THE IRISH PRISON SERVICE IN TRANSITION

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The study traces the historical developments in Irish Prison Administration with particular emphasis on the ways in which emerging philosophical and religious ideas related to punishment and reform coalesced with developments in the 'art' of discipline to form the basis for the present administrative structure.

The present organisational arrangements are analysed from two main stand-points;

- the administrative view related to inputs, social technology and output requirements, particularly within the context of changing societal pressures

- the organisational 'reality' as perceived by staff at different levels; a reality developed within the framework of the administrative view but which deviates substantially from that view.

While the administrative structure is seen to adapt to take account of changing circumstances related to input, social technology and output, the prison staff who carry out organisational arrangements have developed attitudes, values and behaviour patterns which sometimes deviate from the administrative view. The attitude and behaviour patterns of different levels of staff related to inputs, social technology and outputs are traced by means of in-depth interviews and questionnaires.

The relationship between the Department of Justice, which itself has to respond to societal pressures from its Minister, and the prison service is outlined. Pressures on different levels within the prison service are also described. These include:

(a) Pressures generated on prison management by external groups, including policy-makers as well as by staff and prisoner groupings, particularly by political or subversive prisoners;

(b) Pressures on prison officers from management and from the nature of the task, involving the establishment of legitimacy through the application of a disciplinary regime on reluctant prisoners while being themselves subject to a disciplinary regime developed in the 19th century;

(c) Difficulties generated as a result of the often contradictory expectations of professional staff groups and the uniformed service.

The social technology employed in prisons, involving hierarchical surveillance of all activities, is described. Differences between types of prison in attitudes and behaviour patterns are also outlined.

1.1 Introduction

The present day Irish Prison Service has developed from ideas and experiences imported during English rule in Ireland but re-fashioned to meet changing demands after independence.

Perhaps because the new State had what were considered more fundamental problems to tackle, or perhaps because the Irish had no strong liberal traditions, being politically concerned mainly with the ending of British rule, ideas regarding the meaning and nature of imprisonment were not widely propounded. So long as escapes and disturbances were kept to a minimum the public seemed content to let the authorities get on 'with the job'.

A prison crisis soon emerged, however, for the new Irish Government, which had its roots in the Civil War following the 1921 Treaty with Britain. Republican prisoners who opposed the treaty came into armed conflict with the new Irish Government and were incarcerated by their erstwhile colleagues. This group was highly politicised and articulate and considered that the Free State Government had reneged on the ideals of the 1916 Rising. Their bitterness and sense of betrayal spilled over into Mountjoy prison, making the task for their jailers very precarious. It is well documented that the Deputy Governor of Mountjoy, the largest prison, always did his rounds carrying two revolvers.[1] 'Republican', latterly called 'subversive', prisoners were to be a key element in Irish prison administration, particularly in their refusal to accept a criminal status, and in their election of officers among the prisoners with whom the authorities had to deal to maintain some equilibrium. Efforts by the prison authorities to develop systems to deal with those prisoners was to be a key feature of Irish prison administration to the present day.

The development of thinking related to imprisonment in Ireland should
also be understood in the context of the imprisonment of many Irish
political leaders in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Certainly,
many of the founders of the new Irish state had been incarcerated
but had been allowed association, books, class activities and almost
certainly were treated with awe, if not sympathy, by some staff. A
number of these leaders, imprisoned under English rule, developed their
republican sense of history while in prison and some at least may have
viewed prison as a rewarding experience. On accession to power they
were likely to continue to view prison as a rewarding experience for
some prisoners but also as a breeding ground for subversion. The
first Free State governor of Mountjoy was the brother of the Free State
President.[2]

Movements for social change and the 'liberalising' of social policy
were slow to gain momentum in the new Irish Free State. Whether this
was the result of conservatism born of recent freedom, something innate
in the Irish character or more specifically related to the priority of
establishing an identity and developing an industrial base rather than
evolving social policy is a task for historians to unravel.[3]
Whatever the inherent causes, the administration of prisons in Ireland
was rarely influenced, at least into the 1960's, by trends developing
in Britain and Europe particularly. The main aims of prisons continued
to be the prevention of escapes and the elimination of disturbances.
A change in legislation on prisons came with the passing of the
Criminal Justice Act (1960), which enabled the Minister for Justice to
grant temporary release to prisoners and enabled Courts to sentence
directly to St. Patrick's Institution those aged between 16 and 21
years, rather than having to be transferred from adult prisons.
During the debate, the Minister summarised the main developments since
1922 as being related to improved meals, more association, more books
and letters, better prison uniforms, elimination of corporal punishment
and increased remissions. Increased pressure during the debates and
subsequently led to the setting up in 1962 of an Interdepartmental
Committee on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders which
never published recommendations but did advise the Minister for Justice
on penal policy which was now to embrace the aim of "social
rehabilitation of the offender".

The 1960's saw the beginnings of crisis in Irish prisons. Crime rates rose dramatically because, as Rottman[4] has argued, of that developing industrial base which successive Governments had worked so hard to create. The rising crime rate coincided with increased public consciousness for improvements in social policy and interest groups began to insist that the helping professions should have a presence in Irish prisons.

Apart from the increase in 'normal' crimes and increased public interest in prisons, a further development effecting the administration of prisons was the increased incarceration of I.R.A. prisoners resulting from renewed hostilities in Northern Ireland since 1969, though small numbers of such prisoners had continued to be imprisoned up to the 1960's.

The 1970's therefore ushered in the possibilities of change or even major upheavel in prisons due to:

-    Increasing crime rate

-    Pressure to increase the role of the 'helping professions'

-    Incarceration of 'subversives'

Writings on prisons have been dominated by discussion on the goals of security and reform and the organisational problems of prison systems brought about by these often conflicting goals. The Irish prison system up to and including the 1950's seems to have parallelled the Victorian English prison service. Thomas has characterised the English prison service between 1877 an 1895 as one with a clear task of deterrence and control; "It was a small service, tightly-knit and organised in a para-military structure. Since there was clarity of task there was clarity of role. As a result the Commissioners knew what kind of officers they were looking for."[5] The Irish prison service of the 20th century has mirrored its 19th century English counterpart partly because of the small numbers of prisoners, partly because it has maintained clear goals related to safe custody and partly because the Department of Justice exercised a strong administrative influence.

Thomas has argued that organisation contradictions of reform and custody ushered in by the Gladstone Committee after 1895 left the English uniformed service in a state of alienation which was exacerbated by deteriorating relationships between prisons and Head Office.[6] These contradictions had not emerged by the 1960's in Ireland. Other problems, however, were emerging.

An analysis of crime statistics since 1947 shows little change for indictable offences detected between 1947 and 1965: 15,329 in 1947 and 17,736 in 1965. By 1984, however, the number of indictable offences had risen to 99,727. This was mirrored in the daily average number of prisoners in custody which rose from 560 in 1965 to 1,594 in 1984.[7] While this latter figure is small in comparison with most other prison systems, the three-fold increase in prisoners since 1965 has increased the administration problems for the Department of Justice. As well as increased numbers in prisons, the early 1970's also saw the setting-up of a Prisoners Rights Organisation as well as an influx of prisoners convicted of offences against the State, later called 'subversives'. Subversive prisoners in this period were initially housed in Mountjoy[8] prison until they caused a major riot in that prison in May 1972. The authorities were so alarmed that a decision was taken to house all subversives either in Portlaoise (mainly for Provisional IRA prisoners) or in the Curragh military detention centre (for non Provisional IRA subversives). Portlaoise, which had been a convict prison, now became an armed fortress with soldiers and police on perimeter security.[9]

From 1972 onwards, the level of custodial staff to prisoners increased dramatically: in 1972 there were 311 basic grade custodial staff, with a staff:prisoner ratio of 100:256; by 1984, the number of custodial staff had risen to 1,169 with a staff:prisoner ratio of 100:102.[10] There is little doubt but that the aim of security continued to be the primary one for Irish prisons and has dominated administrative thinking in the 1970's and 80's. The Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System has given the main reasons for the growth in staff since 1972 as

> the opening of additional prisons and places of detention in the 1970's, the need for greater security following a riot in Mountjoy prison in May 1972, the rising prisoner population and the need for a higher level of security for subversive prisoners. Since December, 1981 the rate of increase has declined (despite the rapidly increasing prison population), the number of serving staff increasing by 71 (4.7 per cent).[11]

While subversives have been incarcerated in Portlaoise, as well as the military prison at the Curragh, their presence has been felt throughout the system. This presence has allowed the discipline service to re-affirm the policy of security and safe custody and to overcome any inroads from the fledgling 'helping professions'.

The changes occurring in the 1970's brought to a head some major dis-agreements between the Minister for Justice and the Prison Officers' Association. Relations deteriorated to such an extent that the Minister for Justice, to reduce POA bitterness, agreed to set up a Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System, which reported in 1985. This Committee's appraisal of the deterioration suggested the following factors as contributing to staff-management problems in the prison service:

(1) The change in the 1970's associated with the entry of large numbers of new prison officers attuned to normal employment relationships rather than the traditional discipline of the prison service.

(2) Less than full acceptance by the Department of Justice of the implications of the concession of trade union rights to one of the three branches of the security forces (the Army and Garda remain excluded), and less than full recognition by the POA of their special responsibility as a State security force.

(3) Mutual distrust as between the Department and the POA leading e.g. to public criticism by each side of the other's ability and willingness to negotiate.

(4) Inadequacy of managerial skills at institutional level, due to lack of training and development; increased dependence on the Department for the day-to-day administration of the prison; and reduced delegation of authority to Govenors.

(5) Inadequate consultation of staff on local and national issues affecting them.

(6) Lack of job satisfaction in the purely custodial role, accentuated by concentration of educational and welfare roles in the charge of specialists, by an unpleasant and restricted working environment and by the increased tension related to the custody of 'subversives'.

(7) Dissatisfaction with negotiation machinery, and absence of agreed
     grievance, disciplinary and disputes procedures.[12]

The Committee recommended the establishment of a Prisons Board
separated from the Department of Justice and a greater involvement by
prison officers in

— social skills classes;

— recreational activities;

— welfare work in association with the Welfare Service, for example
   helping prisoners to adjust to imprisonment, dealing with their
   personal problems, and helping them to prepare for discharge;

— a range of activities outside penal establishments e.g.
   pre-release hostels and other types of establishments that are at
   present or may in the future be used in connection with
   non-custodial measures.

One of the methods suggested for the development of a 'caring role' for
prison officers was to divide large prisons into separate units "where
the staff would be working with smaller numbers of prisoners with whom
they could develop a closer relationship". A further recommendation
is to recruit Assistant Governors from outside the Prison Service.

This seems to be a recognition by the Committee that rehabilitation is
possible within prisons and that prison officers can take an active
part in this. Thomas' analysis of the English prison officer suggests
that:

> whatever manifest tasks may be declared, the community perceives the
> prison primarily as a coercive organisation and meaures its
> competence as such. In the real world of prisons, the burden of
> carrying out this task rests on the basic-grade uniformed officer.
> This is his role, and it cannot be combined with a reformative
> role. The perennial reality is that the officer has to spend
> most, if not all, of his time in custodial tasks — checking bars,
> counting knives, locking, unlocking and supervising prisoners.
> Although this is a repressive role it need not be performed in a
> cruel or vicious way. Officers who are aware of the complexities
> of criminal behaviour and conscious of the effects of institutional-
> isation, can treat prisoners with courtesy and kindness without
> custody being undermined. But this does not mean that he has a
> reformative role in any real sense.[13]

The present study is an attempt to locate the Irish Prison Service in a wider social context and to trace the external influences on the service. Thomas argues that

> there is not nearly enough stress on the relationship between the prison system and society. This relationship is crucial and dynamic, and must be taken into account if a prison system is to be understood. Most sociological work presents prison as an isolated phenomenon.
>
> Above all, the generic weakness of most sociological writing on prisons is the heavy commitment to reform. This commitment leads to a discussion of the wrong issues. Since there is an underlying assumption that the prison organisation ought to be reformative in task, reasons have to be sought as to why it is not. It is assumed that there must be blockages in the achievement of this task. If reformation is not being carried out, what is it that the prison is doing? It is being punitive.[14]

The Irish Prison Service because of its size is an ideal one to study in a comprehensive way. The present research, as well as studying the impact of society, attempts to analyse the aims and objectives of the service as well as to understand the organisation and staff implications of these aims and objectives. All elements of the prison system, external and internal, are reviewed and a model developed for under-taking such a review. The primary focus of the study is the uniformed prison service and particularly the basic grade Prison Officer. Attitudes, values, behaviour patterns of uniformed staff are studied not as sadistic or neurotic tendencies but as more or less rational attempts to come to terms with the strains of prison life. The scope of the study enables comparisons to be made between the values, attitudes and behaviour patterns between different types of prison and to draw some conclusions between personal orientations of prison staff and the demands made upon them in different prisons, and by changing societal views regarding the nature of imprisonment.

The study is an exploration and refinement of the primary tasks of prisons as interpreted by different groups and an analysis of how different groups cope with change or threatening circumstances.

1.2 Previous Research

Prisons and other total institutions have been fertile locations for
social science research and theory development.   Much of this research
has been from the standpoint of inmates and their relationships to the
authority structure of the institution as well as to the inmate structure.

Goffman is particularly concerned with the underlife in total institutions
and concludes that "when existence is cut to the bone we can learn what
people do to flesh out their lives".[15] He outlines many means employed
by inmates to do this such as reading, cards, collecting minutiae,
smuggling, insolence whether overt or covert[16]. Goffman has also
helped clarify the meaning behind organisation:

> It is less well appreciated that each of these official goals or
> charters seems admirably suited to provide a key to meaning — a
> language of explanation that the staff, and sometimes the inmates,
> can bring to every crevice of action in the institution.   Thus, a
> medical frame of reference is not merely a perspective through
> which a decision concerning dosage can be determined and made
> meaningful; it is a perspective ready to account for all manner of
> decisions, such as the hours when hospital meals are served or the
> manner in which hospital linen is folded.   Each official goal lets
> loose a doctrine, with its own inquisitors and its own martyrs, and
> within institutions there seems to be no natural check on the
> licence of easy interpretation that results.   Every institution
> must not only make some effort to realize its offical aims but must
> also be protected, somehow, from the tyranny of a diffuse pursuit
> of them, lest the exercise of authority be turned into a witch
> hunt.   The phantom of 'security' in prisons and the staff actions
> justified in its name are instances of these dangers.[17]

Goffman further elaborates on the interpretative scheme of the total
institution "which begins to operate as soon as an inmate enters". The
automatic identification of the inmate, as a sick person in a mental
hospital or as a lawbreaker in a prison, is "at the centre of a basic
means of social control".[18]

Rewards and punishments are phrased, according to Goffman,[19] "in a
language that reflects the legitimated objectives of the institution, as
when solitary confinement in prisons is called 'constructive meditation'.
Staff translate, according to Goffman, inmate behaviour into "moralistic
terms suited to the institution's avowed perspective"[20] and in so doing
evolve theories of human nature which help maintain social distance and
justifies treatment of them. Goffman elaborates on the role of basic
grade staff as tradition carriers who must "present the demands of the
institution to the inmates .... and deflect the hate of
inmates from higher staff persons".[21]

Deference in total institutions is placed on a formal footing and sanctions accorded for infractions, particularly related to expressed attitudes such as insolence[22].

Goffman's analysis of total institutions provides many insights into the meaning systems which develop in such institutions, to the rituals which serve institutional goals and to the staff and inmate roles which evolve. It is, however, mainly concerned with an inmate's progress through the total institution and with what he has to contend.

Sykes and Messinger provide a further valuable analysis of 'underlife' in prisons and outline five main tenets of the inmate code which can be summarised as follows:

    (a) Serve the least possible time and enjoy the greatest possible number of pleasures and privileges while in prison, and "never rat on a con". Prisoners must present a unified front against their guards no matter how much this may cost in terms of personal sacrifice.

    (b) Refrain from quarrels with fellow prisoners and don't lose your head.

    (c) Don't exploit inmates; inmates should share scarce goods.

    (d) Don't weaken; the prisoner should be able to 'take it'.

    (e) 'Screws' are to be treated with constant suspicion; inmates should'nt allow themselves to become committed to the values of hard work and submission to authority.[23]

"'The right guy' is the hero of the inmate social system .... who celebrates the inmate code rather than violates it"[24]

Sykes and Messinger trace the development of inmate social systems which involve group cohesion, with a "war of all against all" to the fact that:

> Rejected, impoverished, and figuratively castrated, the prisoner must face still further indignity in the extensive social control exercised by the custodians. The many details of the inmate's life, ranging from the hours of sleeping to the route to work and the job itself, are subject to a vast number of regulations made by prison officials. The inmate is stripped of his autonomy; hence, to the other pains of imprisonment we must add the pressure to define himself as weak, helpless, and dependent. Individuals under guard are exposed to the bitter ego threat of losing their identification with the normal adult role.[25]

A movement towards solidarity, as dictated by the inmate code, reduces the pains of imprisonment.

> The effectiveness of the inmate code in mitigating the pains of imprisonment depends of course on the extent to which precepts are translated into action. As we have indicated, the demands of the inmate code for loyalty, generosity, disparagement of officials, and so on are most fully exemplified in the behavior of the right guy. On the other hand, much noncohesive behavior occurs on the part of the rat, the tough, the gorilla, the merchant, and the weak sister. The population of prisoners, then, does not exhibit perfect solidarity in practice, in spite of inmates' vehement assertions of group cohesion as a value; but neither is the population of prisoners a warring aggregate. Rather, the inmate social system typically appears to be balanced in an uneasy compromise somewhere between these two extremes. The problems confronting prisoners in the form of social rejection, material deprivation, sexual frustration, and the loss of autonomy and personal security are not completely eliminated. Indeed, even if the norms of the inmate social system were fully carried out by all, the pains of imprisonment would only be lessened; they would not disappear. But the pains of imprisonment are at least relieved by whatever degree of group cohesion is achieved in fact, and this is crucial in understanding the functional significance of the inmate code for inmates.[26]

Irwin concluded that the inmate social system as outlined by Sykes and Messinger, though it exists, is not the most important social phenomenon in the prison life of most convicts in California prisons; the prison populations are too large and the authorities have prevented prison cohesion by (a) segregating those with power, (b) the imposition of the indeterminate sentence which serves as a powerful control mechanism, (c) by the development of treatment programmes which have splintered the convict population.[27]

Irwin also considered that studies which suggested only two adaptive styles used by prisoners, i.e. withdrawal or participation in the convict social system, have overlooked important alternate styles; maintaining an orientation to the outside while seeing prison as a suspension of that life ("doing time") or making a world out of the prison.

Cohen and Taylor too took inmates as the focus of their work when they studied the experience of long-term imprisonment in the security wing at Durham and to the stress produced by massive disruption to prisoners' lives. They attempted to understand what the adaptation to long-term imprisonment means to an individual. They outlined the concern of long-term prisoners concerning contamination by one type of prisoner only — the sex offender — and to their feelings of intellectual superiority and sense of status over the "lumpen-proletariat nature of their guards"[28].

The authors studied friendship patterns, effects of lack of privacy, emotional difficulties encountered by long-term prisoners and how they cope with time. They studied the introduction of 'work' into the security wing and the contradictions between the meaning assigned to it by prison authorities and that assigned by prisoners, most of whom felt that it was a further punishment inflicted on them rather than as something to pass the time and as a means of keeping laziness at bay as staff would suggest. Cohen and Taylor's work highlights a number of adaptation processes which long-term prisoners undergo. In getting into the world of the long-term prisoner the researchers worked hard at ensuring acceptance by prisoners at the expense of some loss of objectivity; uniformed prison staff, for example, were referred to as 'screws' by the researchers.

All research tends to focus on aspects of the field of study which are likely to add new knowledge but more specifically fall within a prevailing paradigm and are of interest to the researcher. While much research related to prisons starts from the position of the prisoner with particular reference to the actual as well as the desired effects of prisons on prisoners. A number of studies have looked at the way prison is organised with particular reference to identifying whether such organisation is a barrier or facilitates the carrying out of goals which the investigators take to be uncomplicated, and usually relate to rehabilitation or humane containment.

Clemmer studied the development of the inmate social system and concluded that the values of such a system are anti-social and anti-administration. Prisonisation, whereby the inmate stripped of most of the symbols of personal identity, begins to attach new meanings to all the conditions of life which were previously taken for granted. Clemmer pointed out that conditions which maximise prisonisation are:

1. A sentence of many years, thus a long subjection to the universal factors of prisonization.

2. A somewhat unstable personality made unstable by an inadequacy of 'socialized' relations before commitment, but possessing, nonetheless, a capacity for strong convictions and a particular kind of loyalty.

3. A dearth of positive relations with persons outside the walls.

4. A readiness and a capacity for integration into a prison primary group.

5. A blind, or almost blind, acceptance of the dogmas and mores of the primary group and the general penal population.

6. A chance of placement with other persons of a similar orientation.

7. A readiness to participate in gambling and abnormal sex behaviour.[29]

Clemmer characterised the prison as 'atomised' because few inmates were intensively or extensively involved in primary group relations; the result was, according to Clemmer, that prisons were breeding grounds for crime, when in fact they should be agencies for 'positive' change in the prisoner.

This emphasis on the effects of imprisonment on prisoners' behaviour and the belief that prisoners should be positively changed has led to efforts to set up prisons which minimise those effects considered harmful and bring about positive change in prisoners.

Emery reports one such experiment in Bristol prison, whereby:

(a) A daily routine allowing inmates to spend most of their waking hours outside their cells in association with each other. Incidental to this, a greater amount of time is made available for work, but, as will appear later, there is no evidence to suggest that this makes any significant difference between the Norwich system and the normal pattern.

