169:20
176:17
193:2
195:25
196:8
197:1
205:7
226:22
230:4
235:6,14
236:11

today's 6:12
11:6,22

toilet
109:19,20
123:24
183:16
223:12

toilets
225:25

told 109:8
111:18
117:23
120:17
138:19
140:3
181:23
182:1,16,
17,20,21
196:11
197:9
202:22
211:15
212:16
216:18
217:11,23

tolerance
27:24

tolerate
47:11
235:9

Toliver
3:24,25
77:15
194:21

Tom 160:20

tomorrow
168:2
236:10

tongues
141:21

tool 6:7

tools 27:9

tooth 208:5

toothpaste
121:6

top 45:20
121:11
123:1
139:11
223:7

topic 169:19

torment
128:24

torture 23:9
27:2,3
46:25
64:7,8,17
65:17 67:4
108:7
111:24
112:12,21
115:10,11
117:20
123:22
153:15
178:17
197:7
235:18

tortured
113:22

torturing
115:12

tossed
121:23

total 24:24
50:5,6
106:15
137:17
139:12
148:2

totally 65:8

touch 173:7
209:4
211:3
220:2

touched
96:18

tough 47:16
126:14

toughest
129:18

tour 79:5
81:12
96:15
102:2
153:20
154:11
159:18
197:10
205:1
226:23
232:25

toured 196:2

tours 121:15

Traci 102:23
116:2
124:1
125:18
209:1
214:24

track 85:16
191:1
217:4
231:3

tracking
154:16

Tracy
123:12,16
124:4

trade 98:17

traditional
59:16

traditionally
87:14

tragedy
51:15

tragic
139:21
140:5

train 61:13

trained
125:2
127:6

training
29:15
31:22
38:11
40:16 42:8
58:13
60:14
61:8,22
71:4 74:13
79:24
80:1,9
86:11 98:9
179:24

205:5
212:1

trainings
61:17,18

transfer
182:3,17

transferable
44:19
46:2,5

transferred
113:6
181:4
221:19

transform
77:8

transformed
153:10

transinstitutionalization
38:16

transition
44:12

transitioned
38:23

transitions
55:4
100:13

translate
62:6

transparency
36:21
62:10
205:9

transparent
58:19
234:12

trap 109:17
119:22

trapped
183:24
184:1
185:6

trauma 13:4
57:17

traumatic
27:16

traumatized
223:16

tray 120:1,
4,6,7,8

treat 38:12
39:12
113:14
182:25
204:3

treatable
43:19

treated 8:9
103:19
115:21,24
124:24
186:5
197:6
199:23
200:21
225:6

treating
76:1
124:25
154:2
174:21

treatise
63:10

treatment
10:14,24
11:12 38:9
57:25
59:12 60:2
63:17,19
70:1 73:1,
5,8 77:18
93:7
97:19,22
111:6
153:16
174:6,12,
24 175:6,
8,9,17,21
193:1,5,24
211:22
231:12,13

tremendously
131:14

trend 44:3
65:14

trial 146:5

trigger
116:20

triple 24:24

trips 208:21

trivial
142:14

trouble
183:22
185:7

troubled
159:4

troubling
148:16

true 28:1
44:8 50:14
57:4 110:9
151:22
171:14,15,
17 172:22
174:10

Trump 202:9

trust 47:14
175:19
176:2
192:1

trusted
211:7

truth 130:2
135:9
214:8
227:25

Tucker
102:15,16
106:10,12
128:3
162:18
216:4

Tuesdays
120:12

tunnel 201:6

turn 8:23 47:13 57:24 156:1,2 168:23 185:11

turned 110:5

turning 60:23

turns 134:20

turnstile 163:7

TV 79:23 222:9

type 12:17, 18 53:6 76:1 85:15 87:15,19 90:15,21 95:19 104:8 152:8 235:2

types 16:8 34:14,15 42:3 233:10,11 235:5

typical 43:16 153:4 227:17

typically 75:13

U

U.S. 3:5 4:20 22:16 24:15 55:9 135:12 145:5,9 146:22 147:2,18 149:15 150:2 151:8

UCONN 193:11,17

ultimately 46:13

umpteenth 216:5

UN 153:12

unable 163:16 181:6 232:12

unaddressed 56:20

unanimous 150:3

unannounced 10:12

unbiased 206:2

uncared 65:9

uncle 181:2

uncommon 71:25

unconscious 108:22

unconstitutional 147:16

underground 173:17

underlying 155:14 219:8

underreporting 140:5

underscore 168:20

understand 6:17 8:3 52:7 72:3, 7 93:16 97:19 124:6 125:14 129:4 138:3 153:22 194:17 199:10,18 204:10 212:1 222:18 223:23

understanding 96:10 97:15 229:6

understood 202:12

undertaken 55:19

undertook 229:2

undesirable 177:23

undo 88:9

undoubtedly 113:13

unevenly 56:2

unfair 100:20 164:10

unfortunate 73:17

unharmed 104:24

unhealthy 80:14

uniform 84:5 104:22 108:10 120:22 200:19

unintended 113:15

unique 37:22 174:8,20

unit 19:9 52:9 86:5

87:20 98:11 99:10,11, 17 100:1 124:7 173:18,22, 24 190:19 194:11 199:4 222:16 223:8

