SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IN THE USA
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Table of Contents

Solitary Confinement in the USA ............................................................................................................... 1
\Who is held in solitary confinement? .................................................................................................... 2
Background ........................................................................................................................................... 3
US standards and law............................................................................................................................... 4
Due process requirements........................................................................................................................ 5
Medical and mental health concerns....................................................................................................... 6
Positive Changes.................................................................................................................................... 7
Sampling of AI’s concerns regarding maximum custody in isolation in the USA
Amnesty International’s Recommendations.............................................................................................. 9
SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IN THE USA

The USA stands virtually alone in the world in incarcerating thousands of prisoners in long-term or indefinite solitary confinement. More than 40 states are believed to operate "super-maximum security" units or prisons, collectively housing at least 25,000 prisoners. This number does not include the many thousands of other prisoners serving shorter periods in punishment or administrative segregation cells which are estimated to be approximately 80,000 individuals on any given day.

While prison authorities have always been able to segregate prisoners for their own protection or as a penalty for disciplinary offenses, super-maximum security facilities differ in that they are designed to isolate prisoners long-term as an administrative control measure. It is a management tool that is increasingly under question by human rights experts and others, both for the inhumanity of the conditions of confinement as well as the effectiveness of such systems.

Amnesty International uses the terms “solitary confinement” and “isolation” to refer to prisoners who are confined to cells for 22-24 hours a day with minimal contact with other human beings, including guards and prison staff. This is similar to the definition of solitary confinement used by the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture who describes it as the “physical and social isolation of individuals who are confined to their cells for 22-24 hours a day” (Interim Report of the Special Rapporteur, 5 August 2011, UN General Assembly A/66/268). Some prisoners in isolated high security housing are held two to a small cell. Amnesty International is concerned by the long-term isolation of prisoners even when they are double-celled in this way, as they still suffer severe social and physical isolation and the prolonged confinement of two people in a small space can create its own pressures on mental health. The statistics cited below include prisoners who are held alone in solitary cells (the majority) and those who are double-celled in similar conditions.

There is no national average for period of time individuals spend in isolation.

- In California, according to the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) the average term served by prisoners in SHU housing is 6.8 years. However, statistics also released by CDCR show that over 500 prisoners in Pelican Bay State Prison have spent over 10 years in SHU, 222 of these have spent over 15 years, and 78 have spent over 20 years in isolation.
- In Arizona the average time spent in isolation is 5 years, although many have spent considerably longer (Source: Buried Alive, Solitary Confinement in Arizona’s Prisons and Jails, American Friends Service Committee, May 2008)
- In Texas, the average stay is 4 years, the longest a person has been in isolation is 24 years (as reported by the Houston Chronicle, based on figures provided by the Texas Department of Criminal Justice 2011)
- In New York, the average length of stay is 150 days in disciplinary detention, while
hundreds of others are confined in isolation for up to three years. (Source: 2003 report Correctional Commission of New York)

- In Virginia, at the Red Onion State Prison, a 2012 official memo states that inmates were on average isolated for 2.7 years, with the range of stays being two weeks to seven years. (Source: Va. prisons’ use of solitary confinement is scrutinized, The Washington Post, Jan 2012)
- In Louisiana, Albert Woodfox and Herman Wallace have, with exception of short periods of time, been held for over 41 years in solitary confinement.
- In New Mexico, the combined average length of stay for prisoners in the highest security level is almost three years. (Source: Inside the Box, the Real costs of Solitary confinement in New Mexico’s prisons and Jails, New Mexico Center on Law and Policy and ACLU of New Mexico, 2013)
- In Washington State the average length of confinement in its Intensive Management Units (IMU) is a year. (Source: The Seattle Times, State prisons rethink solitary confinement, January 2013)

The US is believed to hold on average 2-3% of its population in a super-maximum facility; in some states, such as Arizona and New York (both with 8%) this is much higher. By way of contrast, the UK, which has the largest prison population in Western Europe and “get tough” policies toward crime, holds less than 40 prisoners in its Close Supervision Centres - the nearest equivalent to US super-maximum type units – this is less than half of one percent of its total population of 86,000.