(b) A change in the officers' responsibilities for inmates. Pairs of officers were made jointly responsible for approximatey sixteen named inmates. These responsibilities entailed:

(i) collecting the reception letter from the inmate and, if necessary, helping him to write it;

(ii) making a personal written report on each new prisoner allocated to them, this being done within the first week;

(iii) making such other verbal reports as the governor requests;

(iv) assisting the prisoner with any letters or petitions if such help is required;

(v) writing a final report on each prisoner for the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.[30]

Emery concludes that:

> (a) The steps taken at Bristol successfully created an
> association that was attractive to the inmates and involved
> the majority of the participants in active leisure pursuits.
>
> (b) The observed effects of these changes were irreconcilable
> with any assumption that the unruliness of the inmate
> population (and hence the general level of tension) was
> simply a function of its propensity to act criminally and of
> the opportunities to do so.
>
> (c) The general level of tension was reduced. The areas of
> prison life and the inmates in which this reduction were most
> marked were those predicted by assuming that the level of
> tension was primarily a function of the relative deprivation
> of inmates, ie. in the domestic sector and with the younger
> inmates.
>
> (d) The introduction of association resolved the instability that
> had hitherto appeared to be inherent in the relations between
> basic-grade disciplinary officers and inmates. With this
> went a significant decline in inmate hostility to officers, a
> lessening of mutual distrust, and the virtual disappearance
> of the schism in the officer ranks between 'activists' and
> 'passengers'.
>
> (e) In some important respects, the experiment appears to have
> created the grounds on which reformative and rehabilitative
> efforts with the inmates might more successfully be
> pursued. In particular, there was less tendency for inmates
> to develop a prison mentality or to become more bitter or
> antagonistic towards authority in general.[31]

Furthermore he goes on to propose that:

> (a) Given the requirement of medium or maximum security, the
> prison regime cannot be expected to be a reformative agent.
>
> (b) Given the requirement of security, a level of internal
> freedom cannot be found that will automatically secure good
> order. Supervision and coercion will be necessary.
>
> (c) Given the requirement of security and good order, the role of
> the ordinary officer cannot be defined as that of also being
> the prisoners' friend and counsellor.[32]

Emery's propositions were formulated to command attention to his
conclusion that:

> if we feel that we have to have the security afforded by the
> medium and maximum security prisons, then we should accept that
> these will be custodial intitutions not reformative institutions,
> and that certain other costs will be unavoidable. This is not to
> deny the importance of striving, as in this experiment, to
> eliminate self defeating repression and of facilitating the
> operation of potentially reformative influences such as outside
> contacts, prison visitors, education and welfare workers.[33]

Such experiments did not proliferate, perhaps because they threatened
the existing order, or perhaps because of lack of public interest in
reform or perhaps because of a realisation by social scientists that
the aims of custody and reform were incompatible and methods other than
prisons should be introduced to deal with deviance.

Most studies in prisons have approached data from the perspective of
prisoners.   A few, however, have studied the values and attitudes of
staff.   Mathieson was concerned with the relationship to the external
environment and argued that senior staff do not interpret external
information adequately.   Because of this he concluded that:

   (a) the control function is made difficult because the management
       is unable to pacify inmates or custody staff with relevant
       information from the outside; the importance of news from the
       outside being greatly enhanced in a closed system;

   (b) custody staff members, nursing staff, etc., are barred from
       receiving information for adequate role performance;

   (c) innovation in treatment techniques, or security measures, is
       hampered.[34]

Because of the above, Mathieson concluded that "we are faced with an
organization which is restless to the point of periodic cell smash-up
and individual revolt, unable to perform its elementary duties, and
characterized by stagnation.   This, in brief, is the structure of a
prison."[35]

The standpoint taken by Mathieson was that rehabilitation activity was
the means of overcoming stagnation.

Ward, in studying rule enforcement in prisons, concluded that the goals
of rehabilitation and rule enforcement are not antithecal.[36]   While
rehabilitation was an accepted aim in Ward's investigation, it did,
however, concern itself with values and attitudes of custodial staff,
particularly related to a change of emphasis from a custodial to a
remedial orientation.

This changed emphasis resulted in strain and instability which

> predicted not only recurrent low morale in the custodial ranks,
> but inconsistent, contradictory, conflicting, and, occasionally
> illegitimate methods of rule enforcement.   Certain officers
> attempted to resolve the problems of policy inconsistency and lack
> of clarity by making decisions on their own.   Although some of
> the methods utilized were illegitimate, they were successful means
> of achieving end results.   The resolution of problems, apparently,
> was the primary concern of the prison administrators as these
> officers were labeled by their superiors and fellow officers as
> 'good'.   The behaviour of these officers in dealing with inmates
> conformed to the traditional conception of an officer's role.[37]

Ward further concluded that

> any analysis of prison policies and programs must involve a study of the
> social structure of the prison.   In the cases of treatment and rule
> enforcement, both inmate opinions and behaviour and the opinions and
> behaviour of other groups in the organization must be considered.   This
> study is not complete because the attitudes and behaviour of all segments
> of the Bureau of Prisons administrative hierarchy have not been
> investigated.   As is so often the case, the extent of investigation was
> limited by time, and only those organizational groups which were most
> directly and intimately concerned with rule enforcements were given
> attention.[38]

Jones and Cornes compared three open and three closed training prisons
by administering diaries, questionnaires and data collection sheets to
prison officers, "with the idea of determining how far open
institutions realised the expectations of those who have advocated them
over the past half century".[39]

The authors observe that:

> as is not uncommon in the study of social situations, the results
> are sometimes ambiguous and vague, and this tendency has been
> exacerbated by the limited response of the staff of some of the
> closed prisons ....[40]

The main conclusions were:

(a) Open-closed differences are slight, though somewhat less
   supervision in the open prisons as well as fewer punishments
   on inmates.   Basic grade staff in open prisons tended to be
   perplexed, seeing orders from superiors as conflicting.

(b) Between open prisons themselves, the long-term open seems to
   have acquired a more clearly open identity, probably because
   in shorter term institutions, less time can be spared from
   discipline and security; inmate characteristics may, however,
   have been intervening variables.

(c) Security and discipline played a prominent part in staff culture in each of the prisons.

(d) A group of prison officers were identified who were more highly educated, "have less frequently undertaken extended military service commitments, and instead of displaying the sideways or downwards mobility pattern already referred to, give evidence of having previously held jobs in skilled occupations".   This group tended to be more dissatisfied with the amount of discretion and initiative allowed them.[41].

Haney, et.al., designed a functional simulation of a prison in which subjects role-played prisoners and guards for an extended period of time and which the authors conclude developed into a psychologically compelling prison environment.   Prisoners experienced a loss of personal identity and the arbitrary control of their behaviour which resulted in a syndrome of passivity, dependency, depression and helplessness.   In contrast the guards experienced a marked gain in social power, status and group identification which made role-playing rewarding.   Half of the prisoners developed acute emotional disturbance while at least a third of the guards were judged to have become far more aggressive and dehumanising towards prisoners.[42]

All of these studies are located within institutions.   Thomas would contend that not alone should attitudes and behaviour of all segments of an administration be investigated but that this should be done "within the context of a dynamic relationship with the community"[43] and he has sought to do this in his classic study of the development of the prison officer's role since 1850.

The present study follows many of the lines of enquiry pursued by Thomas, particularly related to historical developments and the organisational constraints resulting from these developments.

The study also attempts a detailed account of the attitudes, values and behaviour patterns of prison staff are juxtaposed with the demands made on them by the public, by policy-makers and by inmates.

Since this study was undertaken, a survey in England and Wales of prison staff's attitudes towards work has been published which tries "to achieve a better understanding of how staff come to feel satisfied or dissatisfied with their work and with the organisation employing them".[44]. While no attempt is made to deal with the historical context in which staff roles developed or to understand relationships with the community, nevertheless the study has some parallels with the present research. Any such parallels will be indicated in later chapters.

The scope of the present study does not appear to have been attempted previously whereby the uniformed service and particularly the basic grade prison officer has been located in the demands made by the public, by policy-makers and by prisoners. Such a broad sweep has been made possible by the fact that the Irish Prison Service is small.

1.3 A Model for Studying the Organisation of the Irish Prison Service

This study attempts to analyse the organisational 'reality' of prisons from a number of important perspectives; those of policy-makers, of senior administrators, of professional staff and of custodial staff at different levels.[43] Because of access difficulties, the perspective of prisoners is studied only indirectly through the perspective of the various groups mentioned.

Studies of organisations have adopted a number of different paradigms to analyse organisation processes and identify enduring patterns of social interactions.

Roberts et. al (1978)[45] have outlined four paradigms which they consider encapsulate most of the research in organisations.

(a) Industrial-Organisational Psychology Paradigms

This paradigm is based on the premise that certain psychological processes are shared by individuals in organisations. Perceptions, attitudes and behaviours are stressed and organisational characteristics are assumed to be constant. Individual characteristics are often correlated with perceptions and attitudes.

More recent studies using this paradigm have concentrated more on contextual characteristics such as rewards for performance as moderating variables.

Studies of organisation climate are seen as an extension of the paradigm beyond the individual and it is postulated that organisational characteristics affect individual responses through their impact on individual perceptions of organisations. Though the method of analysis is still individual perceptions, organisation climate studies show "a recognition of organisational environments as potential influences on individual responses".[46]

(b) Human Factors Paradigm

Specialists in this paradigm focus on relations of objective features of task and work environments to individual responses. The main concern is to design tasks to raise productivity, reduce fatigue and errors. The objective is to design equipment which can be used reliably and efficiently, and to increase control over the production process. The assumption in the paradigm is that "a standard minimum level of ability and motivation characterises people in organisations".[47] Values and attitudes are not variables which are important to the paradigm. Rather is the stress on objective features such as task requirements and equipment design.

(c) Social Psychological Paradigm

The paradigm is based on the premise that "a group is qualitatively different from its individual members"[48] and that a person's responses cannot be studied adequately without reference to the social groups to which that person responds. The processes through which group members influence one another's attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours are studied, rather than features of tasks that groups perform and of organisations in which they exist. The influence of group cohesion on productivity is an example of work in this area.

(d)   Sociological Paradigm

This paradigm is based on the premise that "organisations are forms of social collectives with enduring patterns of social interaction".[49] Social interaction is assumed to continue unaltered when individual members leave and others join.

The level of analysis is the group and therefore individual differences in responses to organisational characteristics are not within the scope of studies.

Weber's [50] bureacratic model of organisations in which the assumption of the individuals conformity to their roles in a formal organisation is crucial to organisational effectiveness is the best known example of work in this paradigm.   If, therefore, individuals conform to organisational roles, individual differences are not relevant.   Formal organisational roles structure performance in organisations and the patterns of activities studied are division of labour, level of specialisation, interdependencies between organisations, work-flow technology.

Individual behaviour in this paradigm is viewed as resulting from the roles which people occupy rather than from environmental or psychological processes as might be suggested by the other paradigms. It is assumed that adopting formal roles leads to conformity.

The environment in which the organisation exists is studied as well as structural characteristics such as number of levels and departments, ratios of administrative to sales and production staff.   Woodward's[51] study of the impact of technology on structure is another example of work in this paradigm.

These four paradigms describe general approaches to organisational problems and they can be seen to act as filters determining which units of analysis are taken and which variables used.

Implicit in the conceptualisation of group and organisational characteristics is the view of organisations as systems. Silverman has outlined three main assumptions underlying systems theory, that organisations are composed of a set of interdependent parts; organisations have needs for survival; and organisations, as systems, behave and take actions.[52]

'General systems theory', and its offshoot 'functionalism' would propound that a system in order to survive in its environment has needs which the parts fulfill as their function.   A system is presumed to evolve spontaneously towards homeostasis and any dysfunctional parts will fall into line or become disengaged.   The action of the parts of a system are structured by systems needs for stability.   Parsons[53] is concerned to show how a network of interlocking systems and sub-systems function and meet each others needs.   Parsons proposes that a 'central value system' is the basis of any society which enables individuals develop stable expectations concerning others behaviour and vice versa.   Behaviour is made predictable and society persists even though members change.   In relation to organisations, Parsons proposes that the first step is to ascertain the value systems or goals.   The integration of individuals and groups into an organisation is explained by Parsons by the way in which the value system of society, as reflected in the goal of the organisation, structures the way in which roles are defined to meet the expectations which organisational members bring to their work.

Parsons, and other systems theorists, use a cybernetic model to study how an organisation adapts to its environment in order to survive. The model can be viewed as an Input, Conversion, Output process. Within this model, change can arise either from environmental pressure or from within the organisation, though he would suggest that the source of strain can usually be traced back to the environment.   "The crucial focus of change lies in the stability of the value system".[54] The reaction to strain, either for the environment or internally, is to adapt to a new type of stability.

Silverman is critical of the Parsonian view and asks

> .... need something which the sociologist attributes to organisations (namely their function for society) without any reference to the ends actually pursued within them have any bearing on the nature of their internal social relationships? Are prison officials really concerned with their supposed Parsonian function, or is the integrative function of their organisation something which constrains them in practice?[55]

Silverman summarises both the advantages and limitations of functionalism as follows;

(1) Functionalism overcomes a narrow concern with the organisation itself and draws attention to the inter-relation of organisation and environment.

(2) Social interaction nearly always has consequences which are hidden from the participants and not intended by them. By focusing on unintended consequences, functionalists have grasped an important aspect of social life.

(3) By concentrating on the behaviour of organisations themselves, as influenced by a series of impersonal processes, functionalists run the risk of reifying the systems that they construct. One is not convinced, for instance, that the view that organisations take actions in response to their needs is as 'what had to be'. One can always invent needs which made past changes inevitable. By de-emphasising the actors' definitions of the situation and the choices of action that are perceived to be available, functionalists inhibit the predictive power of their approach.

(4) Functionalists direct our attention to the consequences rather than to the causes of social phenomena. To ask 'what is the function of these parts' tells one nothing about why the parts are like that in the first place. This is only overcome by teleology (the consequences is the cause) or by postulating certain unacceptable evolutionary assumptions.[56]

A further criticism for the action framework is that functionalism is looking at an organisation from the administrative view and the attention is away from purposive human action.
Gouldner believes that some at least of the criticisms of systems theory could be met:

More precise formulation would require specification of the ends of different people, or of the typical ends of different parts of strata, within the organisation. Such a specification would indicate that these ends may vary, are not necessarily identical, and may, in fact be contradictory.[57]

Gouldner was still writing as a functionalist which has led Silverman to say that "while one may agree with all of Gouldner's suggestions, it is difficult, if not impossible, to see how they could be embodied in any theory which could still be called functionalist".[58]

Silverman, among others, has outlined an 'action' theory related to organisations and has rejected the systems approach completely with seven propositions;

(1) The social sciences and the natural sciences deal with entirely different orders of subject-matter. While the canons of rigour and scepticism apply to both, one should not expect their perspective to be the same.

(2) Sociology is concerned with understanding action rather than with observing behaviour. Action arises out of meanings which define social reality.

(3) Meanings are given to men by their society. Shared orientations become institutionalised and are experienced by later generations as social facts.

(4) While society defines man, man in turn defines society. Particular constellations of meaning are only sustained by continual reaffirmation in everyday actions.

(5) Through their interaction men also modify, change and transform social meanings.

(6) It follows that explanations of human actions must take account of the meanings which those concerned assign to their acts; the manner in which the everyday world is socially constructed yet perceived as real and routine becomes a crucial concern of sociological analysis.

(7) Positivistic explanations, which assert that action is determined by external and constraining social or non-social forces, are inadmissible.[59]

Parsons is not rejected totally. Silverman elaborates that:

> Action occurs, therefore, not as a response to an observable stimulus but as a product of what Parsons (1951) has called a 'system of expectations' arising out of the actor's past experiences and defining his perception of the probable reaction of others to his act. At the level of cognition, the actor defines his situation in this way and becomes aware of alternative courses of possible action. Since action is goal-oriented, that is concerned with the attainment of certain subjectively perceived ends, the actor chooses, from among the means of which he is aware, the action that seems most likely to produce what he would regard as a satisfactory outcome. At this analytical level, to use Parson's term, he is concerned with 'evaluation'. Any instance of action (a unit act) thus stems from the ends that the actor is concerned to attain, his definition of the situation, including the range of alternative actions that he perceives to be available to him, and his choice of a means which is likely to be effective, bearing in mind the likely reaction of others to his act.[60]

While the systems approach regards behaviour as a reflection of the characteristics of a social system which constrain actors, the action approach argues that man is constrained by the way in which he socially constructs reality. Silverman says that "on the one hand, it seems, society makes man, on the other, man makes society".[61]

Organisational change in the action frame of reference can be understood as a change in either the rules of the game or the attachment of the actors to them. Organisation change will be governed not so much by pressure from the environment, but more by actors definitions of the situation. Silverman says that;

> Whether a technical innovation is incorporated into an organisation will be determined not by an impersonal process whereby the organisation 'itself' acts to maximise efficiency but by the relevant structure of social relations and orientations.[62]

Stinchcombe[63] is concerned as to how these structures of social relations and orientations have been developed and points out that organisations reflect the meaning-structures of their time in their internal pattern of social relations. Founders of organisations will usually take their ideas about efficient organisation from the stock of knowledge characteristic of their society at that time. People may continue to pay lip-service to a set of symbols even though the nature of interaction may change considerably as expectations are not met and as new personnel enter the organisation.

The theme underlying the action frame of reference is summarised by Silverman as follows:

(1) The nature of the attachment by the actions to any existing norms is shaped by the orientations that they bring to the situation (especially taken-for-granted worldviews) and by their subsequent experience of the situation itself. The actor's definition of his condition is therefore an emergent characteristic which is continually reshaped by his experiences.

(2) When this subjective view is expressed in action one may speak of the use of tactics or strategy. By so doing, we catch the purposive nature of social action. Most strategies seem to be defensive but this may be because action that is defined as agressive may not be acceptable in cultures where tradition and 'playing the game' are still quite important.

(3) When subjective views become institutionalised, one may speak of the emergence of rules of the game towards which actors orient themselves. Whether views become institutionalised depends upon several factors including:

(a) The already existing world-taken-for-granted of the participants.

(b) The ends they pursue and the degree of attachment to the existing pattern that this implies.

(c) The strategies they perceive to be available to them and the resources they can call upon to attain their ends.

(d) The actions in which they engage and their ability to convince others of the legitimacy of these acts.

(4) Compliance with any institutionalised pattern is always problematic. The problem of legitimacy continually recurs and cannot be escaped; apparently stable definitions of situations are always threatened, sometimes by 'heroes, prophets or saviours', but more frequently by meanings which emerge in the course of everyday interaction.

(5) Neither a purely strategic model (where the participants are prepared, if necessary, to destroy one another) nor the model of a game fully catch the complexity of social life. Men in organisations (as elsewhere) are both defined by, and define, social reality; social interaction is a process whose course is pre-defined yet one through which new definitions of reality emerge.[64]

A fundamental critique of much of the 'rational and function theories and positivist methodology' in organisation studies has been offered by Benson who claims that

the established approaches, although varying in details, share a structure of reasoning or problematic which has been characterised as the 'rational selection model', 'goal paradigm', and the 'tool views'. According to this problematic, much of what occurs in the organisation is understood as a result of goal pursuit and for need fulfillment.[65]

Benson further claims that the methodological stance adopted has been dominated by issues of administrative concern that have unquestioningly accepted existing arrangements.

Benson proposes a dialectical view of organisations which sees the social world to be:

in a continuous state of becoming — social arrangements which seem fixed and permanent are temporary .... and one among many possibilities.[66]

In a dialectical analysis of organisations the focus is not restricted to the narrow, limited, conventional reality promulgated by administrators but on the total organisation. Benson recognises two levels of organisational reality;

(a) Morphology which refers to the officially enforced and conventionally accepted view of the organisation which because the administrators are partly successful may also be somewhat accurate as a description of organisations.

(b)   Substructure which is a complex network of relations linking
        participants to each other and to the larger social world which
        the 'administrative elite' seeks to harness and contain.[67]

Benson further argues that

> if one looks at the organisation concretely and pays attention
> to its multiple levels and varied relations to the larger
> society, contradictions become an obvious and important feature
> of organisation life[68]

A prisons dual purpose of rehabilitation and security can, according
to Benson, "yield contradictory structures, competing interest groups
and occasional periods of crisis". Recent crises in American state
prisons, Benson sees as resulting from

> The largely black populations of the prisons have increasingly
> seen the organisation as an instrument of white oppression.
> Black inmates have created structures based upon racial
> antagonism, used a radical ideology, and linked their cause to
> that of racial liberation in the larger society.[69]

Contradictions bring about change by providing sources of tension and
conflict which may shape consciousness to overthrow the present order as
well as providing crises which enhance possibilities for reconstruction.

The Action and Dialectic approaches outlined above can be seen therefore
to view the reification of organisations by systems theorists and their
insistence on the study of goals and adaptation processes to maintain
equilibrium as giving only a partial view of 'reality', that of the
administrative elite.   Action theory would stress the importance of the
actors' definitions of the situation while the dialectic approach would
seek to establish the process through which a specific organisational
form has been produced, maintained and continuously reconstructed.

None of the above approaches, systems theory, action frame of reference
or the dialectic approach has yet promulgated a comprehensive
theoretical framework which can explain all of organisational life.
Researchers oriented to one approach are likely to see value in some of
the other approaches in explaining some organisational behaviour.

It seems to the author that elements of each of these theoretical
frameworks can usefully be employed in studying the 'reality' of the
Irish Prison System and is proposing an eclectic approach.