United 17:11 24:10 27:1 66:8,10 133:19 134:21,23 135:23 137:13 142:15,18 143:7,18 150:13

units 25:3 65:4 98:13 134:11 195:6

universal 55:22

universally 75:22

University 55:1

unlawfully 19:10

unnatural 47:24

unnecessary 174:13,15

unprotected 223:15

unruly 25:14

unsafe 114:13

unsanitary 65:8

unusual 81:3 147:5,15, 25 230:3

unworkable 231:19

uprising 132:7

upset 138:7

urge 168:5 185:15

urgency 9:20

urgent 22:4

urinate 114:8

urinating 19:4

utensils 110:19

utilizing 6:8

V

valid 92:15

valuable 86:24

variables 85:4

varies 137:12

variety 6:19 45:12

vary 47:25

varying 23:5

vast 31:24 86:14 177:17

vastly 25:8

veil 124:7

vented 19:17

Venters 48:19 54:10,11, 12 62:22 87:13 92:3,10 96:17

versatility 81:1

version 142:13 147:21

versus 58:1 157:18 158:3 190:11 202:4 213:7

veterans 99:9

vibrant 113:21

vice 3:10

victim 212:14

video 116:5, 15

videotape 21:15

videotapes 11:19

Vietnamese 64:12

view 35:16 39:8 79:11,14 222:6

viewed 62:14

viewpoints 6:19 8:3

views 54:25

violate 147:11 190:1

violated 150:20,21

violates 6:16 65:17 148:20

violation 29:2 43:17 107:11 146:22 216:5,11, 12 228:10 232:1

violations 60:21 67:5,6 107:10,11

violence 22:13,19 23:2,3 28:15,23 65:1 85:1 105:6 181:3 228:14,17 229:9

violent 26:22,24 27:16 28:18,19, 25 29:5,7 43:2 62:12 67:1 87:23 159:9 182:24,25 203:1 228:14,15, 16 232:13

Virgin 137:16

Virginia 177:6

virtually 137:3 167:21

virtue 186:17

visible 151:6

visit 63:13 126:20 133:24 134:4 187:10,15

visited 52:7 55:17 216:1 218:1

visiting 52:9 101:14 138:24 173:25

visitors 25:15 173:2

visits 117:4 126:14,15 139:8,18 140:7 173:18 177:14 187:5,11 222:10

vital 61:19

vitamin 106:1 117:14,17

voice 109:5 115:16 209:22

vulnerability 36:9

vulnerable 6:6 9:22 10:6 13:7 26:21 27:20 36:25 39:14 95:7 218:22

W

wait 120:3, 14 123:2, 7,24 145:17

waiting 83:7 177:24 185:21

wake 20:16 41:19 121:19 122:3

Walgreens 228:9

walk 108:12,13 111:18 121:16 129:7,9 195:11

walked 140:10,11 173:20 197:12 201:4 202:7 210:12 212:15 224:14,15

Walker 109:22,24 115:18 126:18

walking 111:14 210:8,11 219:19

wall 69:9 128:15 183:13 217:17

walls 36:22 80:21 121:23 225:24

wanted 16:14 18:5 21:8 32:22 34:6 36:10 79:10 86:17 122:15 132:1 133:12 134:15 178:22

200:1,2
215:4

wanting
47:16

war 153:8
159:22

warden 51:2
69:6 95:13
117:8
153:20
209:16
217:6
218:17

wardens 82:8
198:14
200:25

wards 114:3

warehousing
161:9

warranting
78:3

waste 19:7
75:20
230:19

watch 142:25
222:8
223:2,5,8,
13 224:23

watchdog
9:11

watched
21:14
108:21
223:18
224:5

watching
117:1
205:15

water 224:15

wave 183:17
197:19

ways 44:17
77:19
138:17
154:2
156:23
157:14
163:17
232:14
233:25

wealth
144:17

wear 120:21
126:21
184:2

Web 13:25
42:11

Wednesday
183:2

weed 214:5

week 83:7
100:12
106:20
107:3
120:12,22
121:7
125:25
126:5
183:2,3
187:11
218:8

weeks 17:8
19:13
79:24 83:8
180:23
182:2,13

weigh 87:12

weighing
79:13,14
233:4

weight 218:2

weighty
102:4

welcomed 8:9

welfare
9:19,24

well-known
65:5

wellbeing
218:25

Werner 3:9,
10 30:10,
13 40:4,5
41:10
93:25
97:24
125:22
157:21
186:3,23
187:4
193:10
206:7,11,
19,21
207:2,11
208:18