- California holds over 3000 prisoners in long-term isolation (source CDCR)
- Texas in 2013 holds 7,700 prisoners in solitary confinement (source Texas Department of Criminal Justice)
- Arizona holds more than 2,900 prisoners in solitary confinement (source Amnesty International)
- Pennsylvania in 2011 held 2,406 inmates in segregation in the state’s isolation units (source Pennsylvania Department of Corrections)
- There are approximately 11,500 federal inmates being held in isolation. ADX Florence holds approximately 400 of these in greater isolation. (Source: 2010, spokesperson for U. S Bureau of Prisons told CNN)
- In Virginia 2012, the number of inmates housed in long-term solitary confinement exceeded 1,800, including 500 who were confined for more than six months inside the supermax cells at Red Onion State Prison. (Source Washington Post Va. prisons’ use of solitary confinement is scrutinized, Jan 2012). As of August 2013, this number has been reduced to 179 (Source: Washington Post, Virginia turns away from solitary confinement, September 2013)
- New York has 5000 total isolated confinement cells in prisons across the state. This is nearly 8% of total state prison population (Source: Correctional Association of New York).
- In New Mexico, between 10 – 16% of the state’s prison population is housed in solitary confinement (Source: Inside the Box, the Real costs of Solitary confinement
WHO IS HELD IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT?

The rationale given by authorities for building super-maximum facilities is that isolating the most dangerous or disruptive prisoners would make the rest of the prison population safer. Although these prisons undoubtedly hold some highly dangerous offenders, it has been shown that only a handful in each state system fit this category. Instead, long-term isolation units are filled with individuals who have a history of repeated minor rule violations, those considered to be nuisance prisoners, those who are believed to be associates of members of a gang, political prisoners or those who are in protective custody.

It is estimated that between 30 to 50% of all inmates in solitary confinement are mentally ill or cognitively disabled and 20% of this number are severely mentally ill.

- Colorado: A 2013 report by the ACLU reports that on any given day in 2012, between 537 and 686 mentally ill prisoners were held in solitary confinement in Colorado prisons. The average stay for mentally ill prisoners in solitary confinement was 16 months.
- New York: A 2003 report by the Correctional Association found that while inmates diagnosed with mental illness made up 11 percent of New York’s overall prison population, they constituted nearly a quarter of the inmates in lockdown.
- Pennsylvania: Approximately 1/3 of the 844 people imprisoned in solitary confinement in long-term isolation (administrative custody) and an additional 1,417 in shorter term isolation (Disciplinary Custody) have been described as “seriously mentally ill” by the Disability Rights Group of Pennsylvania.
- Texas: Texas Criminal Justice Coalition estimates there are approximately 2000 inmates in solitary with mental illness or cognitive disability.
- Arizona: According to Arizona Department of Corrections statistics, as of March 2011 a third of inmates held in isolation were receiving mental health treatment and nearly 4% were designated as seriously mentally ill.
- Virginia: When legislators toured Red Onion State Prison on Sept. 1, 2012 prison officials told them that 173 inmates in solitary there were considered mentally ill. (Source Washington Post Va. prisons’ use of solitary confinement is scrutinized, Jan 2012)
- New Mexico: estimated that 25% of prisoners in solitary confinement are seriously mentally ill (Source: Inside the Box, the Real costs of Solitary confinement in new Mexico’s prisons and Jails, New Mexico Center on Law and Policy and ACLU of New Mexico, 2013)
Suicides

**California:** Over five year period from 2006 to 2010 the number of prison suicides averaged 34 a year (higher than national average) with 42% occurring in administrative segregation or Security Housing Units (SHU)

**New York:** Though people in isolation are only 8% of the prison population, nearly 30% of suicides in New York prisons occur in isolated confinement. (Source: Correctional Association of New York)

**Arizona:** Between October 2005 and April 2011, at least 43 suicides took place in Arizona's adult prisons. 22 of the 37 cases where Amnesty International obtained information took place in isolation facilities.

**BACKGROUND**

AI has reviewed conditions in isolation facilities across the United States, and considers many of them to fall far short of minimum standards for humane treatment. Most prisoners are held in solitary cells 22-24 hours a day, in conditions of reduced sensory stimulation. Some cells have no windows to the outside and no or limited access to natural light, which is in direct contravention of the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. Article 11 of the Standard Minimum Rules states: “In all places where prisoners are required to live or work, (a) windows shall be large enough to enable the prisoners to read or work by natural light, and shall be so constructed that they can allow the entrance of fresh air whether or not there is artificial ventilation.”