The main points in this approach are;

- Use of an Input – Technology – Output model to analyse the data

- Analysis of the meaning-structures prevalent at the time of major developments in prisons and their impact on social relations within prisons

- Analysis of environmental pressures related to policy making and how these pressures are coped with by actors in prisons

- Study of staff perceptions at different levels related to prison life using the Input – Technology – Output model

- Outline whether personal characteristics of staff influence perceptions and behaviour and

- Whether the job demands made in different types of prison also effect behaviour patterns

The historical data to be outlined in the next chapter traces the development of the techniques of transformation in a custodial system as well as the changing output requirements. The output requirements will be seen to have come about as a result of environmental pressures on the prison system as well as from changes in the social technology employed and the type of person incarcerated.

Policy changes in relation to imprisonment come about as a consequence of governmental reaction to environmental demands as well as their evaluation of the usefulness of existing policies in meeting desired outputs.

Changes in policy are therefore influenced by perceptions of the ease or difficulty with which inputs can be transformed by the available technology into acceptable outcomes. Within the Irish Prison system, the type of prisoner incarcerated, the social technology employed and the desired outcomes have undergone dramatic changes in a few centuries.

A framework therefore for studying the organisation of the Irish
Prison system as it has evolved can be outlined as follows:

Environment

```
 _____
|                                                           |
|                                                           |
| Input ——————— Social Technology ——————— Output            |
|                                                           |
|_____|
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This framework can be used to study the prison system at a number of
levels;

(a)   The policy makers who interpret the environmental demands and
      consequently influence the type of prisoner incarcerated and
      specify the output requirements acceptable to society.

(b)   The senior administrators who are required to interpret and
      carry out policies by refining the techniques of transformation
      and by ensuring that these techniques are efficiently put into
      effect.

(c)   The various levels of the organisation which are called upon to
      carry out the techniques of transformaton and who themselves
      often re-interpret the input and output requirements so that the
      techniques of transformation can be utilised to maximise their
      involvement.

The focus of the study is therefore two-fold:

(i)   To outline the abstractions which correspond to the
      administrative view. In this context the prison system can be
      termed a highly bureacratic organisation characterised by clear
      goals, a strict hierarchy of authority, rules governing all
      activities and power, ostensibly at any rate, residing in one
      strong central authority.

(ii) To look beyond the rationalised organisation and to see it as
      "an arbitrary model unevenly imposed upon events and
      insecure".[70]

It is presumed that there are at least two levels of organisational
reality and the production and reproducion of reality takes place in
the ongoing interactions of people.

The present study therefore is an attempt to draw attention to the
historical context and the sequences of events through which the
present arrangements have been manufactured and to seek to analyse
these arrangements at two main levels:

- The level of the policy makers who are the interpreters of
  environmental demands and who attempt to impose those
  policies which will result in acceptable outputs,

and

- The level of 'actors' in the organisation who interpret
  the administrative view and seek to maximise their own
  involvement. In this context, purposes and rules have a
  somewhat fictional character. Ostensibly they have
  developed to meet the output demands of the organisation
  but are frequently used as means of control.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN IRISH PRISON ADMINISTRATION

The nineteenth century witnessed two fundamental changes in the administration of Irish prisons. The first was the increasing State involvement in penal administration, this culminated in the central control of all prisons being vested in the General Prisons Board in 1877. The second, a consequence of the eighteenth century revolution in punitive concepts coupled with the developing technology of discipline, was an increase in the efficiency in prisons themselves and in official control over prison activity.

2.1 Centralisation and Prison Reform

Prior to the late eighteenth century and the beginnings of the major industrialising and urbanising trends of the last two hundred years, crime was conceived of as an essentially local matter; it is not, therefore, surprising that prisons were essentially local in character. At the beginning of the nineteenth century State involvement in prison administration in Ireland extended only to the control of the Four Courts Marshalsea (a prison for debtors),[1] responsibility for convicts awaiting transportation (usually housed in local prisons), and inspection of local prisons.[2] But by and large, Irish prisons in 1800, consisting of 41 county goals and 112 bridewells, were locally controlled by the grand juries.

Central Government control of Irish prisons can be said to have begun as far back as 1786 when the Lord Lieutenant was empowered to appoint an Inspector General for all prisons.[3] The Inspector General's powers in relation to the local grand juries were minimal, however, his role being mainly one of exhorting the local authorities to improve their systems. In 1822 two Inspectors General were appointed and given extra powers to report to the King's Bench officers of prisons who were guilty of misconduct and to ensure that a dietary scale was adhered to. These additional powers, combined with extra finance being channelled from central funds, meant that the Inspectors were in a position to increase pressure on local authorites to improve their system. Initially, the Inspectors found great resistance to change but, according to themselves, they eventually won over many of the boards of superintendence of prisons.[4]

The increasing influence of government over local boards of
superintendence in the first half of the nineteenth century appears
to have been motivated, on the one hand, by the desire to put into
practice emerging philosophical ideas regarding the modern purposes of
imprisonment and, on the other, by more pragmatic considerations of
administration and finance. Both religious reform movements and the
utilitarians patronised a new social ideology and spearheaded a
campaign for prison reform.   The more pragmatic considerations
emanated from the administrative and financial difficulties of local
authorities themselves.[5] These authorities, as we shall see, were
becoming more and more reluctant to continue their responsibility for
prisons; increasingly, they were to press central government to
relieve them of the burden.[6]

2.2   The Prison Reform Movement and Penitentiary Experiments

One strand of philosophical influence affecting prisons' administration
emanated from various religious reform organisations in Britain.
Towards the end of the eighteenth century these organisations became
interested in the 'reform' of prisoners and formed powerful pressure
groups.[7] This reforming zeal had quick legislative results in 1779
with the passing of the Penitentiary Act.   The preamble of the Act
expressed the hope that   if offenders "were ordered to solitary
imprisonment accompanied by well-regulated labour and religious
instruction, it might be the means, under providence, not only of
deterring others from the commission of the like crimes, but also of
reforming the individuals and inuring them to habits of industry."[8]
Contemporary philosophical outlook was thus enshrined in statute;
solitude, hard work and religion, the three basic elements of
penitentiary theory, could lead both to the reform of the criminal
and the deterrence of others from crime.   To carry out these high-
minded goals, the Act proposed "the building of penitentiaries and
the establishment of a regime which was to include labour of the
hardest and most servile kind and compulsory attendance at religious
services"[9]

Penitentiaries were slow to be built, however, and when they finally were built several years into the nineteenth century they proved failures after a few years. Initial efforts were plagued by disputes and administrative muddles; and with Australia's convict colonies opening in 1791 the main pressure for penitentiaries was for the moment alleviated and no more action was taken. Irish enthusiasts for penal reform took initial steps towards a penitentiary in the early 1790's and an Irish counterpart to the British Penitentiary Act reached the statute book in 1792. But essentially, on account of the war with France and the Irish Government's preoccupation with the consequent unsettled state of the country in the next several years little was done until parliamentary interest was reawakened in 1809.[10] By 1816 Millbank Penitentiary was opened in London. This institution is credited with being 'the first prison to specialise in reform rather than punishment or deterrence'.[11] Hampered by serious managerial problems, it closed in 1843. The life of the Dublin experiment, Richmond Penitentiary, built at Grangegorman, was even shorter. From the date of its opening in 1820 to its closure in 1831 not only was Richmond beset with managerial difficulties but religious and political antagonisms had generated such conflict and had placed such additional strain on the system that they would appear to have accelerated its final demise.[12]

2.3   The Utilitarians

The pressures generated by reform movements were further added to by the Utilitarians who became articulate exponents of the idea that imprisonment should have a utility as well as a punitive function. Imprisonment was utilitarian if it deterred people from crime or if it reformed offenders to the extent that they did not commit further crimes. In addition it would be desirable if prisons were designed so that prisoners would pay their way through their work output. The utilitarian Jeremy Bentham proposed a very detailed model for a penitentiary in which he envisaged that all the 'positive' goals of deterrence, reform and self-support would be met.

2.4   Pragmatic Considerations

While the reform and utilitarian movements created pressures for
change, other more pragmatic considerations put even greater pressure
on government to take a more active role in prison administration. On
a number of counts local authorities in Ireland felt increasingly
unwilling and unable to cope with the task of prisons.   One problem
was that of finance.   Hitherto, so long as crime had been regarded as
a local phenomenon and as threatening local interests, it could be seen
as in the interests of local property owners to contain it with their
local funds.   But since only minimum funds had ever been used,
conditions in local prisons continued to remain well below the minimum
standards demanded by contemporary penologists.   The new ideas
heralded by John Howard in England were expensive and few local
authorities were willing to spend more money than was absolutely
necessary.   Local grand juries therefore made increasing financial
demands on central government, while the central government itself was
forced to contribute more to the maintenance of prisons to keep pace
with the higher standards demanded in an age of reform.

Migration to cities was another consideration for local authorities.
With changing demographic trends there was a question of who morally
should be responsible for prisons.   Local authorities in larger towns
and cities began to realise that crime was no longer a local affair.
With people gravitating towards the cities and towns the problem became
an imported one for which the local authorities were very reluctant to
pay.[13]

2.5   Central Government Control — Established 1850 — '77

The financial and administrative problems of local prison
administration reached a climax in the 1840's and 50's under the weight
of two developments, the famine and the closure of the Australian penal
colonies.   The famine caused a dramatic crisis in Irish prisons. Annual
commitments rose from 16,696 in 1845 to 41,989 in 1849.[14]   As a
consequence of such sudden and severe over-crowding, conditions became
deplorable with classification and separation being disregarded, and
death and disease on the increase.   The Inspectors General were on
balance helpless to take any effective measures to alleviate the
situation beyond reducing prison diet in hopes of discouraging paupers
from deliberate attempts to be sent to prison.[15]

2.5.1. The End of Transportation and the Establishment of the Convict Board

After the famine the steady population decline in the country as a whole was reflected in a corresponding decline of commitments from 1850. But no sooner did the famine crisis ease than a new crisis in prison administration arose with the closure of the Australian penal colonies. Transportation of those sentenced to penal servitude to Britain's colonies had long been an accepted way of having convicts carry out their sentences.[16] Convict labour was seen as a useful contribution to the development of colonies and was welcomed by the early settlers. Once the initial stages of development had passed, however, and an increasing number of convicts were released into the community, the need for convict labour grew less urgent as the community developed and as settlers began to object strongly to the system. The American colonies refused to accept convicts from 1777, but the opening of Australian penal colonies in 1791 effectively replaced this outlet for the next half century. However, the growing reluctance of the Australian colonies any longer to accept convicts made their eventual closure as penal colonies seem inevitable by the 1850's.[17] By the time the last ship-load of convicts left Ireland in 1856[18] legal and administrative facilities for dealing with the punishment and correction of convicts at home had already been established. In 1853 an Act was passed allowing for the substitution of penal servitude for transportation. In 1854 the Irish government was given legal authority to manage convict prisons for the purpose. The first prisons to be managed under the auspices of the new Convict Board were Mountjoy (opened in 1850), Smithfield and Spike Island. In the 1860's the Convict Board adopted from the experience in Australian penal colonies the ideas of intermediate prisons and police probation after release. Two intermediate prisons were set up, the more important one at Lusk, whose purpose was to facilitate the re-entry of convicts into society by reducing the amount of discipline and by giving them experience of work likely to be available to them on release. Sir Walter Crofton, the first Chairman of the Convict Board was quite proud of the new developments; but the experiment was marred by considerable controversy including a dispute arising from the opposition of the Head of the English Prison Authority as well as internal divisions in the Irish General Prisons Board in the 1880's. Lusk closed in 1886, ostensibly on economic grounds.[19]

2.5.2 Increased State Authority over Local Prisons

State authority in regard to local prisons was strengthened during this same period.[20]   In 1856 a Prisons Act empowered the Lord Lieutenant to sanction plans for new local prisons, alter rules and regulations made by local boards of superintendence and dismiss prison officials. It also required prisons to be lit by gas, the wearing of prison dress for those sentenced to over a year's confinement, and the provision of bedsheets.   By the 1860's the Inspectors General were pressing for sweeping changes that would entail even more central control.   Not only did they advocate the abolition of imprisonment for debt and the confinement of criminal lunatics in gaols, they also pressed for a reduction in the number of local prisons.   In 1866, 1867, 1872 and 1876 Prisons Bills were introduced in parliament providing for such measures as fixing higher standards for local prisons, strengthening the powers of the Inspectors General, and the creation of district prisons serving several counties;   none, however, reached the Statute book.[21]

2.5.3 The General Prisons Board

Full central control by the State came soon, however, with the General Prisons (Ireland) Act of 1877.[22]   Heretofore since 1854 State authority had been limited to convict prisons, managed through the Convict Board and paid for by imperial funds;   and to 'general supervision' over local prisons carried out by two Inspectors General appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.   County and borough gaols and bridewells had continued to be managed by the local boards of superintendence with expenses being met by local taxation.   The 1877 Act now abolished the Convict Board, the Inspectors General, the Registrar of Criminals and the local boards of superintendence, vesting their powers in a general prisons board composed of a chairman and not more than three other members   The new board became directly responsible for all prisons and all prison expenditure was henceforth met by the imperial exchequer.

County grand juries did retain a limited interest, however, and became responsible for the appointment of the justices of the peace in the visiting committees, whose responsibility in each county was to visit prisons, hear complaints and report abuses to the board. [23]   In effect the new system was an exchange of roles between central government and the local justices, whereas previous to the Act executive matters with regard to local prisons were in the hands of justices with the government responsible for inspections; the Act reversed this arrangement and the government was now responsible for all prisons affairs, while justices were to be independent visiting committees.

A pillar of the general prisons board's policy from the outset was the reduction of the number of local prisons and bridewells in the belief that fewer and larger units made for better administration.   Sixty-four of Ireland's ninety-five bridewells were immediately shut (the increasing use of rail travel coupled with the bad state of most bridewells ensuring that they became less and less utilised anyway); and fourteen of the thirty-eight local prisons were relegated to the status of 'minor prisons' catering exclusively for the detention of remand prisons and those committed to not more than seven days. [24]

The Royal Commission on Prisons in Ireland, reporting in 1884, clarified and expanded thinking on the organisation and management of prisons, being concerned mainly with the creation of an efficient system rather than with discussions on reform.   As their report provides important insights into the development of technology of prisons as well as the clarification of the administrative views including that of efficiency, the main recommendations will be highlighted.   The Commission involved itself in what seemed to be trivial matters such as scribbling on copybooks and the provision of pocket handkerchiefs, but these can be seen as indicating the detail which the Commission sought to impose on the prison service where all activities and movements of prisoners and staff would be subject to strict rules and regulations.

The main points and recommendations are as follows:-

(i)   The Commission recommended the 'consolidation' of the prison
        service including the closure of Spike Island and the prison
        farm at Lusk, recommending that no prison should have less
        accommodation than 100.   Prisons should ideally accommodate
        800 or 900 prisoners as such numbers made for efficiency.

(ii)   The foundation of good prison management was frequent
        inspection by members of the Board.   Having found
        dissatisfaction among Inspectors who considered their freedom
        to be constrained, the Commission recommended that they all
        live in Dublin to aid communication with the Board.

(iii)   One of the three Board members should be a medical person.
        The medical officers had made a number of complaints, partly
        motivated by the desire for higher pay, which included the rule
        whereby prisoners on special diets had to be visited daily by
        medical officers and that medical staff had to attend the
        families of warders.   Complaints concerning the number of
        books and records which they had to keep were also made.
        While not accepting these complaints, the Commission did,
        however, recommend that hospital warders should be appointed in
        at least all the larger prisons and that the diet should be
        improved.

(iv)   It was recommended that a new hospital prison be developed in
        Maryboro (now Portlaoise) for 'invalid and weak-minded'
        convicts.   The Governor should probably be a medical man and
        the prison should be run by officers 'specially chosen for
        their intelligence and command of temper'.

(v)   The Commission was particularly worried about insanity in
        prisons, particularly in Mountjoy.   Between 1878 and 1884, the
        average number of insane prisoners were:-

                Males   15.4 per 1000
                Females   22.9 per 1000

The Commission recommended the setting up of reception wards in each of the larger prisons where incoming prisoners could be observed and could be transferred to Maryboro if the need arose and where medical treatment could be substituted for punishment.

(vi)   The Commission felt that the education system involving 'schoolmasters or clerk warders, passing from cell to cell and giving each prisoner about four or five minutes instruction' was found to be inadequate and classroom instruction was recommended.

(vii)   Employment for prisoners was considerd in some detail by the Commission.   The situation was seen to be particularly bad in Mountjoy, where 631 convicts were housed.   The Commission considered suggestions for public works such as the reclamation of land, the construction of harbours, the preparation of peat litter and even the occupation of Lambay Island.   They felt that in the immediate term building work on other prisons could be done by the convicts until a more long-term solution was found.

Mountjoy was seen to have yet another disadvantage as a convict prison as its proximit. to Dublin was seen to constitute a serious security risk.