Werner's
163:3

Wesson
222:13

west 9:5
112:16
134:21

Westport
3:20

Whalley
182:3

whatsoever
228:15
230:8,13

whim 178:6

whip 146:16

whipped
145:22

whipping
145:19
146:10
147:1
153:25
162:12

white 4:4
32:1 35:8,
9 58:6
63:2 79:4,
19 81:11
92:14
128:1,5

141:16
162:16
166:16
182:19
193:19

whoops
133:11

wide 67:16

wide-angle
164:8

widely 48:10

wildly
121:23

wind 45:14
67:25

windfall
119:5

windfalls
119:9

window
109:12,13,
15 116:23
117:1,5
122:23
197:16
223:20

windows
117:6,7

winning
119:7

winnings
119:6

wins 96:5
119:4

wise 168:21

wishing 8:18

witnessed
73:17
108:19
120:9
223:16

woke 123:18

woman 212:25

women 66:17
104:19
105:1
117:14
118:10,11
119:22
120:1,2
122:24
123:9
124:1
141:2,8,15
143:10
148:22
149:13
152:18

women's
166:7

wonderful
64:22

wondering
89:17
97:25
126:6

wonders
219:24

Woodbury
4:11

wooden 18:24

woods 109:14

word 21:17
78:3
161:22,25
203:21

words 136:6

work 21:4,9
33:18
34:13,15,
16,17,20,
23 35:20
39:14
42:2,5,13
43:2,6
48:4 54:14
61:12,25
69:25 70:6
78:7,9,25
79:1 85:23
90:25
97:20
101:16
104:23
115:6
117:4
123:21
126:3
129:14,16
130:6
131:9
132:12,18
142:18,23
145:23
150:15
176:22
182:13
185:12
190:18
201:8
205:4,24
218:12
220:9
231:17

worked 22:14
49:17 52:1
55:8 70:3,
13 73:14
93:9 97:13
127:7
132:8
133:14
142:8
144:19
205:10,11
211:6

worker
112:17
122:15
217:7
218:15
219:4

workers
196:21

working
20:21 33:2
38:22
70:22
71:2,14
83:18

110:17
135:20
172:2
176:2
185:3
201:13
215:22
229:17

works 33:18
48:7 82:20
96:24
99:15

world 4:11
23:3 37:23
39:8 69:8
99:7
100:21
146:20
153:8
166:24
174:3
222:6

world's
24:11

worried
158:19
218:3

worry 50:12

worse 64:10,
15 105:7
174:23
188:22
203:3
204:19
230:12

worsen 176:9

worsening
73:9

worsens 22:3

worst 23:8
52:5
104:18
108:5
174:23
196:17
202:22
212:23
230:12

worth 178:11
225:16
228:9

worthy 180:2

wound 224:7

wounds 18:25

wrap 101:9
164:2
236:2

wrestle
226:21

wrestled
219:14

write 47:5
110:19,20
182:4

writing
108:17
110:19
138:22
150:13

writings
37:10

written
8:15,18
30:12 34:3
215:17

wrong 68:2
106:5
136:19,21
145:18
184:3
216:16

wrote 108:3
110:12
116:19
150:25
215:23

Y

Yale 8:23
22:12,24
23:1 48:21
49:8 69:25
131:8
132:8
142:8
221:12

Yale's 23:2

yanking
107:25

Yassir
180:17,18,
21

year 14:5
21:11
30:11 31:4
44:24 49:2
65:22 66:7
67:10 90:4
99:4,25
118:8
121:1
137:2,8
144:8
146:15

yearly 59:18

years 5:8
9:11 10:3,
13 11:1,5
15:14
20:14
22:14,20
23:24
24:20 27:4
31:14 33:9
36:14
44:22
47:13 48:5
50:1 63:3
64:14
73:22,25
81:5 88:12
91:9 92:16
95:15
98:24
99:25
102:24
103:17
116:8,24,
25 117:11
118:23
122:12

125:8
126:12
127:8
132:11
136:2
139:25
140:1,15, 23,24
143:13
151:16,17
159:20
160:13
162:5,7
165:16
167:1
169:18
170:19
180:22,23
181:6,21, 22 182:8
194:10
199:17
204:14
209:13,14
210:4
212:6
217:15
229:3
230:9,10
235:23

yell 161:17

yelling
111:7

yesterday
52:7 79:5
81:12,17, 20 95:12
96:14 98:3
101:16
102:3
154:11
196:1,10, 15 216:1
232:25

yoga 98:21

York 17:8,9
22:16,21
35:10,11
39:4 54:25
55:1,3,17
57:6 63:2, 5,8,9,11, 15 65:11, 15 88:16
92:13
99:12
116:23
117:15,16
119:15
122:13
209:8
210:17

young 13:17
27:14 28:1
33:15
44:11
95:13,19
96:5
113:8,19
115:7
162:17
196:7
202:6
214:13
219:19

youth 6:3
11:7,8,18, 24 14:8,9, 12,25
15:8,23,24
16:1 19:12
20:6 21:5, 9,18,24
31:22,25
33:15
34:1,24
40:17 41:3
45:10 46:9
99:13
107:14
113:3

youth's
20:20 22:2

youthful
12:24 21:2
27:19
31:23
32:5,8
33:23
43:23
44:23

Z

zoom 133:4