Prisoners in super-maximum units have few possessions and no access to work or rehabilitation programs. Contact with staff and other prisoners is minimized, and they are held behind barriers at all times, even during medical or psychological consultations, which can serve to dehumanize prisoners and hinder communication. Contact with the outside world is also far more limited than for other prisoners: inmates in super-maximum units can be held for decades never touching another person. Many states do not provide the minimum amount of outside exercise required under the Standard Minimum Rules, or if they meet this standard, Amnesty International is told it is often routinely denied through lack of staffing. When there is outdoor exercise, this is usually taken alone, often in an enclosed yard with little access to sunlight and no view to the outside, compounding isolation and sensory deprivation.

Although the Standard Minimum Rules do not have the binding force of a treaty, they are internationally agreed minimum standards for the living conditions and treatment of prisoners worldwide. The provisions relating to light and air are fundamental quality of life requirements that apply to all prisoners regardless of their custody status.

Amnesty International recognizes that it may be necessary at times to segregate prisoners who have committed serious rule violations or who are an ongoing threat to the safety of staff or other prisoners. However, international standards provide that all prisoners, whatever their
Solitary confinement in the USA

custody status, are entitled to humane treatment. Article 10 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which the United States has ratified, provides that “all persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person”, a standard which the United Nations Human Rights Committee, the treaty monitoring body, has stressed is a “fundamental and universally applicable rule”.

US Standards

The American Bar Association (ABA) in its standards on the treatment of prisoners has stated that segregation for more than one year should be imposed only if the prisoner poses a “continuing, serious threat” (23-2.7), and that all prisoners in segregated housing should be provided with “meaningful forms of mental, physical and social stimulation”, including, where possible, more out-of-cell time and opportunities to exercise in the presence of other prisoners (23-3.8). The ABA standards also state that segregation in “protective custody” should take place “in the least restrictive setting possible (23-5.5).

Standards set out by the American Correctional Association (ACA) also require that “all inmate rooms/cells provide access to natural light” and that “segregation housing units provide living standards that approximate those of the general population”.

The Commission on Safety and Abuse in America’s Prisons, in 2006, following a yearlong investigation, called for dramatic reductions and reforms on the practice of solitary confinement, noting the high recidivism rate and the viability of alternatives to solitary confinement. The Commission recommended that prison administrations:

1. Make segregation a last resort and a more productive form of confinement, and stop releasing people directly from segregation to the streets
2. End conditions of isolation: Ensure that segregated prisoners have regular and meaningful human contact.
3. Protect mentally ill prisoners.

The U.S. National Commission for Correctional Health Care (NCCHC) has observed that conditions in super-maximum security isolation facilities “Even for the most stable individuals … may precipitate mental health or health difficulties” and that “daily contact by medical staff and at least weekly contact with mental health staff is required”, noting that “Health monitoring contacts must be meaningful and allow sufficient interaction for such assessments to take place”. The NCCHC standards (designated “essential”) require prisoners held in “extreme isolation” to be monitored daily by health staff and at least weekly by mental health staff; segregated inmates with “limited contact with staff or other inmates” require monitoring by health or mental health staff three days a week; and inmates who are separated from the general population but have social contact among themselves require weekly checks by health or mental health staff (NCCHC Standard P-E-09).
US Law

The US Supreme Court has not ruled that solitary confinement, even when imposed indefinitely is a per se violation of the US Constitution. However, there is a growing consensus among the US courts that housing mentally ill prisoners in “super-maximum security” isolation units is incompatible with the Eighth Amendment prohibition of “cruel and unusual punishment” under the US Constitution. One of the landmark rulings was Madrid v Gomez (1995), which ordered the removal of seriously mentally ill prisoners from the Pelican Bay SHU on the ground that conditions put them at high risk of suffering “very severe injury to their mental health”. However, the court stopped short of ruling that conditions for all prisoners at Pelican Bay SHU were unconstitutional.

The ruling reflects very high threshold set by the US courts in deciding claims of cruel prison conditions. The US Supreme Court has held that for conditions to amount to “cruel and unusual punishment” they must be so severe as to deprive the inmate of a basic necessity of life”. This has been interpreted to include the physical requirements of food, clothing, shelter, medical care and personal safety. However the courts have been less willing to consider psychological pain or deterioration in a prisoner’s mental state as sufficient to judge conditions unconstitutional except in very severe cases.