(viii)   The Commission found that the Visiting Committees of Justices for local prisons were not working satisfactorily.   Justices apparently were dissatisfied that their role in the government of local prisons has been changed by the Act of 1877 to a very minor one.   The Commission made various suggestions for improving the situation and felt that one of the Visiting Committees' prime functions should be in "adjudicating on all serious prison offences and awarding the necessary punishments."   Such objective adjudication would constitute, according to the Commission, both a powerful support to prison officers in the maintenance of discipline, and "would be equally a check on any officer liable to err in provoking or magnifying offences".

(ix)   The Commission made various comments on more detailed aspects
        of prison management including recommendations that;

-    the stores systems should be brought up to date,

-    the sanitation system should be improved (the chief
     architect was heavily censured),

-    rules which prisoners had to obey should be posted for all
     to see (and should be read monthly for those who could not
     read),

-    anti-suicide measures such as the removal of hooks in
     cells should be taken,

-    an English mechanical restraining device should be
     introduced,

-    some light should be allowed into punishment cells,

-    prisoners charged with a prison offence should not be sent
     to the punishment cell before their trial,

-    convicts should be free to memorialise the government and

-    music should be introduced in church.

2.6   The Interaction of Ideology and Technology in Prisons Administration

In discussing the development of the formal structure of Irish prisons
administration, we have thus far dealt with some of the motives and
circumstances leading to centralised government control. But to
convey a more adequate understanding of prison administration in the
nineteenth century and particularly how the social technology or
techniques of transformation developed, it is necessary to discuss at
greater length the changing objectives, primarily in Britain and
Europe and more specifically in Ireland, of prisons as seen by
administrators and the effect of this perception on the operation of
prison institutions.

2.6.1   The Development of the Concepts of Punishment and Imprisonment

It has already been mentioned that the role of prisons underwent a
major change in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
Hitherto their purpose had been the confinement of offenders pending

execution, corporal punishment or banishment. The medieval spectacles of the scaffold were set-up as examples to prevent crime, but also to show the might of the sovereign power. Punishment was required to act as a representation not just to the criminal but to society. As soon as one thought of committing a crime, the idea of punishment for it should be present; "he who has used violence in his crime must be subjected to physical pain; he who has been lazy must be sentenced to hard labour; he who has acted despicably will be subjected to infamy".[25] Shameful punishments were considered effective because they were based on the vanity that was at the root of the crime. A secret punishment was a punishment half wasted. Even children should be brought to the scene of punishment to learn the relationship between crime and punishment. In Ireland, public executions of those found guilty of insurrection were still carried out at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as examples to the public.

However, within a short space of time, imprisonment became the essential form of punishment, where previously it had only been a means of detention or sometimes a punishment for minor crimes. How then did imprisonment, which previously had been seen as an inappropriate means of punishment, and given as a despotic use of power, come to in a short time to be the most general form of legal punishment? According to Foucault, "the explanation most usually given is the formation, during the classical age, of a number of great models of punitive imprisonment".[26]

2.6.2 Models of Punitive Imprisonment

The rise of mercantilism towards the end of the sixteenth century with a consequent need for labour heralded a movement to exploit the labour of prisoners. A major result was the setting up, throughout Europe, of Houses of Correction "where those who were unwilling were forced to make their everyday practice conform to the needs of industry".[27] The House of Correction combined the principles of the poor-house, workhouse and penal institution and the main aim was to make the labour power of unwilling people useful. By being forced to work within the institution,

they would learn habits of industry and when released would swell the
labour market.   The usual inmates were beggars, vagabonds, prostitutes
and thieves, but those branded or flogged or sentenced to long terms of
imprisonment were also housed there.   Some areas also admitted the
poor.   The labour power of the inmates was utilised either by the
authorities running the institution directly or by hiring out the
occupants to a private employer.   From the beginning however, the
guilds were fiercely opposed to the use of prison labour.

The use of religion as a means of inculcating discipline and hard labour
was an essential feature of these institutions.   The everyday life of
inmates was regulated with great precision and it is certain that
pecuniary advantages outweighed any other considerations in the eyes of
the administrators.   Houses of Correction were very valuable for the
national economy as a whole, "their low wages and their training of
unskilled workers were important contributory factors in the rise of
capitalist production".[28]

With the changing ideas regarding the utilisation of labour power came
changes in views concerning punishment.   It came to be believed that
capital punishment was uneconomic in many cases and better use could be
made of the labour of criminals by for example, their use as galley
oarsmens or in mines.   Such changes did not come about for any
humanitarian reasons but purely for economic ones.   Commutation of the
death penalty for example was sometimes made on the basis of bodily
strength.[29]

2.6.3. Evolution of the Prison System

The modern prison system as a means of exploiting labour power and as a
way of training new labour reserves was an outgrowth of the Houses of
Correction.   Many of the Houses of Correction failed to differentiate
between condemned persons and other inmates, such as beggars.
Liberation from the Houses of Correction was determined by the needs
of the institution.   In the seventeeth and eighteenth centuries, the
mere existence of punishments such as galley slavery, transportation
and imprisonment in Houses of Correction meant that criminals, who
previously would have been hanged, were now punished by other means.

Rusche and Kircheimer conclude that;

> Of all the forces which were responsible for the new emphasis
> upon imprisonment as a punishment, the most important was the
> profit motive, both in the narrower sense of making the
> establishment pay and in the wider sense of making the whole
> penal system a part of the State's mercantilist program..... It
> is highly significant that prisons used primarily for the
> detention of prisoners awaiting trail and therefore not
> subsceptible to commercial exploitation, remained in a very poor
> condition until well into the nineteenth century.

They further argue;

> that the idea of correction is stressed as a plausible
> justification for new practices along with the deterrence of
> material profits, but it was never really developed by the
> leading authorities of the period.[30]

The possibilities of correction or reformation of prisoners was not
discussed by the leading penal theorists of the seventeenth and
eighteenth century.[31]

The arbitrary nature of punishment whereby criminal courts could impose
whatever sentences they wished began to be attacked by writers of the
Enlightenment, who believed that human reason was the only instrument for
solving problems connected with man and society.

Bentham, the foremost Enlightenment thinker on penology, worked out
details for a strict correlation between crime and punishment in line
with the general view of criminologists of the time that punishment
should be determined by the nature of the crime.   A difficulty arose,
however, in the equalisation of punishments between the various social
groups. Beccaria advocated fines for non-violent crimes against
property, but goes on to say that:

> A pecuniary punishment may increase the number of poor, and may
> deprive an innocent family of subsistence, the most proper
> punishment will be that kind of slavery, which alone can be called
> just; that is, which makes the Society for a time, absolute
> master of the person and labour of the criminal, in order to
> oblige him to repair, by this dependence, the unjust despotism he
> usurped over the property of another, and his violation of the
> social compact[32]

With the spread of industrialisation, more and more people were thrown
out of work resulting in a tremendous increase in the poor rates against
which the propertied class began to rebel.   In 1832 a Royal Commission
in England formulated the principle that all outdoor relief to the able
bodied should be abolished in favour of work-house relief so that the
situation of relief recipients should not be "so eligible as the
situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class".[33]

This principle which was incorporated in the Poor Law of 1834 according to Rusche and Kirhheimer, "is the leitmotiv for all prison administration down to the present time".[34]

2.6.4 The Development of New Aims for Imprisonment

During the great industrial crisis in the first half of the nineteenth century, crime figures rose dramatically in Europe which was explained by increasing populations and unemployment. For example, in England total convictions rose from 8,788 in 1821 to 12,564 in 1827. In France, total convictions rose from 35,214 in 1824 to 72,490 in 1842.[35]

Such increases in crime gave rise to calls for more severe punishments than that envisaged by the thinkers of the Enlightenment. Responses to these increases in crime varied between countries but were effected by the level of social unrest.

In Ireland for example, secret societies such as the Whiteboys, set up to protect tenants from eviction, worried the authorities for much of the early part of the nineteenth century and sentences reflect the desire of the authorities to take a firm line. A much higher proportion of those sentenced to death in Ireland were executed than was the case in England and Wales. In 1811 for example, 52% of those so sentenced in Ireland were executed; in England 9% were executed. Sentences of transportation in Ireland increased from 647 in 1818 to a peak of 3,073 in 1849. The crimes for which Irish convicts were sentenced to transportation may have been different from those of Scottish or English convicts. Therry, writing about New South Wales in 1829 states that:

> there were many (Irish convicts) who had been transported for agrarian disturbances during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and under the Insurrection Act and other coercive measures, which made it a transportable offence for a man to be out of his house after sunset. For many years this may be said to have been the ordinary condition of the people and the state of the law in Ireland.[36]

Ullathorne in 1837 says that:

> Irish Catholics (convicts).....have been transported for the infringement of penal laws, for agrarian offences, and minor delinquencies; whilst those from England are, with rare exceptions, punished for direct aggression on property or the person.[37]

Imprisonment rather than transportation, however, became the chief punishment throughout Europe at the time of the Industrial Revolution. In England, even at the height of transportation, the ratio of transportation to imprisonment was 23.5 to 100 in 1837-'39 and in 1844-'46 only 15 to 100.[38]

Prisons now became centres of correction and attempted rehabilitation; laceration of the body — and eventually transportation and, more and more, even execution — came to be replaced by prolonged incarceration as the customary sentence for the commitment of crime. But although the ostensible goal of the new procedure was the reform of the offender the invention of the rehabilitative ideal did not obviate the necessity for punishment in the public mind.

Far from it; as late as 1852 the Inspectors General in Ireland were eagerly calling for:

> Some form of punishment.....associated solely with the idea of disgrace and the infliction of a pure penalty for the violation of the law... Some more wearisome and distasteful mode of action is indispensable. Punishment of this character can be readily supplied by the crank machine and by the shot-drill with its endless and irksome monotony and the sense of stultification it produces.[39]

Still the nature of punishment differed fundamentally from the medieval spectacle of public mutilation. One immediate problem to be overcome was that conditions of the poor were such that it was considered that mere deprivation of liberty would not be a deterrent or an effective punishment for them. The level at which prisoners were maintained was required to be lower than that of the living standards of the lowest levels of the free population.

2.6.5   The Creation of a New Social Technology

Work was introduced into prisons not now as a source of profit as had been the case with the Houses of Correction, but as a punishment. Moral arguments were brought forward as a justification, a development foreshadowed by the ecclesiastical penal theorists of the eighteenth century.

If forced to undergo hard labour, prisoners and potential criminals would be deterred from further crime, and society would have retribution for criminal offences. Also, under the tenet of the Protestant Ethic that a person's condition in life was his own making and everyone could overcome lowly conditions by disciplining themselves and working hard, it was believed that getting prisoners to work diligently was a major step in their reform, idleness being seen as a major cause of crime.

Rusche and Kirchheimer observed that:

> Occupations of a purely punitive character were made as fatiguing as possible, and were dragged out for unbearable lengths of time.......a simple form of treadwheel, easily applicable to all prisons, was devised.[40]

This form of work was extremely severe and monotonous while being cheap and an easy method of forcing prisoners to work. It was also considered a good deterrent to those who might consider prison a handy refuge. Thus the fact remains that a revolution in the nature of punishment was occurring, and this revolution was embodied in the new role of imprisonment as a means of punishing, reforming, deterring. In the framework being adopted in the present study, the imposition of discipline around the principle of hard labour began to be developed as the technique for transforming the raw material into acceptable outputs.

The English models, which were adopted in many of the Irish prisons, added to the principle of work, that of isolation. Contrasting the older type of establishment with its disorder and 'indulgence of habitual sloth', the Inspectors General of Prisons in Ireland in their 1829 report stated that:

> The system under which he is placed in the modern establishments presents to such a character everything that is formidable and revolting; constant inspection; strict cleanliness; moral restraint; obedience to rule from morning til night; privation of extra food, liquor, tobacco and other sensual luxury; the school room, the workroom, solitude and seclusion by night and above all the treadwheel.[41]

The Pennsylvania System of total solitary confinement was not attempted in Ireland. Rather the 'modern establishments' followed the Auburn System where inmates worked collectively during the day and remained in isolation at night. Such isolation was supposed to provide a 'terrible shock' which protected the prisoner from bad influence but more importantly was to enable him to "go into himself and rediscover in the depths of his conscience the voice of good".[42]

2.6.6 Technological Developments in Irish Prisons

If the aims of the new penal philosophy were to be met in Irish prisons
- if imprisonment was to act as a deterrent, a punishment, a means of
retribution, of protecting society, of reforming offenders - and if the
new system was to operate as efficiently as possible, a drastic change
would have to come about in the way the system was administered.
Also, the objectives of the new system would have to be refined in the
light of experience in order to specify in more detail how these
objectives were to be achieved.   It was seen from the start that
radical technological developments in the existing prison system would
be required.

The legacy of pre-enlightenment penal ideology was a system of gaols
that were essentially local places of confinement pending sentence,
where people of all ages and both sexes, debtors and murderers
mingled.   Extensive corruption and exploitation was the general rule,
and the staff of prisons, ill-paid from public funds, if at all, lived
on earnings from prisoners.   The lack of a system of separation of
prisoner categories, coupled with the fact that there was a constant
coming and going of friends of prisoners, gave rise to frequent
drunkenness, prostitution, promiscuity and contamination of the young
in habits of vice and crime.   Local authorities, burdened with the
cost of maintenance, seldom felt compelled to repair prisons, which by
and large remained unheated, ill-lit and badly ventilated dens of
squalor.   In such an environment it is not surprising that prisons
administrators of the new age should seek sweeping change in the
technology of the system.

One obvious recourse was the construction of new prisons.   We have
already dealt with the Richmond Penitentiary experiment which closed in
1831.   By 1824 eight important county prisons, built on a
semi-circular plan had been constructed at Ennis, Galway, Roscommon,
Sligo, Derry, Louth, Longford and Monaghan.   Limerick gaol had also
been built on a 'radical' plan and Belfast gaol is said to have been
the 'most striking' with 'an exterior of heavy gloom calculated to
strike terror into the heart of the wrongdoer'.   In addition, several
other counties in the 1820's were making extensive improvements in
their prison buildings.[43]

Such developments were in line with the requirements of the reformers;
that one punished, not to efface crime but to transform a criminal.
The punishment must be adjusted to the individual character and his
dangerousness.

It was in fact through the media of rules and regulations that the aims
and objectives of prisons came to be refined. 'Without a well-digested
code of bye-laws', the Inspectors General reported in the 1820's, 'it
is impossible to carry out a good system of interior regulation'.[44]
Such a set of rules and regulations for county gaols were provided for
in the Prisons Act of 1826.[45]

The rules, according to the Inspectors, were 'morally advantageous' as
they:

> substitute industry for idleness, instruction for ignorance,
> classification of crime for indiscriminate mixture of character,
> solitude and reflection at night for evil and gross communication,
> the reform of the young female criminal from the invariable
> corruption of that class. They also add severity to the sentence
> of imprisonment and have a consequent tendency to discourage the
> commission of crime.[46]

2.6.7 The "Art" of Discipline

Disciplinary methods had been developed in monasteries, armies, work-
shops. In the course of the seventeenth century, however, refinements
of the 'art' of discipline occurred, which influenced the social
technology of prisons in a profound way.

The evolution was the result of processes taking place in the schools,
in hospitals and military organisations. Foucault has argued that
discipline evolved from employing several techniques:

(a)   Enclosure – the specification of a place heterogeneous to all
       others and closed in upon itself, e.g. hospitals, schools,
       barracks, monasteries.

(b)   Partitioning – each individual has its own place. Distribution
       in groups was to be avoided and individuals should be located
       at any time. The old monastic cells were developed to
       accomplish this. In factories too, the distribution of bodies,
       the spatial arrangement of production machinery and the
       different form of activity in the distribution of 'posts' had
       to be linked together.

(c)   In discipline, the elements are interchangeable, since each is
        defined by the place it occupies in a series. Discipline
        distributes bodies and circulates them in a network of arrange-
        ments. Classrooms for example were to be arranged according
        to pupils' progress, worth, character, application,
        cleanliness. A detailed taxonomy of characteristics of
        individuals was required.

(d)   Timetables, developed from the monasteries, were used to
        establish rhythms, impose particular occupations and regulate
        the cycle of repetition. In the great manufactories of the
        seventeenth century, on arrival at work, people would wash
        their hands, offer up their work to God and make the sign of
        the Cross. Time, as well as being paid for, must be of good
        quality and not punctuated by impurities. But acts must also
        be broken down so that they are done rhythmically as in
        marching or in writing.

(e)   Discipline also composed forces in order to obtain an efficient
        machine. The individual body becomes an element to be placed,
        moved, articulated on others; the interval it covers, the
        regularity, the good order according to which it operates its
        movement become important.

(f)   A precise system of command is required to orchestrate the
        combination of forces. Orders must be brief and clear to be
        efficient and do not need to be explained but trigger off the
        required behaviour.[47]

Foucault summarised the development of the 'art' of discipline as
follows:

> Continuous hierarchical surveillance may not be one of the great
> technical inventions of the eighteenth century, but its insidious
> extension owed its importance to the mechanisms of power that it
> brought with it... It was also organised as a multiple, automatic
> and anonymous power; for although surveillance rests on
> individuals its functioning is that of a network of relations
> from top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to
> top and laterally;..... it functions like a piece of
> machinery.[48]

Though its pyramidal organisation has in theory a 'head', it is the
whole organisation that produces power, where even those supervising are
themselves supervised.

2.7 Historical Developments Relevent to Staff Considerations

The present structure of the uniformed service in Ireland can be traced directly to the convict service of the mid-nineteenth century. The local service adopted that structure some time afterwards.

This structure was modelled on that in force in the military and can best be illustrated as a 'pyramid'.[49]