Since Madrid, other US courts have held that housing seriously mentally prisoners in “supermax” conditions is unconstitutional. However, AI believes that insufficient attention has been paid the US courts to the mental pain and suffering endured by all prisoners.

DUE PROCESS REQUIREMENTS

Federal courts have ruled that prisoners have a protected liberty interest in avoiding being held in conditions which constitute an “atypical and significant hardship” in relation to the “ordinary incidents” of prison life and thus are entitled to due process protections under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the US Constitution in decisions to place or retain them in such conditions. The courts have held that indefinite confinement to a supermax facility constitutes an “atypical” hardship under this standard.

The US Supreme Court has held that due process requirements are met where prisoners are given a statement of the reasons for their assignment to a “supermax” facility, which would “serve as a guide for future behaviour, have an opportunity to be heard in the matter, and the placement is subject to appeal and administrative review”. There is no requirement for further due process protection, such as an adversarial proceeding or for the prisoner to be represented by counsel or be able to call or cross examine witnesses.

The Supreme Court has held that reviews of long-term segregation must be “meaningful” to avoid them being used as a “pretext for indefinite confinement” however no clear standard has been set as to what constitutes “meaningful” review of current supermax confinement and courts have upheld review procedures that provide only minimal protections.
MEDICAL AND MENTAL HEALTH CONCERNS

There is a significant body of evidence, both in the United States and elsewhere, that isolation in conditions of reduced environmental stimulation, even for relatively short periods of time, can cause serious psychological harm, including anxiety and depression, perceptual distortions and psychosis.

As U.S. courts have recognized, such conditions can have negative effects on individuals with no pre-existing illness and can be particularly harmful in the case of those who already suffer from mental illness. The severe negative psychological consequences of isolation are reflected in studies and data from various jurisdictions indicating that suicides occur more frequently in segregation units than in the prison population at large.

International and U.S. professional standards provide that all prisoners should have access to care to meet their serious medical or mental health needs, and that prisoners who are mentally ill should be treated in appropriate mental health facilities. In recognition of the serious psychological harm that isolation can have on people with mental illness or disabilities, U.S. courts have increasingly found that housing prisoners with serious mental illness in high security isolation units is cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Eighth Amendment.

International treaty bodies and human rights experts have called for a complete ban on housing people with mental disabilities in solitary confinement, finding such conditions to constitute cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and contrary to the goals of rehabilitation. A growing number of U.S. states have moved to exclude the seriously mentally ill from being held in maximum security isolation units, as a result of litigation or through policy or legislative changes.

International standards, and those set by U.S. professional organizations, also recognize that all prisoners in isolation require careful monitoring due to the health risks of such confinement. The UN Standard Minimum Rules require daily monitoring of prisoners placed in “close confinement” (isolated cellular confinement) as punishment, as with any other punishment that “may be prejudicial to the physical or mental health of the prisoner” (Rule 32).

POSITIVE CHANGES

A number of states have reduced their super maximum security populations, or closed down long-term isolation units altogether, following court orders to improve conditions and criteria for placement, or in order to reduce the high cost of such confinement. In so doing, they have freed up resources for more effective programs without compromising safety or security. Amnesty International believes it would be far better to redeploy resources to provide effective treatment and rehabilitation programs, create opportunities for some social contact, encourage inmates to maintain family relations and otherwise prepare them to function in society after they are released.
In 2007, the corrections department in Mississippi tightened its criteria for assigning prisoners to its long-term isolation facility, leading to an 80% reduction of prisoners held in solitary confinement. The facility (Unit 32 at the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman) was converted in stages to provide group recreational activities and congregate dining and educational classes for prisoners who were formerly confined to cells for 23 hours a day, allowing their eventual reintegration into general population facilities; gang leaders who remained in segregation were also given opportunities to interact so that their behaviour could be assessed. The changes led to significant improvements in prisoner behaviour and reduction in violence and the use of force; in 2010 the unit was closed altogether, reportedly saving the state more than $5m.

In 2011, Maine, whose Special Management Unit housed many prisoners who repeatedly cut themselves and had chronic behavioural or mental health problems, reduced the numbers in isolation by about 60% without compromising security.