```
                           Governor
                              |
                         Chief Warder
                              |
        _____
        |                        |                            |
    Principal               Principal                     Principal
     Warder                   Warder                        Warder

   _____     _____      _____
   |      |        |      |      |      |     |      |       |       |
 Warder Warder  Warder  Warder Warder Warder Warder Warder Warder Warder
          |                       |                          |
 _____        _____       _____
 Asst.  A/W  A/W  A/W    A/W   A/W   A/W   A/W       A/W   A/W   A/W   A/W
 Warder
```

As in military organisations, roles are carefully defined. The rules governing prison staff behaviour did not change very much between 1885 and 1947. The jobs of subordinate staff are prescribed in detail; in both 1885 and 1947, there were forty-three detailed prescriptions.[50] The precision of job specification means that individuals in the same grade are interchangeable and that there is a limit to discretionary elements in the job. Orders are transmitted down the hierarchy and staff are expected to obey. Thomas argues that in the uniformed prison service, where little technical skill is required and which is "almost devoid of any theoretical base, one of the substitutes for a body of knowledge is the hoarding of information, often of a very simple kind .... unwillingness to impart information is the most memorable feature of the reception given to newly joined staff".[51]

The rationale for adopting such a quasi-military structure for the running of prisons was essentially:

(i)   Prisons up to the early part of the nineteenth century were rife with private trading, prostitution and 'farming out' of prisoners for hire. These were the means by which prison staff supplemented their meagre official earnings. After 1823 there was a move to ensure that all staff were salaried. However, "the increase in expenditure on staff was offset by the employment of prisoners as turnkeys, wardsmen, and monitors".[52] This allowed prisoners to

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, new ideas regarding administrative systems spurred the development to rationalise and standardise the prison service and put staff firmly in charge.

(ii)   Prisoners were now to be reformed by discipline and regiment.   But staff, too, were required to follow the same routine as prisoners.

(iii)   This type of structure was found to be particularly suitable in organisations where 'control' was the prime necessity.

(iv)   The new system of separating prisoners made them especially vulnerable to staff 'misconduct' a likelihood in any organisation where authority wields a lot of power.   The specification of duties, and the imposition of fines for breaches of rules were introduced to a certain extent, therefore, to protect prisoners. They can also be seen as helping the higher levels of the prison service, particularly the central administration, to control subordinate staff.

As Thomas has argued, however, "any staff structure can only be described empirically in terms of tendencies".[53]

The rationalisation of the prison service in Ireland followed the patterns set in England and, like its English counterpart, it was not free of staff problems.   The Royal Commission (1884)[54] was concerned with the extent of irregularities in day-to-day practice of prisoner control.   According to the commissioners, of the 538 warders appointed between 1878 and 1884, 60 failed the civil service commissioners qualifying examination, 32 were discharged during probation, 46 were dismissed, 34 were permitted to resign and 127 resigned voluntarily.   That a full 60% of the warders appointed in those years could not hold their jobs attests to the great strain of its functions.   The Royal Commission, however, although identifying some of the problems faced by the staff and admitting that the 'pressure of overwork .... sometimes tempted (them) to show irritation', analysed the cause of the problem as being the quality of the staff themselves rather than organisational problems and inconsistencies in relation to the task.

The Gladstone Committee[55] in England had been particularly interested in staff training, and proposed that some of the systems in use in other countries be emulated. It was recommended that two or more prisons should be set aside as training schools for all grades, that there should be 'systematic and scientific instruction' and that deputy governors and others nominated for promotion to governor should be trained at the schools.

The Irish service changed less than its English counterpart during the first half of the twentieth century. Few developments were attempted. The borstal was staffed by the uniformed prison service and was administered in a similar fashion to other prisons. Indeed the structure of the uniformed service is almost exactly like that in the late nineteenth century. However, warders are now called prison officers, principal warders are called assistant chief officers, chief warders are called chief officers and there is now no distinction between warders and assistant (or 2nd class) warders. Nevertheless, a few changes have occurred. In the larger prisons, the deputy governor is now the second-in-command in place of the chief warder.

One very significant change, which was not borrowed from England, did occur in Ireland. Governors in Ireland were no longer appointed from outside the prison service but were promoted from within the ranks of the uniformed service. Therefore, the pressures on English governors brought about by the Gladstone Committee to be more prisoner-oriented did not occur to the same extent in Ireland. The uniformed service remained more unified in purpose than in England and security and control remained the dominant aims.

The prison service in Ireland was not as innovative as its English counterpart, though the borstal system was introduced in 1906 at Clonmel in County Tipperary. The courts had the power conferred on them by the Prevention of Crime Act of 1908 to send offenders directly to borstal without reference to those responsible for prison administration.

However, prison reform was not a priority for the new Free State and there was talk of dispensing with the borstal system. It was not until the nineteen fifties that abandonment was seriously contemplated when judges became reluctant to impose borstal sentences. In 1956 the borstal system as such was phased out.

No further major developments occurred in the Irish prison system until
the late nineteen sixties, although some changes took place.   The
Prisons (Visiting Committees) Act 1925 amended the law in relation to
the appointment, powers and duties of visiting committees.   The Prisons
Act of 1933 dealt with the closure and disposal of prisons and the 1956
Prisons Act dealt with the provision of temporary prison accommodation.
Traditional prison industries, such as bootmaking and tailoring,
continued.   Agricultural training, which had started with the farm at
Maryborough (now Portlaoise) became a major activity for prisoners.

Some changes did occur in the method of treatment of prisoners.
Association and communication were introduced, though under the 1947
Rules (which still apply), a prisoner is guilty of a breach of prison
discipline if he "converses or holds intercourse with another prisoner
without authority;   or sings, whistles, or makes any unnecessary noise,
or gives any unnecessary trouble,"[56] though, discretion is used in
enforcing the rule.   Prisoners are allowed to wear their own clothes,
if they can arrange weekly changes of underwear.

In the nineteen sixties, a move towards a change in policy culminated in
the Prisons Act 1970.   This Act was:

> to enable the Minister for Justice for the purpose of promoting
> the rehabilitation of offenders, to provide places other than
> prisons for the detention of persons who have been sentenced to
> penal servitude or imprisonment or to detention in Saint
> Patrick's Institution and to amend in other respects the law
> relating to prisons and that institution.

The major departures from the traditional prison system have been:
(i)   the establishment of two 'open' centres for young offenders and
        one for adult offenders,

(ii)   the introduction of the welfare service into courts and into
        prisons,

(iii)   the building of a Training unit for selected prisoners,

(iv)   the employment of co-ordinators in the Department of both
        training and education to improve these functions.

(v)   the increased involvement of psychiatrists in the general
        prisons and the employment of a psychologist in the Department
        of Justice.

These developments were quickly overshadowed by the substantial increase in the number of prisoners convicted of offences against the State. The Prisons Act 1972 stated that:

> If and whenever, at a time when this section is in operation, the Minister is of opinion that prison accommodation is insufficient to provide secure and reasonable conditions of custody for all persons then in custody in prison, or for whom prison accommodation is required or is insufficient to provide such conditions without serious detriment to the maintenance in prisons of the normal arrangements for the rehabilitative treatment and welfare of prisoners he may, in writing —
>
> (a) certify that he is so of opinion, and
>
> (b) direct the transfer to military custody of such of the persons aforesaid as are specified by him.

The use of military custody under this Act was a feature of the prison service until 1983 when, because of much public pressure, remaining prisoners in military custody were returned to civil prisons. Prisoners convicted of offences against the state are generally confined in the civil prison at Portlaoise.

2.8   SUMMARY

We have seen how the reformers of the eighteenth century insisted on a new meaning for punishment; that it should deter others from crime but that it should also reform the criminal. This task fell to prisons for historical reasons already discussed and the techniques for transforming the raw material through the imposition of discipline were developed for use in prisons.

As long a rules and regulations and detailed specification of activities as part of the disciplinary procedure remained the rationale for prisons, then a coalescence of the objectives of the reformers and policy makers with those of the prison staff was achieved.

Apart from their perceived benefit in teaching prisoners discipline and habits of industry, rules and regulations were very attractive in setting up and running smooth and efficient prisons. They enabled administrators to control greater amounts of prison activities, an objective considered extremely important as the prison system became centralised and administrators imposed policies from afar.

The coalescing of objectives with administrative rationale was manifest in many nineteenth century practices of internal administration. It was most evidenced in the 'separate system' whereby prisoners were to be kept separately in single cells and not allowed to communicate with other prisoners; the objective initially was to allow prisoners the solitude to reflect on their crimes and to prevent hardened criminals from influencing others, but this system also proved very effective from an administrative point of view in controlling a prison since it made the development of an inmate subculture difficult.

Essentially, it thus became the rule that measures originally intended as a means of prisoner reform were recognised more and more rather as a means of prisoner control. Discipline and order, originally regarded as means by which inmates could improve their attitudes, had the unanticipated consequence of reducing uncertainty and increasing predictability within prisons. Trade training and education, regarded as crucial to the reform of the prisoner, began to be seen as useful elements in a reward and punishment system. The requirement that prisoners take a bath on committal to prison, originally a means of stamping out fever, came to be used as part of an initiating 'degradation ceremony', ensuring that prisoners were quickly made aware of their low status, thus aiding control.

So long as the 'separate' or 'silent' systems were maintained in the prisons, it was a relatively simple task for staff to subdue, if not win over, the prisoners. But where such systems did not operate, or where later in the century this discipline was relaxed, inmate subculture developed; and where differentiation of treatment of certain categories of prisoners compounded rules and regulations, the problems of their administration in the spirit in which they were drafted became intractable. The functioning of the prisons system by means of strict rules and regulations then became much more precarious. Prison staff had then to develop their own methods of control, frequently involving the application of rewards and punishments not countenanced by official organisation.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

3.1 Introduction

This study attempts to analyse the perceptions and actions of different levels in the prison service with a view to understanding and explicating the reality of prisons in Ireland.

Actions could best have been studied by immersion over an extended period in different prisons; but even then, it would have been necessary to clarify the reasons for actions by means of interviews.

It was not possible to observe the actions of various staff groups over a long period and it was therefore decided to use extensive interviews and questionnaires.[1] Senior Civil Servants involved in prison administration were interviewed, as were prison governors, deputy governors and stewards and representatives of professional groups. These interviews were wide-ranging and concerned mainly to elicit the administrative views of inputs, technology and outputs.[2]

Because of the large numbers involved and because it was intended to compare responses between prisons and for different personality orientations, extensive questionnaires were developed which were to be used to survey the perceptions of the uniformed service, particularly prison officers. The basic grade prison officer is the main focus of the questionnaire material.

The object of the survey, therefore, was to obtain information that accurately reflected the views and activities of prison officers. Information gathered by means of a questionnaire presented two basic research problems. First, a sample of prison officers had to be selected which would in general represent the views of the entire prison officer population. Second, a questionaire had to be developed that dealt with all the important topics confronting the prison service today and that did so through questions whose meaning was clear and that would engage the interest and co-operation of the prison officers to be questioned.[3] In addition to the questionnaire for the prison officers, information was also to be obtained from their superiors within the prison service and the various specialist staff groups now at work in the prisons.

3.2   Selecting the Sample

The sampling strategy was intended to achieve two objectives. The first was to have a sample from which statements could be made about the population of prison officers. The second was to enable statistically meaningful comparisons to be made between prisons which are themselves interesting units of analysis. The sampling method selected was a modification of stratified random sampling with the prisons playing the part of the strata. It was desirable to use proportional representation[4] as the basis for relative sample sizes within the strata since it would make the sample representative (in a simple way) of the population of prison officers. However, in order to permit statistically significant comparisons between prisons, it was necessary, where the total number of officers in a prison was small, to take more than the proportional sample. Consequently, it was decided to aim for a minimum sample size of at least ten in these prisons. In prisons where the total number of prison officers was less than ten, the aim was to include all in the sample. Considerations of total cost and tolerable disruption to the prison administration in conjunction with statistical considerations were the basis of deciding the appropriate size of the total sample.

3.2.1 The Breakdown of the Sample by Prison

The following table gives a breakdown of the number of prison officers by prison and a comparison of the actual sample size achieved with the theoretical figure for modified proportional representation (MPR) sampling strategy.

Table 1

BREAKDOWN OF NUMBER OF PRISON OFFICERS IN SAMPLE, BY PRISON

Prison	No.	%	Desired Sample No.	Achieved Sample No.
Cork	31	6.2	10 (minimum)	14
Limerick	50	10.0	15	16
Arbour Hill	36	7.0	11 (minimum)	16
St. Patrick's	73	14.6	22	23
Portlaoise[1]	148	29.6	44	29
Mountjoy	163	32.6	49	46
Total	501	100.0	151	144
Loughan	21		10 (minimum)	13
Shelton [2]	8		8	5
Shanganagh	14		10 (minimum)	9
Training Unit	24		10 (minimum)	11
Total	67		38	38
Grand Total [3]	568		189	182

(1) Because of the security situation it proved impossible to interview as many of the prison officers assigned to Portlaoise as was intended.

(2) In Shelton only 5 of the 8 prison officers were available to complete the questionnaire.

(3) At time of survey.

It can be seen that the achieved sample size compares satisfactorily
with the desired sample size in all prisons except Portlaoise and
Shelton. Because of the security situation, it proved impossible to
interview as many of the prison officers assigned to Portlaoise as
would have been desirable from the sampling point of view.   In
Shelton, only 5 of the 8 prison officers were available to complete
the questionnaire. However, the under-representation of Portlaose in
the sample does not seriously bias the research findings in relation
to the prison.

The sample in Table 1 included only male prison officers.   The two
prisons which include women (Mountjoy and Limerick) are staffed by
twenty-one female prison officers.   In addition, two female prison
officers are assigned to Portlaoise, primarily for search duties.
Given the sample number of female prison officers, the ideal would
have been to interview them all, but this proved to be impossible
since governors were unable to spare the officers from their regular
duties in order to complete the questionnaire.   Thus it was possible
to administer questionnaires to only four female officers; three from
Mountjoy (of a total of twelve assigned to that prison) and one from
Portlaoise.

3.3   Developing the Questionnaire

The work perceptions and patterns of behaviour of prison officers have
an influence on how penal policy is implemented.   These perceptions
and behaviour patterns, however, are themselves subject to influence
from the backgrounds of the individual officers and from the specific
work situation in which each officer finds himself.   It was therefore
necessary to obtain information on these aspects from the members of
the sample.   Once that information became available for all the
prison officers in the sample it would be possible to examine the
inter-relationships among the elements in the model.

To help in the development of the questionnaire for prison officers, a wide range of literature pertaining to penal developments was examined. This knowledge was supplemented by visits to the prison systems of England and Denmark to consider recent developments. The main step in developing the questionnaire, however, was a series of pilot interviews with some sixty prison officers in three separate prisons. These officers were selected randomly from the lists of prison officers on duty at the time. Each officer was interviewed individually, and before the interview began the general purpose of the study was outlined. All but a few of the officers selected were willing to co-operate.

The interviews, which lasted from between 30 and 90 minutes, were largely unstructured and were conducted informally. The discussion ranged over many issues, but in most interviews there was a clear focus on the pressures and demands placed on the officer by his job. The pilot interviews were carried out in order to identify the issues which the officers themselves felt to be important and to establish priorities for including particular questions in the questionnaire. The interviews also made explicit to the researcher the language used by the officers in discussing their jobs. A questionnaire could therefore be developed in which the specific import of the questions would be clear and, therefore, be interpreted identically by all the officers questioned.[5]

Extensive interviews were also conducted with a group of newly recruited prison officers still undergoing the initial training course. These interviews were intended to ascertain the reasons why these officers had decided to enter the prison service and to guage the reactions of staff during their first weeks in the prison service.

While these pilot interviews represent a rich source of information on the state of the prison service, their primary use is in developing a comprehensive questionnaire capable of eliciting information from a larger and more representative group of officers — the one hundred and eighty two prison officers selected for the sample. A questionnaire so administered permits comparison between various sub-groups within the prison service. For example, it is possible systematically to compare the variety of perceptions in different prisons, between officers who have received different education and training. Such comparisons could not be made on the basis of the pilot interviews alone.

On the basis of a content analysis of the notes taken during the pilot interviews, the major areas for investigation were identified. These were:-

(a)   perceptions
(b)   patterns of behaviour
(c)   pressures and demands created by the work environment
(d)   background characteristics of the individual officers.

Specific questions were then developed for each of the four major areas of interest.

3.3.1 Perceptions

The questions developed to determine the perceptions of prison officers were related to the following five important aspects of the prison system: (a) pay and working conditions, (b) recruitment, training and staff development, (c) supervision and the decision-making process, (d) professional groups within the prison system, (e) prisoners. A variety of question formats was used to obtain information on each of the five topics, and the choice of format rested on the nature of the information desired. The use of several formats also serves to help engage the interest of the respondent and lessens the possibility that the questionnaire will be filled out in a mechanical way.

At least some of the information for each topic was obtained through a Likert-type format that asked the respondent to indicate the extent to which he agreed with a particular statement.[6]

An example of this type of question, which is a scale formed by several degrees of agreement,[7] is shown below:

EXAMPLE

	DISAGREE			AGREE		
	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
I would like more time off, even if it meant less money	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

For the full list of items relating to pay and working conditions, recruitment, training and staff development and supervision, see Appendix C, pp 7-10. Items related to professional groups are given in Appendix C, pp 11-12.

Another format was developed for the questions on decision-making. The prison officers' perceptions of the decision-making process were examined for eighteen key 'decision areas' that had been identified as important by the pilot interviews. For each 'decision area' three questions were asked. The format used is shown in the example below, which deals with the matter of granting permission for prisoners to see the welfare staff:

> The following items refer to decisions taken in the course of running a prison. Three questions are asked in relation to each decision: (a) Do you consider that <u>you</u> have a say in this decision? There are five possible answers and you are asked to tick the box which you think is nearest to what happens. The other questions asked in relation to each decision are (b) What level of staff member <u>finally</u> makes this decision? For example, if you think that the decision is finally made by the chief officer then you would tick the box with CO on top. (c) What level of staff should in your opinion make the decision?
>
> Remember only one box is to be ticked on each line.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
(a) Do you consider that you have a say in sending a prisoner to see the welfare staff (please tick one box only)	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)	Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)	Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

All eighteen 'decision areas' were presented in this format and the full
list can be seen in Appendix C, pp. 19-27.

To obtain the prison officers' perceptions of prisoners another set of
Likert-type questions was used. The twenty items on perceptions of
prisoners presented in the normal Likert format are given in Appendix C,
pp. 13-14. In addition, however, the following variation on that
format was also presented to the respondents:

	None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
Prisoners take advantage of an officer who shows kindness	⬚	⬚	⬚	⬚	⬚	⬚

The twenty-one items presented in this format are given in Appendix C,
pp. 17-18.

3.3.2 Behaviour Patterns

A variety of question formats was also employed to obtain information
on the behaviour patterns and actions of the prison officers. Thirty
specific behaviours were examined. One set of questions, relating to
all thirty kinds of behaviour, followed the format of the seven-point
'Semantic Differential'.

In the Semantic Differential, the respondent is given a scale with
descriptive terms that have the opposite meaning on either end. In
the present context those opposites are always and never and are used
to allow the officer to state the frequency with which he or she
engages in a particular behaviour. For example:

                        MOST OFFICERS IN MY PRISON

1.   Call prisoners by
         their first names Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always

2.   Look smart and
         alert on duty   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always

Respondents place an 'X' at the appropriate point on the 7-point scale
according to their assessment of the frequency with which that particular

behaviour occurred in their prison. The officer was to indicate whether
the behavior 'always', 'quite often', 'sometimes', 'not very often',
'rarely' or 'never' occurred. Where a respondent found himself unable
to decide, he was asked to place the 'X' at the mid-point of the scale.
The list of thirty behaviours presented in the 'frequency' format is
given in Appendix C, pp. 4-5.

For the same list of thirty behaviours, but in a subsequent part of the
questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate on another 7-point
scale their assessment of how important each particular behaviour was.
The possibilities were: 'very important', 'quite important', 'slightly
important', 'slightly unimportant', 'rarely important' or 'very un-
important'. Again the mid-point was used in cases where respondents
were uncertain of the importance of the particular behaviour. The list
of thirty behaviours presented in the 'importance' format is given in
Appendix C, pp. 32-33.

Additional information on many of the same behaviours and actions was
elicited in a more straightforward fashion, as follows:

> The questions below refer to letters, reports, verbal inter-
> action, etc., regarding prison officers' dealings with
> prisoners, superiors and others.

Examples:-

(Please tick one box only)

		0	1	2	3	4	5 or more
1.	How many letters (if any) have you written for prisoners in the last month?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

For eight items asking the officer to indicate what is the usual response
when a rule or regulation is broken in his presence, a different type of
question was developed. For example:

(Please tick one box only)

		I deal with it on my own	Colleagues and myself deal with it	Superiors deal with it	Other
1.	Two prisoners fighting in a toilet	☐	☐	☐	☐

Eight breaches of rules and regulations were presented in this format and
these are given in Appendix C, p. 28.

3.3.3 The Work Environment

The broadest classification of work situations which this study deals with is the prison itself. Different prisons — open, closed, dispersal, non-dispersal, top-security and training serve different purposes. Even those prisons with the same formal purpose can, by virtue of the differences in size, be seen to provide different work situations. Classification of work situations within prisons is also possible to a certain extent in the present study though a detailed study of an individual prison would provide more refined classifications.

For the purpose of the present study, such classification was done by asking prison officers whether or not they have a particular job in the prison that they do most of their working time apart from general security duties.

Where the response was positive, the officer was asked to specify which job:

> Class Officer
> Gate Officer
> Reception
> Visits
> Laundry
> School
> Workshop
> Woodyard
> Garden
> Kitchen
> Hospital
> Detail
> Other (please specify)

3.3.4 Individual Characteristics of Prison Officers

As already stated, not all prison officers have similar perceptions or behaviour patterns. Differences between prison officers in a given situation may be the result of such enduring characteristics as age, education, length of service, place of origin, physical size, self-image and a variety of 'personality' orientations. While all the major personality influences could not be tapped in a questionnaire like this, those personality orientations have been included that were

considered to be the most relevant on the basis of previous studies which have investigated large-scale bureaucratic organisations.[8] The items tapping personality and self-image characteristics[9] are presented in Appendix C, pp. 15-16, while those measuring other individual characteristics are also in Appendix C, pp. 34-36.

3.4   Administering the Questionnaire

Data collection was done in groups within each prison. The numbers in each group varied according to the demands of the prison.   In smaller prisons, only three or four staff could be released at any one time. The interviewer explained in detail to each group what was required. In order to help officers to complete the different sections of the questionnaire explanations and examples were outlined on a blackboard. Additional explanation for completing the questionnaire was given to any officer who requested it.   The data collection proceeded extremely smoothly and prison administrators were very co-operative.   Nearly all of the prison officers selected to take part were enthusiastic and co-operative.   Some basic demographic information on the prison officers in the sample can be found in Appendix B.

3.5   Superior Officers and Department of Justice Officials

Since superior officers and officers from the Department of Justice exert an influence on the organisation of the prison system and on the perceptions and behaviour patterns of prison officers, it was necessary to seek information from these individuals.   The superior officers interviewed were assistant chief officers, chief officers and governors.   The Department of Justice officials interviewed were those responsible for prison administration and for personnel matters pertaining to prisons.

Since the information required from these groups was very wide-ranging and the respondents were far fewer in number than the prison officers, it was decided that extended face-to-face interviews would be the most suitable way to elicit information. In addition, a pilot questionnaire

was developed for assistant chief officers and chief officers which covered areas similar to the prison officer questionnaire. The questionnaire was then tested on a small number of chief officers and assistant chief officers.

Interviews with superior officers in prisons covered the following main matters:

(a)   the work perceptions and behaviour patterns required of subordinates, particularly prison officers,

(b)   their assessment of working conditions for prison officers and superior officers and whether they perceived any necessity to change these,

(c)   an outline of staff relations procedures,

(d)   the staff reporting, delegation and decision-making process related to both subordinates and superiors,

(e)   the difficulties encountered by superior officers in the course of their jobs.

Interviews with Department of Justice officials also covered the above areas. They were also asked about the future plans for the prison service and their assessment of political and economic considerations impinging on those future developments.

The six most senior officials of D6 Division were interviewed. This was at principal and assistant principal level. Seven of the ten prison governors were interviewed as were the three deputy governors and two of the six stewards. Five of the fourteen chief officers as well as fourteen of the forty-six assistant chief officers were also interviewed.

3.6   Professional Groups

The professional groups who are directly engaged in work in prisons are the welfare service, psychiatrists, medical practitioners, chaplains, psychologists, education and training staff.   Representatives were interviewed from each of these groups.   In the case of the welfare service, the principal welfare officer was interviewed separately and a group interview was conducted with the senior welfare officer and five of the twelve welfare officers.   Four of the five psychiatrists working in prisons were individually interviewed as were the two medical practitioners and two of the three full-time chaplains.   The only psychologist employed by the Department of Justice was interviewed, as were the co-ordinators of education and training.

The interview sessions were unstructured and covered the following principal areas:

(a)   relationship between professional groups and the uniformed prison service,

(b)   the aims and objectives of the various groups and perceptions of the difficulties encountered in meeting these aims and objectives,

(c)   relationship between professional groups, senior prison administrators and the Department of Justice,

(d)   the developments in the penal system which professional groups would like to see come about, with particular reference to possible developments in the role of uniformed staff.

ORGANISATION INPUTS

4.1   Introduction

What the bureaucrats received historically was a clear relationship
between ends and means. The task was to take raw material (prisoners),
process them for a specified period through a well-defined processing
system and release them from the process in some way changed e.g.
reformed, punished. The processing procedure however had a purpose
other than acting on individuals. It was also to stand as a symbol
for members of society, of the stability of society and of the need to
conform to societal norms i.e. it was to deter 'non-participants' from
deviance.

The means by which the goals of containment, punishment, deterrance,
reform were to be carried out was an elaborate system of rules and
regulations for all participants in the prison, i.e. staff and
prisoners. The prison service as viewed by senior management can best
be seen to follow the rational bureaucratic model; clear goals, a
strong central authority (the Department of Justice) with clearly
defined rules governing activity in prisons. This research attempts to
look beyond the rational-bureaucratic model and ascertain if the
imposition of this model is accepted by all levels and whether the
organisation controls the actions of its members as Weber and the
classical management theorists would expect.[1]

The present chapter looks at the input of raw material (prisoners) into
prisons, the influence of policy makers in determining the 'quality'
and quantity of the raw material as well as the perceptions at
different levels of the organisation of the raw material.

The next chapter concentrates on exploring the expected outputs and particularly the perceptions of different levels of the organisation of such outputs.

Chapter 6 will again focus on identifying differing perceptions in the organisation, this time in relation to the technology or techniques of transformation. Unlike inputs and outputs, the technology is of primary concern to the uniformed service and particularly to the basic grade prison officer. Whereas much of the discussion in chapters 4 and 5 will centre mainly on senior management and policy makers, chapter 6 will be concerned mainly with material on the uniformed officers.

4.2   Environmental Influences on the Input of Raw Material

Changes in the raw material of prisons have evolved throughout the centuries. In Ireland, the various agrarian movements of the 19th century resulted in many 'political' prisoners being incarcerated.[2] Such 'political' detainees have remained a part of the Irish prison system up to the present and have influenced various aspects of the system — not least the technology. Various offences such as drunkenness and vagrancy which were previously punished by periods of imprisonment are now not so. The age profile of prisoners has changed too. Young offenders cannot now be incarcerated in a prison before their 16th birthday (though some of the more serious offenders are committed to special schools). In many cases, the educational standard of prisoners has risen and this has brought changing expectations on the part of prisoners as to their treatment. The establishment of The Prisoners' Rights Organisation is an example of such changed expectations.

Alternatives to imprisonment are gradually being explored by the courts and the suspended sentence is used extensively.

There is one major development in input which has effected the prison system and this is the imprisonment of prisoners convicted of offences against the State or 'subversives' as they are called by the authorities. These well organised prisoners, following what for them is a coherent political philosophy, have created a powerful sub-culture within prisons and have had a considerable effect on the technology and indeed on the policy making for the prison service generally.[3]

The policy makers, who interpret the demands of society, influence the input into the prison system in a number of ways. This may be because the organisation cannot adapt its technology to process certain 'raw materials' or because the environment is creating demands for changes. Should senior civil servants fail to take account of changing environmental demands, their positions could be undermined.[4] In times of high crime rates, for example, demands for longer sentences and reductions in the use of the Probation Act will occur, thereby increasing the numbers and 'types' of prisoners.

Changes in society's views regarding morality has an obvious effect.[5]

Police forces effect the numbers and 'types' of prisoners insofar as they can choose where they shall concentrate their resources. In Ireland at present, there is much concentration of resources in border security and in pursuing 'subversive' organisations and while this concentration does not result in major increases in numbers imprisoned, nevertheless those imprisoned as a result of such police activity place great strain on the organisation of the prison service. Similar resources directed at petty crime would be likely to result in much higher levels of imprisonment. The police pursue certain types of crime not just because their organisation is oriented in a particular direction but also because of the demands of society to take action in certain cases, e.g. subversion, assaults on the elderly.[6]

The police act also as a filter in terms of the numbers of prisoners entering prisons as they frequently contact prison governors to check if space is available before pursuing particular cases.

The times of sittings of courts, the propensity of judges to impose sentences or otherwise for particular types of crimes, the availability of alternatives to imprisonment as well as availability of psychiatric and training facilities effect the input of raw material into prisons.

Trends in other aspects of judicial decision-making can also have an important effect on the prison system. By statute, sentences to borstals were deliberately made long, because of an assumption that such sentences would facilitate rehabilitation. Since the courts became reluctant to impose sentences of three or more years on juveniles, however, the eventual outcome was the demise of the borstal system.[7]

It should not be felt however that environmental pressures operate on the prison system in one direction only. The system itself tries to influence the environment by seeking changes in inputs e.g. by seeking alternatives to imprisonment for certain prisoners, by improving the bail procedures (remand prisoners in custody can be particularly troublesome for the authorities)[8] or by attempting to steer policy towards incarcerating 'subversive' prisoners in military custody. Another area in which the prison authorities have influenced inputs is in relation to 'imprisonment' and 'penal servitude'. The latter was imposed for felony cases and was originally to be followed by a graded system of rewards and punishments. Convicts (those convicted of felonies) were to progress through stages until their final release. The stage system was practical as long as the technology used segregation. Segregation was expensive insofar as single cells were required and it afforded no flexibility in transferring prisoners to less crowded sections. When segregation no longer remained acceptable as a method of processing prisoners, the stage system began to be seen as not workable.

4.3   The Raw Material as Perceived by Senior Prison Management

The discussion so far in this chapter has been concerned with the ways in which environmental factors influence the numbers and 'types' of prisoners incarcerated and how the prison service attempts to control such environmental factors as far as possible.

The remainder of this chapter is concerned with understanding how the various elements in the prison service perceive the raw material. As will be outlined, uniformed staff have differing perceptions from professional staff and within the uniformed service itself, perceptions differ depending on the level in the hierarchy.

The material presented in the remainder of this chapter was elicited through interviews and questionnaires, the development of which has already been discussed in Chapter 3.

All governors in the Irish Prison Service have come up through the ranks of prison officers.[9] During his time as a prison officer, a governor will have developed certain attitudes and ways of behaving towards prisoners in line with the demands of the prison officer's job. Demands on governors are different from those of prison officers and consequently governors modify their attitudes to prisoners in the light of new demands.[10]

Governors generally accept the input from the environment without distinguishing 'types' of crime.   The main exception to this absence of differentiation are those prisoners called subversives who were frequently referred to by governors as being extremely difficult to handle.   As one governor said;   "they would turn the place upside down".   Governors, particularly those who have experience of such subversive prisoners, are convinced that these prisoners would use any ploy to subvert the prison service.[11]   According to governors, these prisoners would use information on the private lives of staff for example in an effort to compromise such staff and they are constantly looking for opportunities to intimidate staff.[12]   One governor claimed to get a number of threatening letters weekly and considers subversives to be "vicious and brutal".   Not least of a governors worries in relation to such prisoners is the possibility of staff sympathy with the aims of the organisations such prisoners are members of.[13]   Political or subversive prisoners have been a fact in the Irish Prison Service since the middle of the nineteenth century but their impact on the system has never been as great as it has recently. In the early 1970s, a number of such prisoners were housed in Mountjoy and, according to the reports of many prison staff, were on the point of "taking over the prison service".   Such a situation was averted by the transfer of all 'subversive' prisoners to Portlaoise where they were contained by a combination of prison staff, police and military. Nevertheless they remain a potentially dangerous force in the Irish Prison Service.   Governors tend to see the establishment of a Prisoners' Rights Organisation as stemming from these same 'subversive elements'.

Apart from having a negative view of 'subversive' prisoners, governors generally do not seem to have negative (or indeed positive) attitudes to prisoners generally;   their approach is that prisoners should be viewed as falling under one umbrella and further categorisation is only necessary where prisoners become troublesome.   Troublesome prisoners, apart from the grouping discussed above, are not seen to come from any particular walk of life or to have committed any specific crimes. They are seen by governors more as personality problems rather than as specific types of criminals.

The troublesome prisoner for a governor is one who interferes with the smooth running of the prison and creates a situation where the governor comes to the notice of policy makers and the public.[14]   Rather than have global attitudes to prisoners, governors think in strategic terms in relation to them i.e. how to prevent recalcitrant prisoners from disturbing the 'balance' of the prison system.   A number of governors mentioned those they called 'jail lawyers' whom they considered to be potentially dangerous to the system.[15]   The method of dealing with such prisoners is to isolate them as much as possible in, for example, a security wing.   One governor encapsulated the general feeling of senior management related to troublesome prisoners when he observed that "give them enough rope and they usually hang themselves".

A further danger to the smooth operation of prisons, according to governors, is from a 'loner'.[16]   One governor expressed the problem as follows; "When prisoners talk, there is always some prisoner who is bound to tell tales but in the case of the 'loner', you don't know where you stand".   Such a prisoner may be planning escape or suicide, either event being extremely embarrassing to the prison authorities.

Most governors agreed that there was a proportion of prisoners unsuited to being housed in any type of prison.   These are prisoners who are considered to have psychiatric problems, including 'winos'.   Prisoners who are found guilty by the courts but insane, are committed directly to the Central Mental Hospital at Dundrum.   The prison authorities can have a prisoner transferred from a prison to Dundrum hospital if certified 'insane' by two doctors.[17]   Notwithstanding the possibility of transferring such prisoners, prison governors feel that there are other prisoners whose behaviour is considered extremely eccentric and upsetting to the smooth organisation of the prison. Where possible, such prisoners are placed in a wing separate from other prisoners.   This is easily enough achieved in a large prison like Mountjoy, where there is a hospital wing.   The problem is not so easily solved in smaller prisons where such prisoners mix with other prisoners.

A category of prisoner which the governors sometimes find difficult
are remanded prisoners.   In law, remand prisoners, because they are
theoretically innocent, are entitled to certain privileges not
accorded convicted prisoners. The prison authorities have consistently
attempted to bring privileges for remand prisoners into line with
those for convicted prisoners as a means of organisation 'efficiency'.
Nevertheless, remand prisoners are still entitled to extra visits,
newspapers, more recreation time and some 'prison wise' remand
prisoners seek to maximise their entitlements often to the chagrin of
the governor and his staff.   "Remand prisoners are the worst
prisoners of all to deal with", according to one member of senior
management as they "are a danger to security because of their frequent
appearances in court and because they have greater opportunities to
bring contraband into a prison".   Legally such prisoners are innocent
but the prison authorities are convinced of their guilt as they have
seen them convicted on perhaps five or six previous occasions.
Though the courts traditionally want remand prisoners to be treated
differently, in effect this has proved very difficult and more and
more they are treated like any other prisoner.[18]

4.4   The Raw Material as Perceived by Middle Management

Middle management in the prison service, chief officers and assistant
chief officers, are in contact with prisoners on a daily basis and are
charged with handling difficulties arising from prisoners.

As in interviews with governors, the group of prisoners who figured
most prominently in the interviews with chief officers and assistant
chief officers were 'subversives'.   The members of the Provisional
IRA were castigated by middle management though negative attitudes to
the Prisoners Rights Organisation activists were also expressed.   In
fact, it became clear that managment in prisons were much less
concerned with the outside political and other aims of the IRA and
other 'subversives' but more with their aims and activities while in
prison.   Therefore any grouping of prisoners which seemed to be
creating a sub-culture was seen as subversive.   One assistant chief
officer from Mountjoy put the situation as follows;

When the IRA were here (before being transferred to Portlaoise),
a lot of the prison officers left the service because they were
afraid. I was told by the IRA that I 'had a great chest for a
machine gun'. The effect of that bloody mob is terrible. For
example, in Green Street Court, an IRA prisoner was found guilty
and certain documents used in his defence had to be got back.
He refused to hand them back and when I ordered three prison
officers to search him they refused do do so as they were
afraid. On another occasion in Portlaoise, a cell was put on
fire and a few of us went to bring out a prisoner from the cell
and we got kicked in the melee and an officer who was with me
said in Court that he didn't know who kicked him, though he had
been quite sure beforehand. The IRA threaten to harm the
families of the officers as well and this is a big problem.

Another ACO claimed that subversives are "intent on bringing down the
system"; he was not specifically referring to the Provisional IRA but to
members of the Prisoners Rights Organisation. The Provisional IRA,
while in Mountjoy, led the most concerted attack on the system of rules
and regulations and the patterns of action that had been built up.
"From the time of the 'Provos' in Mountjoy, staff went ten weeks at a
time without a day off", said another ACO "and there was continual
harassment of staff. The staff felt very bitter especially when a
'Provo' got headlines in the newspapers".[19] Almost all middle
management were agreed that the prison service was in grave difficulties
during the period that the Provisional IRA were in Mountjoy. The
transfer of these prisoners to Portlaoise combined with large numbers of
prison staff and police backed by soldiers and concentrating on
perimiter security was generally seen as a decision of the greatest
importance.

Apart from prisoners considered 'subversive', almost all middle
management stated that a proportion only of prisoners were bent on
making trouble for staff. This proportion varied between individual
prison staff, the majority claiming that about 5% to 10% are trouble-
makers, though one ACO put the figure at 90%.

There were certain types of prisoners, according to middle management,
who shouldn't be in prison but in some other type of institution. One
ACO stated that "winos should not be here as they are a bad
influence". While another considered that winos and vagrants "will be
in and out until they die". Those who are 'mentally unsound' should be
in The Central Mental Hospital in Dundrum or in a similar institution,
according to another ACO.

Middle managers did not seem as concerned about the problem of remand prisoners as did governors and Department of Justice staff. This may well be because they didn't have to make decisions regarding extra allowances for remand prisoners. When a remand prisoner demanded 'his rights', the demand was immediately passed to the governor who in turn passed it to the Department of Justice. Remand prisoners too, while still technically innocent, are not considered high escape risks. From the remand prisoners own point of view of course, he or she may be found innocent and the motivation to escape may be low. A medical ACO did mention however that "a prisoner on a long trial had a lot on his mind and can get depressed" and another ACO mentioned the recent high number of remands for bank robberies.

Long-term prisoners, however, are considered high security risks by middle management not just because the seriousness of their offences might cause great public outcry should they escape, but also because they are more likely to try to escape.[20]

A greater readiness in recent years to query rules was noted by some middle managers.[21] One ACO summarised the position as follows;

> You have prison lawyers now who know it all and you often have
> applications made out on behalf of other prisoners by one of
> these clever fellows. You didn't have Habeas Corpus or Mandamus
> in my day.

The ghettoes created in the larger cities were blamed for some of the input into prisons. Family problems, resulting in increases in wife beating cases are on the increase according to some middle managers. Children are let roam the streets with the result that they themselves follow a life of crime, according to these staff. "If a boy of twenty can't read or write, you can't blame the prison service for that". said one ACO. Apart from the fact that they end up in prison, such youths have "complete disregard for authority" said a chief officer. A colleague stated that governors "are afraid of the hard men; maybe they are afraid of meeting them outside".

Middle managers generally did not have strong views regarding the 'type' of prisoner easiest or most difficult to deal with (except for the 'subversives') though some considered juveniles difficult to handle. One ACO, in illustrating the difficulties in dealing with urban juveniles, recounted how he spotted some boys tossing stones at the perimeter lights of Mountjoy prison and when he shouted at them to stop, they proceeded to throw stones at him.

4.5   The Raw Material as Perceived by Prison Officers

Prison officers have to interact directly with the 'raw material' and attempt to refashion it.   Unlike the raw material of other organisations like manufacturing, the raw material of prisons (i.e. prisoners) cannot be looked upon as inert matter but can itself take part in the reciprocal interaction process.   This fact of reciprocal interaction results in complex attitudes being developed by the frontline operators of the technology of imprisonment (i.e. the prison officers) towards the raw material.[22]

4.5.1 Prison Officers' Perceptions as to Reasons for Imprisonment

In interviews with Prison Officers, the majority of them expressed some 'theory' as to why prisoners are incarcerated.   Some of these 'theories' were:

(i)   That prisoners have committed crimes as a result of drink.   One prison officer said that "a judge has no choice in sending drunks to prison for a few weeks — at least it helps them to dry out and a lot would be dead but for the district courts".   Perceptions related to drink induced crime were more likely to be held by officers working in hospital wings.   These staff are most likely to come in contact with prisoners who have chronic drink problems.

(ii)   Other officers believe that environmental factors shape criminal behaviour though often such factors are also seen to shape the criminal 'nature'.   Some officers for example blamed the environment totally, suggesting as one officer said that "lads have no chance in parts of the city and have 'graduated' from St. Patricks" (Juvenile Institution) while others added that bad environments created 'natural instincts to rob'.   Some officers had even stronger views as expressed by one officer who said that "some prisoners have never worked — it's just that they have violent natures; they come from ghettoes where its the survival of the fittest — a lot know no better".

Many officers who held the 'theory' of 'violent natures' or 'natural instincts to rob' felt that prisoners were often bitter and resentful of authority as a result.

(iii) Some officers held the 'theory' that prisoners choose a path
which they knew could lead to prison; once apprehended, many
bore their sentences 'philosophically'. As one officer stated
"prisoners admit that they wanted money quickly; the worst that
can happen is that they get six months while the best is that
they get money for drink and a good time".

(iv) A minority of prison officers felt that it was only a matter of
luck that so-called middle-class citizens were not imprisoned for
offences like tax evasion or unscrupulous business dealings.

4.5.2 Prison Officers Perceptions of Prisoners

The main impression from interviews with prison officers is that the
nature of the crime committed was usually unrelated to prisoners
behaviour while in prison and consequently to prison officers' attitudes
to prisoners. The major exception were those convicted of offences
against the State and incarcerated in Portlaoise where a campaign of
non-cooperation on the part of prisoners was being waged.

Some negative views concerning subversive prisoners were expressed by
prison officers though not to the same extent as in the case of middle
management. Differences in the strength of feeling between basic grade
prison officers and middle management towards subversive prisoners can
be accounted for as follows;

(i) Many of the prison officers did not have to work constantly with
these prisoners unless transferred for short periods to
Portlaoise. While this was also the case with senior staff, it
was more likely that senior staff could be held responsible for
escape attempts or riots. Prison officers were in Portlaoise as
a show of force and it was unlikely that any individual prison
officer could be blamed for an incident. Where they were involved
in an incident of a physical nature, the danger to an individual
officer may not have been high because of the number of staff,
police and military available.

(ii) The requirement not to interact with the prisoners in Portlaoise
may well have been welcome to prison officers. Interactions
were carried on between senior prison staff and representatives
of prisoners.

(iii)   The fact that superiors were so involved and anxious in
        Portlaoise meant that they had less time to be concerned with
        the application of rules and regulations with regard to prison
        officers resulting in greatly reduced disciplinary measures
        against staff.

(iv)   Though prison officers would be unlikely to admit sympathy for
        the motives of subversives, it may well be that a certain
        sympathy with those prisoners was nevertheless present.   One
        prison officer, for example, injured by such a prisoner during a
        search excused the prisoner and suggested that "he wasn't
        attacking me, only the system".   This same officer in talking
        about ordinary prisoners was not so understanding as he
        considered that "the prisoner is a natural complainer and out to
        'do' prison staff".

Senior prison staff were conscious of the possibility of staff
sympathisers in Portlaoise and frequently mentioned their fears in
interviews.[23]

Attitudes expressed by different prison officers towards subversives
highlights the complexity of studying behaviour in organisations. One
officer expressed his perception as follows;

> In Portlaoise, the tension is terrible, you get out the gate
> fast; it is hell — you could get a hiding there.   It was the
> only place I hated the prisoners.   They had no time for us and
> we only got abuse from one end of the day to the next.

Contrary views were expressed as follows;

> "In Portlaoise, there is 'slagging', but there's nothing
> physical", or "dealing with the IRA is difficult but you get
> used to it".

What is considered 'slagging' by one officer is obviously considered
intimidation by another.[24] Both sets of views were widespread
indicating that personal orientations of prison officers influenced
their attitude to such prisoners.

Apart from those prisoners convicted of offences against the State, prison officers' attitudes did not seem to be determined by the category of prisoner or the nature of the crime but more by the interaction with individual prisoners. There was, however, some suggestion that long-term prisoners were easier to handle once they had settled down. This is not surprising as the application of rewards and punishments on which much of the prison system is based is easier to apply in the case of long-term prisoners.[25] Short-term prisoners have less to lose in a reward or punishment system and can be more difficult to handle. Many officers, however, would subscribe to the sentiment expressed by one officer who said that "unless there is a lot of publicity, I wouldn't be conscious of what a prisoner is in for" or another who said that "what a prisoner did before is none of my business; my job is safe custody".

As in the case of their superiors, prison officers were inclined to single out remand prisoners as being more difficult to deal with. One officer stated that "remand prisoners are very tough - they're edgy when on remand and they won't take an order". Remand prisoners on a capital charge are sent directly to the hospital "as nearly all of them have a kink".[26] In speaking about the hospital prisoners, the same officer (a hospital orderly) stated that "a lot of the prisoners in the hospital are probably insane; they have dirty and degrading habits and they break stuff and try to burn it". Few officers however, had strong views concerning those prisoners in hospital wings, mainly because such prisoners are dealt with by hospital staff.

Of those interviewed, only a small proportion had experience of dealing with juvenile prisoners and these considered juveniles difficult to deal with.[27] One officer for example stated that "older prisoners know the score and accept the rules whereas juveniles rebel"; another said that you would "take things from older prisoners that you would find it difficult to accept from younger prisoners".

Most officers therefore tended to have perceptions of prisoners based on experience of prisoner behaviour in prison and officers personal reactions to that behaviour rather than perceptions based on particular crimes. A main consideration for prison officers seemed to hinge on whether prisoners were aggressive or co-operative while in prison. Attitudes towards prisoners seemed to be based on how officers perceived their various interactions with prisoners.

One officer for example discussing a particular prisoner said "If you turn your back on X, you're done - I wouldn't like to meet him outside:"; or another, responsible for issue of clothing "prisoners are out to do you - they swap clothes in the prison van to try and fool you". These views can best be seen as stemming from the experience of the officers and their particular responsibilities rather than from any deep-rooted attitudes, though the influence of personal characteristics in shaping attitudes cannot be ignored.