In January 2013, Illinois closed its only super maximum security prison, Tamms C-Max. One of the major factors behind its closure was the cost of maintaining the facility. Inmates previously held in Tamms have been moved to other prisons within state.

Colorado: In 2011 the legislature passed a bill that ensured a funding mechanism to support mental health alternatives to solitary confinement while the Department of Corrections committed to undertake an audit of its practices regarding solitary confinement. In three months, more than 300 inmates were removed from solitary confinement without an increase in violence or disruptions. In 2013 a state prison housing 316 solitary confinement cells was closed. (Source: ACLU)

New York: The SHU exclusion law which came into force in New York in 2011 was designed to divert or remove prisoners with serious mental illness from solitary confinement units and into mental health treatment units.

Virginia: The number of prisoners in segregation in the state's two super maximum security prisons reduced by 62% after the implementation of a 'step down' program that allows inmates to work their way out of segregation. This reduction is solitary confinement has saved the state money but the prisons are reported to have become safer with reported incidents such as disobedience and rules violations fallen by 65%. (Source: Washington Post, Virginia turns away from solitary confinement).

Washington State: The Department of Corrections (DOC) has implemented a new focus on rehabilitation within the Intensive Management Units with more out of cell time to attend classes, see counsellors or use the gym. The DOC reports savings in terms of its budget and a reduction in recidivism for those affected. (Source: The Seattle Times, State prisons rethink solitary confinement, January 2013)

New Mexico: the state legislature mandated a study of solitary confinement’s impact on
prisoners, its effectiveness as a prison management tools and its costs

Texas: In 2013 the Texas legislature passed a bill requiring an independent third party review of the state’s use of administrative segregation (solitary confinement) and mandating the Department of Corrections to record and report related statistics.

The following states have enacted or considered legislation limiting the use of solitary confinement: California, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Nevada, Montana.

SAMPLING OF AI’S CONCERNS REGARDING MAXIMUM CUSTODY ISOLATION THE U.S.

Amnesty International considers conditions in maximum custody isolation facilities – including confinement to enclosed or windowless cells, lack of access to natural light and fresh air, lack of exercise, lack of educational and rehabilitation programs, and social isolation – are contrary to international standards for humane treatment; the cumulative effects of such conditions, particularly when imposed for a prolonged or indefinite period, constitute cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment in violation of international law.

ARIZONA
In 2012, Amnesty International issued a report on the conditions under which prisoners are confined in the Special Management Units (SMUs) of Arizona State Prison Complex (ASPC)-Eyman and other maximum custody facilities operated by the Arizona Department of Corrections (ADOC). More than 2,900 prisoners are held in Arizona’s highest security maximum custody facilities, the majority in the SMUs at ASPC-Eyman. Most are confined alone in windowless cells for 22 to 24 hours a day in conditions of reduced sensory stimulation, with little access to natural light and no work, educational or rehabilitation programs. Prisoners exercise alone in small, enclosed yards and, apart from a minority who have a cellmate, have no association with other prisoners. Many prisoners spend years in such conditions; some serve out their sentences in solitary confinement before being released directly into the community. While the Arizona authorities classify maximum security inmates as those posing the highest institutional security risk, Amnesty International’s findings suggest that some prisoners are confined to the units who do not fit this criteria. The organization is further concerned that many of those confined to the units suffer from mental illness or disability and are held in conditions likely to exacerbate their illness or disability.

CALIFORNIA
More than 3,000 state prisoners in California are confined to Security Housing Units (SHUs). They include Pelican Bay State Prison, where more than 1,000 prisoners are currently housed in windowless cells for 22.5 hours a day, in conditions which a court stated in January 1995 “may press the outer bounds of what most humans can psychologically tolerate”. Thousands of prisoners in California went on hunger strike in July and October of last year to protest cruel conditions of isolation in the state’s SHUs. At the time of the hunger strike, more than 500 prisoners in Pelican Bay had spent at least 10 years in these conditions, and 78 had spent 20 years or more in the SHU. Amnesty International joined
others in condemning disciplinary action taken against hunger strikers and urging an end to inhumane conditions.

Amnesty International welcomed proposals by the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation to provide a route out of isolation for validated gang members through a step-down process, which would take place in four stages, each lasting a minimum of 12 months. However, Amnesty is concerned that the plan does not appear to include physical changes to the SHUs, nor does it allow any group interaction for at least the first two years.

**PRE-TRIAL U.S. FEDERAL CUSTODY**

Amnesty International has called for a review of conditions in the Special Housing Unit (SHU) of the federal Metropolitan Detention Center (MCC) in New York, where prisoners have sometimes spent long periods confined to small cells with little access to natural light or fresh air. The unit, known as MCC 10th Floor South, comprises six cells where prisoners are confined alone for 23 or 24 hours a day. Amnesty International has been told that the windows in the cells are painted over so that there is no view to the outside and little natural light. Prisoners held in the unit have no contact with other inmates and eat all meals in their cells, which are reportedly furnished only with a concrete bed, toilet and sink. They have no outdoor exercise, contrary to the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. The unit has been used to house, among others, pre-trial detainees charged with terrorism-related offences. Most have been placed under Special Administrative Measures (SAMs), rules which impose severe restrictions on communication with other inmates and the outside world.

Several lawyers who have represented prisoners in MCC 10th Floor South have told Amnesty International that the conditions had a negative impact on their clients’ mental state, causing agitation, depression and an inability to focus. They also reported that the non-contact visitation made it difficult to communicate with their clients, particularly when dealing with large amounts of evidentiary materials. This raises concern that such conditions may impair a defendant’s ability to assist in his or her defence and thus the right to a fair trial.

Amnesty International is also concerned that the conditions are incompatible with the presumption of innocence under which governments have an obligation to ensure that unconvicted prisoners are held in the least restrictive detention conditions possible and that their confinement does not constitute punishment before trial.
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL’S RECOMMENDATIONS

Amnesty International calls on all states to:

- Reduce the number of prisoners in isolation or maximum custody confinement to ensure that only prisoners who are a serious and continuing threat are held in maximum custody isolation facilities.
- Provide a route out of segregation through incentive or step-down programs so that prisoners are not held long-term or indefinitely in isolation.
- Improve conditions for prisoners in isolation or maximum custody facilities so that they are not confined in windowless cells or denied access to natural light; have more out of cell time and better exercise facilities with appropriate equipment.
- Provide meaningful programs, including education and rehabilitation programs, for all prisoners in isolation and maximum custody confinement.
- Introduce measures that allow some group interaction and association for prisoners at all stages of isolation or maximum custody confinement, both to benefit their mental health and wellbeing and to provide incentives and allow their behaviour to be measured. Prisoners under sentence of death should be included in such measures.
- Remove all prisoners who are have been diagnosed as having or being at risk of serious mental illness from isolated confinement and ensure that policies are in place to prohibit such persons from being placed in isolated confinement.
- Ensure that all prisoners receive adequate medical and mental health care.
- Improve systems for monitoring prisoners’ mental health while in segregated confinement and provide structured therapeutic programs in group settings as well as private consultations.
- Provide adequate therapeutic treatment for prisoners who are a suicide risk, and ensure humane conditions in suicide watch cells.
- Ensure that no one under 18 years old is held in solitary confinement or in maximum custody isolated confinement, and that all youthful offenders receive treatment appropriate to their age and developmental needs and with the primary goal of rehabilitation, as required under international standards. All children and youthful offenders should have as much out-of-cell time as possible.
- Ensure that all force is employed only when strictly necessary and in a manner designed to minimize damage or injury, in accordance with international standards.

Amnesty International calls on the federal government to:

- Develop national standards to ensure humane conditions in all such units, with adequate review and monitoring procedures.
- Review the conditions in the federal pre-trial Special Housing Unit on the 10th Floor South of the Metropolitan Detention Center (MCC) in New York and ensure that all prisoners, including those deemed to be a security risk, are held in humane conditions and treated in accordance with international standards. They should be provided with adequate exercise and family visits, better conditions both inside and outside of their cells, access to natural light and fresh air, and afforded access to attorneys under conditions which do not impede the preparation of their defence.
- Ensure that all prisoners subjected to Special Administrative Measures, whether convicted or awaiting trial, are held in humane conditions which include adequate opportunity for regular family contact, exercise and out of cell time, and that prisoners have a meaningful opportunity to have their SAMs conditions reviewed with a view to alleviating conditions of long-term isolation.