While the interview process revealed very useful information on perceptions of prison staff it was felt that further elaboration of the views of prison officers particularly could best be achieved through questionnaire.

A difficulty in interviews is to have people admit to strong attitudes in the presence of a stranger. Staff concerns in this regard are particularly strong in prisons where the system is rife with rumours and information gathering by superiors. That strong attitudes existed was attested to throughout the interviewing process in a roundabout way; staff were much more likely to express the strong attitudes which other staff might have than to admit strong attitudes themselves. One officer, for example, mentioned that "a good few staff hate the prisoners - lock them up and throw away the key is their attitude" while another officer claimed that "young officers are influenced by older ones in Mountjoy who say that prisoners are all F...... tramps".

Some officers did directly discuss prisoners in a negative way. One officer stated that "twenty-five per cent of prisoners are blackguards, the rest are head cases". In a further elaboration he claimed that "prisoners are a funny breed; they will try hard not to work but you can't put up with nonsense". Another held the view that "if prisoners got a good clobbering, they might learn".

Still another officer claimed to have met "villains in England but it was an experience to find 400 of them under the same roof". The same officer was of the opinion that "prisoners think they're deprived and think the officer is at fault and blame staff for being in prison". Yet another officer considered that "a lot of prisoners are 'high' half of the time; they're strained and can be cross and would give you a box in the face in one second". He added that "if a prisoner decided to come into prison, he should undergo penance; they get sufficient exercise between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. so why should they get more". He did agree though that "prisoners are human beings;you can't be a dummy altogether and you must talk to them".[28]

4.5.3 Further Elaboration of Prison Officers Attitude to Prisoners

As mentioned above, it is not always easy to have subjects express what might be termed negative attitudes. To complement the information gleaned from interviews with prison officers in a more neutral and less threatening way and to elicit useful information, questionnaires were administered to 182 prison officers. Part of the questionnaire dealt with attitudes to prisoners.[29] Individual questionnaire items in relation to such attitudes were presented to two ways.

Example 1

	DISAGREE			AGREE		
	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
Prisoners who consider themselves tough must be isolated	l l −3 l	l −2 l	−1 l l	l + 1 l	+2 l	l +3 l

Twenty two individual questionnaire items were presented in this way.[30]

Example 2

	None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair Number Do	Most Do	All Do
Prisoners take advantage of an officer who shows kindness	l l l l	l l l l	l l l l	l l l l	l ·l l l	l l l l

Twenty-one individual questionnaire items were presented in this way.

Factor analysis[31] was used to establish some pattern in prison officers'
beliefs about prisoners and therefore to uncover the perceptual
'dimension' which prison officers employ.   Four 'dimensions' or patterns
emerged from each set of items, yielding a total of eight perceptual
'dimensions'.[32]   These were:

Pattern A

PSYCHIATRIC CAUSES OF TROUBLE IN PRISONS

		Loading*
1.	Troublemakers in prison are usually people with personality disorders	.70
2.	It is more difficult to deal with prisoners when they hear of family problems	.62

This belief pattern is related to psychiatric causes of
distress in prisoners and the disturbance aggravated by
external pressures.

Pattern B

PROBLEM PRISONERS REQUIRE TOUGH ACTION

		Loading*
1.	Prisoners who are constantly reciting their rights are troublemakers and should be isolated	.69
2.	Prisoners who consider themselves tough must be isolated	.61
3.	If a prisoner is a leader he should get extra punishment if he breaks regulations	.45

This belief pattern relates to unequivocal treatment for
prisoners who do not obey the rules and regulations of the
prison.

* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation

Pattern C

MAINTENANCE OF ORDER THROUGH RULES

Loading*

1. Censorship of letters is a necessary
    aspect of security in my prison   .66

2. The more the rules are relaxed, the
    more they are abused   .44

3. It keeps prisoners from making trouble
    if they have work to do   .43

4. Almost all prisoners need tight security   .42

This belief pattern indicates a concern for security and
order and the need to keep prisoners occupied in the
interest of order and security.

Pattern D

PRISONERS ARE CAPABLE OF COMPROMISE

Loading*

1. It is easier to get on with prisoners in
    a small group   .75

2. Only a very small percentage of prisoners
    are intent on making trouble   .38

3. It is natural for a prison officer to be
    pleased at getting a conviction   − .33**

This pattern is prescribed by the realisation that
compromise is possible in small groups.

* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation

Pattern E

PRISONERS CAN BE MOTIVATED

		Loading*
1.	Prisoners behave better if they expect temporary release	.66
2.	Prisoners make trouble for staff at every opportunity	− .47**
3.	Prisoners welcome the opportunity to work with trade staff	.46
4.	Prisoners react favourably to efforts at understanding them	.45
5.	Prisoners work better in small groups	.41
6.	Prisoners benefit from a stay in an open institution	.40

This pattern relates to the idea that prisoners are capable of being positively motivated while they are in prison.

Pattern F

PRISONERS ARE UNTRUSTWORTHY

		Loading*
1.	Prisoners take advantage of any reduction in security measures	.68
2.	Prisoners see crime as a short-cut to easy money	.55
3.	Prisoners 'con' people who don't know them well	.43

This belief pattern may be regarded as 'hardline'. Prisoners are perceived as always 'on the make' and as responding only to tough action.

* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation.

**Negative signs mean that the item is negatively loaded on the factor.

Pattern G

PRISONERS ARE NOT REHABILITATED IN PRISON

Loading*

1. Prisoners continue committing crime regardless
   of how they are dealt with in prison   .61

2. Prisoners become more committed to crime
   while in prison   .56

Pattern H

PRISONERS WILL BEHAVE QUIETLY IF HANDLED WELL

Loading*

1. Prisoners want to serve their time as
   quietly as they can   .51

2. Prisoners get into trouble more easily with
   officers they are not used to   .49

3. Prisoners need to be seen by a psychiatrist
   if they cause trouble   .38

This pattern sees prisoners as wanting a quiet life while
they are in prison and, if they are difficult to handle,
then it is because of external problems

These eight belief patterns supplement and extend the patterns emanating
from the interviews and highlight again the findings that prison staff
have diffuse attitudes towards prisoners. These attitudes are developed
through a combination of 'personality dispositions' training and demands
of the work situations in which officers find themselves. A controlled
experiment would help unravel these influences but was not possible in
the present study. Nevertheless some attempt will be made in later
chapters to draw tentative conclusions in relation to the development of
these attitudes among prison officers.

* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation

**Negative signs mean that the item is negatively loaded on the
factor.

4.6 The Raw Material as seen by Professional Groups

The same combination of 'personality' disposition', training and work situations helps to develop the attitudes of professional staff towards prisoners.

Because the training of professional staff is quite extensive, a more homogeneous view of prisoners is likely to be formed by particular professional groups. 'Personality orientation' may be less relevant in the context because professionals do not usually have extensive contacts with prisoners. Where they do have such contact, it is usually based on helping rather than containing and less likely to meet with antagonism.[33]

The professional groups most relevant to the discussion on the raw material of prisons in Ireland are (1) psychiatrists (2) welfare staff (3) chaplains (4) visiting committees.

The attitudes of these groups to prisoners were not at all as diverse as were those of the uniformed staff but seemed to have developed in line with the demands of the particular profession.

4.6.1 Medical Staff's Perceptions of Prisoners

The medical staff including psychiatrists involved in prisons are part-time; psychiatrists working in the Dublin prisons are employed on a full-time basis in the Central Mental Hospital, those in prisons outside Dublin are usually employed full-time in local psychiatric hospitals. General practitioners attending prisons on a part-time basis usually have their own practice.

Medical staff, particularly psychiatrists, frequently used the term 'patient' as a synonym for 'prisoner' signifying that they felt that at least some prisoners were psychologically ill. However there was general agreement among medical staff that a proportion of the prison population was 'normal', though they varied in their assessment of the percentage they would deem normal. They generally agreed however, that prison affected some prisoners psychologically. Sometimes the effect was such as to require transfer to the Central Mental hospital, but more often the result was greater antipathy among prisoners.

All of the medical staff interviewed had been involved in the sentencing process and all had comments on the process. A few considered sentencing policies antiquated and were convinced that imposing a prison sentence for petty crime was ludicrous. A more conservative view was that "if you don't sentence them, what do you do?" Inconsistencies between judges who were perceived as influenced by class background was pointed to by doctors as a major weakness.[34]

The lack of educational and social opportunities resulting in high unemployment and drunkenness, was perceived by doctors as an important determinant of imprisonment.

Almost all medical staff were of the opinion that only a small proportion of prisoners should be classified as maximum security. These could be classified as;

(a)   Prisoners who are prone to use violence; some of these are transferred to the Central Mental hospital. Others called 'aggressive sociopaths' by psychiatrists, should more appropriately be placed in a therapeutic community to undergo a period of 'reality testing'.

(b)   Prisoners who are well-integrated and intelligent but who are considered more of a threat to the authorities than psychopaths. Included here are those prisoners, already discussed, who have been found guilty of offences against the State as well as professional criminals such as bank robbers.

4.6.2 Welfare Staff's Perceptions of Prisoners

The Welfare function is now well established in the Irish prison service with a structure comprising of welfare officers, senior welfare officers and a principal welfare officer who reports to the Department of Justice. Responsibility for the welfare function in prisons and in courts rests with the principal welfare officer and results in a fair degree of staff transferring between the courts and the Prison Service.

In line with their training, welfare officers stressed family and social background characteristics as important determinants of imprisonment. Welfare Staff considered that eighty per cent (80%) of prisoners in adult prisons had already graduated through St. Patrick's Institution for young offenders. They also considered that the decision to imprison is based on previous record rather than a particular crime. Welfare staff considered that no criminal record should be kept before a person's 17th birthday. The crime problem was perceived by welfare staff to be mainly the result of social casualty; imprisonment in the 1950's and 1960's in Ireland was seen as a product of poverty and a lack of social development in Ireland. One other theory put forward for the increase in numbers imprisoned during the 1970's was the closing of psychiatric hospitals by the Committee on Mental Health; the result was that people were now being sentenced to periods of imprisonment who would previously have been confined in psychiatric hospitals.

Young prisoners in St. Patrick's Institution were classified by some welfare officers as;

- Social casualties e.g. family structure problems
- Those who get into trouble because of lack of outlets
- Those who get into trouble regardless of what efforts are made on their behalf.

Some welfare staff considered that because some prisoners were very undisciplined, a tough regime was appropriate particularly for the third group above. It is unlikely however, that this view would be endorsed by all welfare staff though certainly a proportion subscribed to it.

4.6.3 Chaplains Perceptions of Prisoners

Chaplains are attached full-time to each of the larger prisons and unlike psychiatrists and welfare staff, their role has been well established. By the nature of their task, chaplains generally have a positive attitude to prisoners. As one chaplain put it "I see the prisoners in some way sick and would see goodness in each of them". However, they do not see the prisoners as 'angels' and indeed expressed concern at the thought of certain categories such as wife beaters, being released without proper psychiatric treatment. The difficulty of containing violent prisoners was mentioned by a number of chaplains who considered it inevitable that violent staff/prisoner incidents will occur in centres containing violent prisoners.

Apart from the inappropriatness of prison for such violent prisoners, chaplains also felt that it is a waste of time and resources to imprison drug-addicts, 'winos' itinerants and vagrants; the chaplains had no easy solutions however, to the problem.

There was some support for the suggestion that short sentences for young prisoners are also a waste as very little remedial work can be undertaken in a short time. Prisoners in St. Patrick's Institution were mainly urban youths and the chaplains felt that a certain status attached to a St. Patrick's 'graduate' among his peers.

4.6.4 <u>Visiting Committees' Perception of Prisoners</u>

Though not professionals in the strict sense, visiting committees nevertheless are an important specialist group operating in the prison environment.

These visiting committees' chairmen agree with the chaplains that short sentences for young prisoners are of little use though some believe that young prisoners can be rehabilitated. They accept the judgement of the courts on the matter of sentencing policy while not necessarily agreeing with all of it. Indeed, like the chaplains, the visiting committee chairmen consider that "many young lads take pride in being inside and it is not a shameful thing to them".

The committee chairmen agree that many of 'the middle classes' would have committed more serious crimes if they had been constrained by the circumstances which some young prisoners had. As one chairman said "a criminal can be one who stole a car, but if the public saw the case file they would begin to worry".

Professional groups, therefore, have a more homogeneous set of attitudes towards prisoners than do the numbers of the uniformed prison service. The background characteristics of prison officers particularly education, the requirement to 'be in charge' of often troublesome prisoners and the absence of a 'professional raison d'etre' results in more intense and less 'objective' sets of attitudes than is the case with professional staff.

CHAPTER 5

ORGANISATIONAL OUTPUTS

It has already been indicated in Chapter 2 that various aims have been assigned to prisons throughout their development stage, e.g. deterrance, retribution, reform, punishment, protection of society and the requirement that they should act as a symbol to underpin the stability of society.

The technology practiced in an organisation, as well as its culture, staffing, and various activities are each influenced by the aims and objectives assigned to an organisation though aims and objectives cannot be viewed as entirely determining technology, culture, staffing and the various activities in an organisation. In a sense these influence the aims and objectives of an organisation in subtle ways e.g. what is possible from the technology may cause the aims and objectives to be altered.

In understanding an organisation, it is important to study the aims and objectives. This is frequently done by reference to statements of intent, articles of association etc. These are important but concentration on such public statements often results in missing what might be termed important sub aims of the organisation; aims used by various important groups in the organisation.

This chapter attempts to trace the aims (or organisational outputs) of the prison service as perceived by different groupings.

The discussion on outputs will begin with official pronouncements as to what the prison service is trying to achieve before moving on to study of goals as seen by different staff groupings in the prison service.[1]

5.1   Environmental Demands Related to Output

Official statements on goals are influenced by organisational perceptions
of the environment.   In the case of prisons, politicians particularly, but
also civil service policy-makers are influenced by what the public wants
(or what it does not want);   they are particularly sensitive to articulate
pressure groups which might be well represented in the media as well as
to any possible threat to the authority of government by what might be
considered flaws in the criminal justice system. In other words politicians
and their advisers are very concerned with establishing the legitimacy of
the organisation.   The struggle to establish and maintain legitimacy was
very relevant to Irish prisons in the 1970s for a number of reasons:

(1)   Psychiatric and welfare services which most European countries had
       introduced were only slowly being developed in Ireland.   Strong
       pressure groups, spurred on by what they considered were success
       stories in European prisons, were demanding the widespread
       introduction of 'more enlightened policies'.

(2)   The Provisional IRA campaign in Northern Ireland had ensured that a
       number of those imprisoned in the Republic would be Provisional IRA
       members and members of other similar groups.   The Republic's
       government took the line that such groups were 'subversive' in
       relation to its constitution and set up special criminal courts to
       deal with the situation.   Trials were held before three judges
       sitting without a jury (to avoid jury harrassment, said the
       authorities) and membership of an illegal organisation could be
       proved on the evidence of a senior garda (police officer).   The
       input of prisoners so convicted placed a great strain on existing
       prison conditions;   there was rioting and further anti-prison
       pressure groups emerged to join the 'legitimate' ones campaigning
       for improved psychiatric, welfare and other services.

(3)   Through all this, politicians remained concerned about a perennial
       problem;   what would the 'man in the street' accept?   Would any
       'softening' in the conditions of general imprisonment be acceptable
       to the public and how hard a line should be pursued in relation to
       'subversives'; and, of course, how would developments be financed?
       Visiting committees' chairmen interviewed in the course of the
       study mentioned that two successive Ministers for Justice (from two
       different governments) claimed that their own constituents would be
       totally opposed to any 'softening' of conditions for prisoners.[2]

5.2   Policy Makers Perceptions of Output Requirements

Estimates speeches and other pronouncements from successive Ministers for Justice since the early 1970's have emphasised the following main points;

- Prisoners should be given maximum aid if they themselves want to be rehabilitated

- Retribution in the form of punishment is not a factor in imprisonment

- Imprisonment should be a deterrent

- Public should not ask too much of prisons

- Security and safety of the State to be guarded against subversive elements

- Normal routine of prison life itself to be guarded against organised subversive elements among prisoners.

Ministerial pronouncements are generally a function of what is considered feasible in an organisational sense by policy advisers but more particularly of what is considered expedient in a political sense. Political expediency is related to environmental demands and to perceptions of what the public want.

It is to statements of policy advisers rather than to ministerial pronouncements that it is most fruitful to turn for an explication of aims related to the prison service.

As advisers and developers of government policy, senior civil servants must also understand and react to environmental pressures.   Advisers on prison policy develop policies which will continue to legitimise prisons as well as protecting ministers from demands of constituents and pressure groups.   They must also help to develop policies which are capable of execution by the organisation, i.e., that the technology is available or can be developed and that the personnel are competent and willing to operate the technology.

Senior civil servants in the Department of Justice are therefore the interpreters of environmental demands and the co-ordinators of these demands with the organisational technology and available personnel.[3] They refine the overall goals as outlined by ministers as well as refining the technology to take account of fresh inputs of raw material and changing personnel demands. Environmental pressures can be seen therefore as transformed into organisational goals, which are themselves interpreted in their own way by the various groups comprising the prison system.

The environment for the penal policy-makers are individuals, groups and organisations with whom the prison service forms relationships; e.g. courts, politicians, gardai, welfare agencies, other government departments, pressure groups of various sorts with some interest in the workings of prisons. Not alone do these policy-makers interpret the demands from the environment but they also seek to influence these demands or defuse them. They may do this for a number of organisational reasons, not least because they consider that some demands may be very difficult for the organisation to meet.[4] Of course, there may also be an element of being satisfied with 'tried and true' methods and of being wary of any change, the consequences of which might be difficult to foresee.

Changes in environmental demands in relation to output have to be reacted to in some form, however, by policy-makers. While initial organisational reaction might be to ignore demands, persistant demands require action.[5]

Senior civil servants stated that politicians are reluctant to innovate in the area of prisons because there is no political capital in the form of votes to be made from such innovation. Senior officials claim that the ordinary citizen is negative to the idea of improvements in the conditions of prisoners and the politicians would consequently put their own careers in jeopardy by fighting for improvements.[6] Officials also consider that 'subversive' prisoners can create their own environmental pressures for change. Such prisoners are perceived as having the potential to undermine the prison system.

Department officials see the need to 'educate' the public regarding prisons though they see it as a difficult job. The possibility of education is through the media but the media "cannot be allowed to have open access to prisons as they want only gory stories", said a top official. Inevitably though, the policy-makers in interpreting the demands of the environment must have regard to the media. The media influence politicians and senior civil servants must take such influence into account if their positions are not to undermined. The ideal situation for a civil servant is to be in a position to develop 'his' part of the organisation without any environmental pressure for change. The framework being followed in this study is that any change in an organisation comes about because of change in one or more of the following: the raw material, the technology, the output, the personnel. Such changes however are influenced to a large degree by environmental pressures. It should not be felt however that environmental pressure on the organisation is one-way. The organisation itself tries to influence the environment in relation to the input of raw material that it can transform successfully but also in marketing the outputs that it produces.

It has already been outlined that policy-makers consider it important to control information to the environment through the media. Another important means of information is through research and a senior official admitted that he did not like to see research in prisons being carried out by the universities.[7] He claimed that the problem was that:

> Many of the files on prisoners for example are highly confidential with detailed psychiatric assessments on prisoners; that 'subversive' groups have a vested interest in such research and therefore it is very important that we have some control over the research that is done.

Visiting committees are another element of the environment over which control is exercised. These committees are set up as 'public watchdogs' and have the potential to influence the raw material, the technology and the output. During the course of the present study, two committees had resigned and according to a senior civil servant:

> We are having great difficulty with a further one. When the next committees are being appointed we will ensure that they know exactly what their terms of reference are before they commence. One of the problems in Shanganagh was that these committees had no job and looked around for things to do and upset the apple-cart.

From discussions with visiting committee chairmen, it was obvious that they saw their role as being too negative and were taking steps to embrace a more positive role by, for example, looking at alternatives to prison, at the technology, particularly the system of rules in juvenile prison, and were concerning themselves with what should be the outputs from prison.   Such moves were being strongly resisted by the policy-makers — one entire committee was dismissed by the Minister for Justice, a fairly obvious way to stem environmental pressure.

One very important environmental element in the prison services domain is professional groups, e.g. welfare agencies, psychiatric services, education and training groups.   Traditionally such groups were not altogether important to the prison service.   The development of professional status among these groups however has resulted in their seeking to extend their own domains and one obvious extension is into the prison service.   The 1960s in Ireland saw increasing pressure from welfare and education groups for the incorporation of their services into the prison system.[8]

Conscious of environmental demands, senior civil servants and Ministers market the output from prisons as other than just the serving of sentences. They quoted the development of open prisons, the introduction of the Training unit, of welfare and educational services, as examples of developments to 're-socialise' prisoners.   Such attempts to create new outputs did not obviate the necessity to ensure that discipline and good order were maintained;   one policy maker stated that:

> Good staff have things sparkling and they get things done;   and
> we are looking for committed, conscientious staff who have good
> control of prisoners and who can tell a prisoner to do something
> without trouble from them.

Alternatives to imprisonment such as fines and supervision in the community were mentioned by the senior officials as possibilities for some prisoners "who perhaps should not be in prison", but difficulties in convincing the judiciary to experiment with such alternatives was alluded to.[9]   Apart from pressure groups and public opinion already mentioned, a major environmental influence group on the organisation is the judiciary; any judge of a higher court can freely visit prisons should he so wish though few avail of the opportunity.   The judiciary determines the extent and 'nature' of the raw material and influences outputs to a large extent.   Department of Justice officials feel that

they themselves must:

> try and correct the fears of justices throughout the country
> who are naturally worried about a system of outside supervision
> of prisoners

However, the officials do not see their function as directly
influencing judges on the merits of parole or probation. Rather,
they hope that by the achievement of positive results will the
judiciary be won over.

5.3   Organisational Outputs as Seen by Prison Governors

Governors are charged by the courts to hold prisoners securely and
safely for the duration of their sentences and it is not surprising
that their perceptions of output requirements concentrate on safety
and security issues. Other environmental demands related to output
are left to the Department of Justice to deal with.[10] The
environment impinges on governors mainly through visiting committees
and depending on the type of prison, these committees ensure that
governors have to address issues other than safe custody and
security. Even the interpretation of safe custody and security is
sometimes questioned by visiting committees. In discussions with
committees it was obvious that they felt that something positive could
be done for juvenile offenders and were prepared to offer many
suggestions in the areas of welfare, education and training.
Governors attempted to resist such suggestions and were aided in this
by the Department of Justice.

As they are legally responsible for the safe custody and security of
prisoners under their care, it is understandable that governors should
be particularly concerned that these outputs are achieved. Whenever a
disturbance, an escape or a suicide occur, the governor is called upon
to render an account. Even if a governor of a closed prison was very
quick in reacting to environmental demands for changes in output of,
for example, better educated and trained prisoners, it is unlikely
that he would be considered effective if a number of escapes or
disturbances occurred. Consequently, governors are constantly
concerned with 'maintaining equilibrium' in their prison. Any
developments which present a threat to that equilibrium were resisted
while developments which sustained the equilibrium were encouraged.[11]

A major threat to equilibrium, according to most governors would be for disciplinary staff to become too involved with prisoners.   As one governor said, "an officer should answer questions from prisoners but should not initiate conversation as loose talk can lead to security lapses". A number of governors thought that any attempt at rehabilitation should begin with the teaching of illiterates.   A few governors were of the opinion that if uniformed staff were neat and tidy and behaved with discipline, that this would act as a example to prisoners and would aid their rehabilitation.   Even when outputs other than safe custody and security are discussed by governors, they are considered important if they contribute to the main output aims.   For example, the acquisition of jobs for prisoners was considered important as the prospect of temporary release can be an incentive to good behaviour, according to some governors.   A few governors considered that a requirement to obtain jobs for prisoners would keep welfare staff too busy to interfere with the carrying out of the aims of safe custody and security.[12]

5.4   <u>Organisational Outputs as Seen by Middle Management</u>

Ministerial pronouncements on output requirements give an overall guide to organisational rationale and are formulated with a view to appeasing environmental pressures.

There is no such necessity on middle and junior staff to show congruence between output and environmental demands and consequently their perceptions of output have a somewhat different emphasis.   The perceptions of middle management related to output requirements can be categorised under;

—   Safe Custody

—   Minimum Disturbance

—   Education, Training, Employment and Welfare in Prisons

—   Prospects for Prisoner Reform

5.4.1 Middle-Management Perceptions Related To Safe Custody

There is little doubt but that chief officers and assistant chief officers consider safe custody a vital aspect of the task of prisons. As one ACO put it: "our function is safe custody — to feed, clothe and return the prisoners to society". Another agreed that "the first priority is to keep the prisoners in" but he added "they can't, however, turn into vegetables. We tell them when to get up, when to go to sleep and the big problem for them is becoming institutionalised". Some other middle managers did not consider that the institutionalisation of prisoners was their concern as long as prisoners did not escape. A number of the middle managers were of the opinion that if a man gets a chance he will try and escape. This is seen to be particularly true of long-term prisoners who "would go over the wall if they got the chance, when the kink hits them", according to one ACO.

An escape is the worry of all uniformed prison staff. Even in open centres the possibility of escapes ensures that only extremely reliable prisoners are transferred to these centres, thus ensuring that the centres are never fully utilised.[13] Even the goal of safe custody is applicable when a prisoner is transferred to a civil hospital, according to a recent ruling from the Attorney General.

The 'theory' for escape prevention among uniformed staff is as much vigilant manpower as possible at every conceivable outlet. This 'theory' has had a profound effect on the way in which the technology has developed and this aspect will be explored in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that middle management analyses most escapes as resulting from lack of vigilance on the part of junior staff.[14] One chief officer, for example, blamed a recruit who left his post for one infamous escape.

Allied to the question of escape is that of suicide. A prison governor is charged by the courts not alone to keep a prisoner in prison for the duration of his sentence but also to ensure that no harm befalls him. For this reason, preventing suicides is a concern of all senior prison staff. The 'loner' is considered a difficult prisoner to deal with partly because he may be planning an escape and there is usually no feedback on the prisoner grapevine, but also because he may be mentally unbalanced and consequently considered a potential suicide. Most middle management agree that it is difficult to prevent a determined suicide bid and they resent the bad publicity ensuing from a suicide.

5.4.2 Middle Management Perceptions Related To Minimum Disturbance

Mention has already been made of those prisoners who are convicted of offences against the State and who are incarcerated in Portlaoise. These represent a well-organised group who are intent on escape but who have in the last few years been contained successfully by a large force of prison staff, police and military.

The attempted formation of a Prisoners' Rights Organisation in Irish prisons worried the authorities as they feared disturbances would be distributed throughout the service. The public expected disturbances in Portlaoise but major disturbances in other prisons would be un-acceptable. In a confined space like a prison, an incident can escalate even if never planned; therefore the technology is geared to the prevention of unusual incidents.[15] Where disturbances do occur, and it seems almost impossible to prevent them totally, efforts are made by the authorities to contain them as much as possible within the confines of the prison. Such efforts at containment will be explored more fully in the next chapter, but include the withholding of information from the media, transfers of prisoners to 'the base' or hospital, the use of visiting committees as courts, placing difficulties in the way of prisoners in seeking legal redress and of course informal more physical methods usually frowned upon by top management. As an ACO stated: "No matter what happens, it is dealt with inside if possible, otherwise the gaoler gets blamed for every-thing". Recently, according to another ACO "when prisoners kicked up and there were blows, prison officers found themselves in the district court where the incident should have been handled by the visiting committee".[16]

The ethos in Irish prisons among uniformed staff in relation to a disturbance is to "nip it in the bud....by going in fast and furious". This means forcibly isolating those considered the instigators of the trouble and transferring them to the 'base' to cool off or to Dundrum if they are considered mentally unbalanced. Such a policy seems to work successfully in most prisons, again mainly because prisoners do not have an agreed approach to disturbances i.e. they happen spontaneously and are fairly easily contained. The exception is at Portlaoise where prisoners have attempted to create disturbance as much as possible but have been contained by superior numbers of staff, police and soldiers, though some serious incidents have occurred, mainly related to escape attempts. The type of major disturbance which occurred at Hull[17] is less likely at Portlaoise. Incidents at Portlaoise are mainly diversionary and 'rational' as a prelude to an escape attempt or as a negotiating strategy for concessions.

A disturbance to prison staff is any incident involving some form of aggression by one or more individuals. There can be many reasons, planned and unplanned and the technology is attuned to reducing such incidents to an absolute minimum.

The reasons why containment of disturbances is so important to uniformed staff are twofold;

(a)   Prison disturbances are picked up very readily by the media. The fact that prisons usually operate in some secrecy means that the public are interested in any information that is available. Prison staff frequently reported annoyance at what they considered "unfair reporting".[18]   As one ACO put it when commenting on reports of brutality in the press:"I haven't seen brutality, only man-handling".

(b)   If disturbances went on unchecked, not only would the mental health of staff (and prisoners presumably) be affected, but the structure of the relationship between staff and prisoner, which is based on the staffs' imposition of a disciplinary system would be eroded.[19]

5.4.3 Middle Management Perceptions Related To Employment Education Training And Welfare Of Prisoners

Absent from much of the discussion with middle management on the aims of imprisonment was the concept of punishment of prisoners. Managers did not see themselves as instruments of retribution. A few mentioned punishment but only to reconciling the development in facilities, meals etc. for prisoners that have taken place. As one ACO said:

> I would emphasise employment and longer recreation for prisoners, though I know they are here for punishment.

Rarely did middle managers in the 'discipline' grades (ACOS and COS other than trades and workshops) emphasise education, training, employment and welfare as a means of reforming prisoners or fitting them for a useful role in society on release. Trades' staff saw possible openings for prisoners on release if only trade training were developed. One ACO on the trades side summarised prison industry as:

> designed just to keep the lads happy but not specifically to gear them to jobs outside. The prison service is prepared to let them work at anything inside as long as they are kept busy; working in the mat shop does not prepare you for the outside world.

At present the trades managers feel that they can offer intelligent employment to prisoners but they are not encouraged by the 'discipline' side of the prison service.[20]

Keeping prisoners occupied serves a number of purposes from the point of view of ACOS and COS:

(1)   It adds meaning to the task of prison officers by creating a rationale for rules and regulations.   As one chief officer said:

> "If you have work for prisoners you can assess them; a prison officer has something to play with".

(2)   It keeps prisoners occupied and out of trouble.   One chief officer, advocating the allocation of a woodwork teacher to small groups of 6-10 prisoners claimed that "at present there are ten convicts in the leather shop and sometimes it is difficult even to get them to go to their dinner" (because of their interest in the work).

An ACO claimed that if more industry were introduced and a bonus paid to prisoners, it would be an incentive.   But he saw any increased industry as being impeded by the trades unions who do not recognise prison training.

(3)   It increases the domain for the application of rewards and punishments.   Attractive jobs can be allocated to those who obey the rules and the threat of losing such a job can keep a prisoner motivated.   Work can also be the domain where prison staff can exercise control in relation to assessments for temporary release.

There is however, very little real work comparable to the industrial situation outside.   A new training unit has been developed which is geared to industrial production and which employs highly selected prisoners in the final stages of their sentences.   This unit has had mixed reaction from the middle managers; the majority agreeing that it will "probably do some good" but some maintaining that "corrective training has been tried unsuccessfully before" and that "there are nice soft jobs coming available in corrective training so that the Minister can claim he is doing something constructive".   Some specified that the corrective training was a good idea if the discipline was firm.

Apart from this unit and a few small shops in other prisons, and apart from those jobs "considered handy to do time in" (e.g. kitchen, stores,) there is little useful employment, not alone from the point of fitting prisoners for jobs outside but even from the point of keeping them busy inside. Much of their time is spent by prisoners on work parties for cleaning or chopping wood or just sitting around.[21]

There is very little in the way of educational facilities in closed prisons. Classes in various subjects do occur but are viewed critically by ACOS and COS who considered that prisoners used attendance at class to dodge work. Education facilities in open prisons were better with regular classes following school curricula. Prisoners transferred to these centres were those considered amenable to educational experiences.

In general, ACOS and COS do not consider it to be the job of the 'discipline' side to get involved in welfare work. The possibility of being compromised if one is too friendly with prisoners was constantly mentioned as a reason for not becoming involved in welfare matters. Another reason for not becoming involved was stated to be the difficulty in "sitting down with a prisoner today and making him work tomorrow".[22]

Middle managers, probably taking a cue from governors, would like welfare staff to be judged on their ability to make available more opportunities for temporary release and work parole as the prospects of work parole and temporary release were considered to be motivating forces. Welfare staff would not accept such a criterion and consider that they should be judged on their success or otherwise in helping the prisoner to adjust and in forging links with the family.

Employment, training, education and welfare services are generally seen by middle managers, as by governors, not as meeting an aim of prisoner reform but as useful to the maintenance of the organisation by offering a rationale for the technology, by reducing areas of stress and by acting as a motivating force to prisoners.

Those middle managers most likely to refer to prisoner reform as an output were 'non-discipline' staff and even these were pessimistic as to its achievement. An ACO in charge of a small print shop claimed that "if you get prisoners going out as good as they came in, then you are doing well". A chief officer on the 'trades' side of the service obviously felt that prisoner reform or at least a reduction of recidivism was a legitimate aim; "I would like to see figures on recidivism - if I ran a business, I would want to know the result". He didn't think the figures would be very encouraging as he claimed that "if you had one in a hundred successes, you would be lucky; a prison officer's job is like being a doctor in a cancer hospital".

The 'discipline' side of the service does not take as a primary aim the rehabilitation of prisoners as the majority consider that even a short period in prison can confirm a prisoner in crime. Segregation is however a policy in the case of first offenders and juveniles though staff feel that there are very few real first offenders among the adult prison population. Middle managers were of the opinion that most prisoners give up crime after the age of thirty and those who do not become alcoholics and vagrants for whom there was no hope anyway.[23] Hence the widespread negative opinion regarding prison reform as a possible output.

Those middle managers who believed in prisoner reform as a legitimate output from prisons generally considered that the application of strict discipline was the appropriate means of achieving such an output.[24] Even this group of middle management were probably more concerned with the output of minimum disturbance than with prisoner reform.

Recidivism was blamed by some middle managers on conditions pertaining in the prisoners environment on release; "society has to take the blame for the ghettoes and you can put every facility in front of him while in prison, but if he returns to the same environment, then it is useless", was how one ACO summarised this point. Those who think about the problem of recidivism are puzzled at how some prisoners are 'great workers' in prison but on release are not motivated to work and easily fall into the crime pattern that landed them in prison in the first instance.

Prison officers were less concerned with overall organisational goals
than were their superiors; they tended to concern themselves more with
the demands made on them by superiors which are themselves a reflection
of organisational aims e.g. security, discipline, obeying rules.   Some
prison officers did however reflect on the purposes of prisons, though
even these were more concerned with day-to-day pressures from the
superiors and from prisoners.

It was the Prison Officers' Association (POA) representatives who put
forward views on the organisational outputs from prisons rather than
individual prison officers.[25]   The POA was conscious that any
agreement on aims has a great effect on the work of their members and
they were anxious that the implementation of any agreement on output
would be in their members' interests.   The POA accepted the goals of
safe custody and security but queried some of the methods used to meet
those goals.   They did not refer anywhere to the 'traditional' goals of
punishment and deterrance and it is extremely unlikely that they would
favour any emphasis on these.   It was in carrying out the goal of
rehabilitation that they felt most confusion arose.

The POA considers that the overall objectives of the penal system in any
civilised society should include programmes for rehabilitating prisoners.
The POA is of the opinion that the basis for such programmes resides in
the uniformed service but the service has never been developed; a low
entry requirement ensured that prison officers were seen as nothing more
than keyturners and even trade staff who could contribute so much were
not encouraged to do so.   Teaching services, which had been provided by
uniformed staff, are now provided by the Vocational Education Committees.
The POA considers that such services have remained undeveloped because
policy makers did not make available proper recruitment and staff
development policies as well as physical and financial resources.   Now
such services are to be developed by specialist staff;   the POA stated
their position as follows:

> How can it be expected that people with only a minimal standard of
> education can cope adequately with the responsibilities attached
> to the penal system here and become productively involved in the
> various developments planned for prisons and detention centres;
> if prison staff are untrained at all levels and if suspicion and
> outdated ideas prevail, how can the service successfully carry
> out its functions in the field of successful containment and
> rehabilitation of prisoners?   How can prison society with all its
> tensions and problems survive or even thrive in peace and good
> order.[26]

Whilst provisions for academic education were made through local V.E.C.'s, the intrusion of vocational teachers into the technical area of the service created suspicion that prison service artisan and instructor grades were about to be phased out.   Structures within the service for provision of instruction and training in different trades have existed down through the years and recruits for such a purpose have come through the Civil Service Commission. The POA claims that it will fight to preserve the work area involved for its members who have the necessary qualifications.

The official policy of the POA is that the Prison Service should become comprehensive enough to ensure that all specialist services necessary for offenders should be provided by established officers within a uniformed service.[27]   The Association claims that;

> The present division of the service — officers involved in
> performing the more unwelcome duties and specialists coming in
> from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. from the outside and subject to entirely
> different conditions and not part of the prison service — creates
> animosities of a nature undesirable and detrimental to the
> service.[28]

The efficacy of increased educational and training programmes in bringing about desired reform was not questioned in the memorandum; the emphasis was on the necessity for POA members to have greater involvement in these programmes.   No programmes likely to be offered by a welfare service were mentioned though welfare staff are employed by the Prison Service.

In individual interviews with POA officials, the benefit of education and training rather than welfare programmes, was stressed.   Said one POA official "prison officers in St. Patrick's Institution are teaching the 'ABC' to illiterates; it is unfortunate that there are illiterates in prison but there are numerous people in our job who could help". Another POA official stated that:

> the job of the uniformed service should be to get prisoners
> trained to do something useful; even if he could upholster a
> chair for his mother, wouldn't that be something. I don't see the
> sense in throwing a man into prison and doing nothing.

The POA does not believe however that programmes of education and training are going to solve the problem of recidivism.   As one official of the POA observed;

> the concept of rehabilitation is blown up out of all proportion;
> the justice system is not geared to rehabilitation. It is the
> ghettoes of the cities that breed violence; violence in the homes
> is the problem and prisoners who come from bad homes are doomed
> when they leave prison as they cannot stop.

Behind the discussion on education and training programmes for prisoners
lies a sceptical appraisal by the POA that these programmes will not
solve the problem of recidivism but that the programmes will be developed
because there is a demand from the environment for them. As they are
likely to be developed, they have the potential for a development of the
role of the prison officer by creating promotional outlets and more
satisfying work. As a POA official commented,

> if the service is defined as custodial then it will always be
> negative. How can you bring about job satisfaction if you are
> going to exclude prison officers from the specialist areas? At
> the moment, prison officers are there to do routine work; those
> who know the prisoners well don't have any input.[29]

The emphasis placed on safe custody is seen as negative by the POA.
There are a few top-security prisoners (apart from those in Portlaoise)
that would cause embarrassment to the authorities if they escaped, the
POA realises; "but why do authorities always worry about escapes? If a
prisoner does escape he will be back". Indeed the POA accuses the
Department of Justice of hiding under the banner of 'national security'
in their 'ruthless' dealings with prison staff.

Escapes are seen as one aspect of safe custody. Prisoners' health is
also seen as an area of concern for the POA, who expressed grave doubts
about the adequacy and availability of medical and psychiatric services.
Prisoners requiring psychiatric treatment are a constant problem for the
uniformed service from the point of view of suicides particularly, but
also because of the tendency of such prisoners to become upset and
disrupt the smooth running of prisons. POA officials ask:

> how can a prison officer know when a prisoner intends committing
> suicide; all he can do is a periodic check. There are no
> facilities for treating psychiatric prisoners; Dundrum Mental
> Hospital doesn't want to have anything to do with difficult
> prisoners.[30]

In interviews with prison officers, there was no strong evidence that
many of them gave much thought to organisational goals in the abstract.
They were much concerned with the demands of superiors particularly as
these related to safe custody and minimum disturbance and generally
accepted these as legitimate aims.

Those prison officers who did discuss overall aims, usually did so on the basis of whether prison could change prisoners for the better. A number of officers were very sceptical that prisoners could be changed; as one put it "you might as well be talking to the wall as talking to some prisoners about rehabilitation. You might get through to some that they're wrong but not to Dublin gougers". Another said that "most of the prisoners here can't be changed. A lot of them are back again within a short time". While another officer observed that "I often wonder how do you rehabilitate — they just go out and pull off jobs again and don't mind being back". An officer working in a kitchen who had requested new equipment was 'encouraged' by a prisoner due for discharge with the words "the next time I'm here, you'll have the equipment". The same officer said "prisoners work hard in the kitchen and when they get out they either can't or won't work; either they can't get jobs or are easily led".

Some prisoners claim, according to prison officers, that they cannot 'go straight'; once they have committed a robbery the gardai harass them on release from prison.

Those officers who seemed to have given the matter some thought, and these tended to be officers with specialised jobs requiring interaction with prisoners, felt that less emphasis should be placed on security and that rehabilitation, linked to literacy education and skills training, is possible.

5.6   Professional Staffs' Perceptions Of Organisational Outputs

It is obvious from much of the evidence presented so far in this chapter that the emphasis by the 'uniformed service' is on safe custody and minimum disturbance. These closely linked aims have been the raison d'etre for the uniformed service for over a century; it is only in recent years that a goal of 'rehabilitation' has been emphasised by the uniformed service and that mainly by the POA, partly as a response to environmental changes in demands but also as an outlet for promotion and more interesting work. This increased interest in rehabilitation by uniformed staff has coincided with the employment of social workers in prisons. This group is seen as taking on some of the welfare functions which the uniformed service considers to be its domain. The psychiatric service has also developed with greater encouragement from the uniformed service probably because no conflict of interest was perceived.

It may be appropriate to first present the views of Visiting Committees regarding organisation outputs as such committees have historically been the public watchdogs on the implementation of outputs. Visiting Committees, the majority of whose members are political appointments, have generally tended to be guided by established views on the purposes of imprisonment and to have been guided by prison management in terms of dealing with rule violations, etc.   In general, therefore, their views on organisational outputs have coincided with that of prison management, i.e. safe custody, and the prevention of disturbances.

Visiting Committees however are not always in agreement with the views on prison management and are sometimes not reappointed if they interfere or criticise prison management.[31]

The difficulties for committees stemmed from that aspect of their role which saw them as judge and jury in disciplinary hearings on prisoners. At the hearings, the pressure is on the committee to impose some form of punishment on prisoners in order to uphold 'the rule of law' and to ensure that staff morale is maintained.[32]

In interviews with chairmen of Visiting Committees, a reappraisal of their role was evident.   The chairmen interviewed were generally of the opinion that the prison system was not planning for the future but was only 'putting out fires'; some suggested that there was too much emphasis on the possibility of escape and not enough on questioning the purposes of imprisonment or in looking at alternatives to prison.   When some of them approached the Minister for Justice, his response was that he was constrained by public opinion from making progressive developments in prisons.

The committees from the juvenile prisons were particularly concerned at the lack of utilisation of open centres.   These centres were being used, according to the chairmen, as public relations exercises by the Department of Justice and to counter possible criticisms from pressure groups.   Many juveniles could be reformed, according to the committees but programmes are not designed to meet reform needs of young people and it is in helping to set up such programmes that the Visiting Committees see a role.[33]

Chaplains are another group of professionals who have a well-established role in Irish prisons; to aid the 'moral reform' of prisoners by advice and exhortation.   Their own professional status and raison d'etre would incline them towards an emphasis on rehabilitation rather than custody.

The chaplains interviewed expressed general dissatisfaction with the absence of a 'treatment orientation' in the Irish prison service and considered that the prison service is confined to feeding prisoners and locking them up.   The chaplains questioned whether staff whose main job was as key-turners could ever become involved in 'treatment'.   Indeed, chaplains considered that the Prison Officers' Association had not "grasped the idea of rehabilitation" and the system itself had 'over-dramatised' the concept of security.   Chaplains questioned the value of prisons which excluded programmes geared to rehabilitation and considered that many prisoners, particularly juveniles, would benefit more from community based projects in places like hospitals.   Chaplains were aware that many members of the public wanted a tough approach taken with prisoners but felt that if prisons could be shown to be successful by means of various treatment programmes, that public attitudes would change.

Underlying the attitudes of chaplains was the belief that prisons should not be merely places of confinement where prisoners are deprived of their freedom but should in some way be designed to transform prisoners.   There was, therefore, a belief that short sentences were useless, particularly for young offenders, because no effective programmes could be introduced for prisoners.   Even in adult prisons, much could be done without radically changing the existing systems to help some prisoners to read and write and develop skills, according to chaplains.

One of the main functions of psychiatrists is to halt the spread of psychiatric disturbance and where possible to restore mental health. In working within the prison system, psychiatrists are frequently called upon to calm 'agitated' prisoners who might be a threat to their own well-being as well as to the good order of the prison.   They and other members of the medical profession help to meet the goal of safe custody by for example facilitating the transfer of 'insane' prisoners to the Central Mental Hospital where they are under constant psychiatric care and no longer a threat to internal prison security.   Disagreements do, however, emerge on the issue of such transfers.   Prison managements would like as many as possible of those they consider to be 'mentally unbalanced and dangerous' to be transferred to this high security hospital while psychiatrists from this hospital who act as prison psychiatrists, try and reduce the number of such transfers to a minimum to stabilise their own institution.[34]   Where transfers do occur, the psychiatrists endeavour to have the prisoner returned to his prison as quickly as possible.   The Central Mental Hospital is legally obliged to accept prisoners who have been certified 'insane' (a legal definition) by

Medical staff saw the essential function of prisons as "keeping in custody those people who are considered dangerous to society". While this would be generally the views of prison management also, a difference was that doctors considered that many prisoners were not dangerous in any way and consequently should not be in prison;[35] it was the responsibility of prison management to decide on dangerousness and those not so considered should undergo programmes to "give them alternative methods of coping with life which would minimise the likelihood of getting into difficulties in the future".[36] The doctors differed somewhat in the details of these programmes; some stressed that they should be related to imparting skills which might provide work opportunities on release, others wanted more educational programmes while still others stressed the development of creative abilities through the medium of arts and crafts.

Most doctors interviewed were conscious that a prevailing attitude among the public was that prison should act as a punishment but stressed that the fact of confinement and deprivation of liberty was punishment in itself. The open centres are seen as ways of minimising the impact of confinement but these centres are considered by medical staff to be under-utilised.

The regimes in closed centres were not considered conducive to remedial work by the majority of doctors. The emphasis on security with its consequent 'strict' attitude on the part of prison staff militated against the building of staff/prisoner relationships thus ensuring that prison experience remained a damaging one for prisoners. Remedial programmes in closed prisons are cosmetic exercises, according to medical staff. One doctor probably summarised the general medical view when he summarised the method of implementing educational programmes as "Murphy, Lynch and O'Leary, you're on classes today".

Welfare officers in prisons brought to their jobs a mood of optimism in the late 1960s and still form the strongest internal pressure group for change in output requirements. The welfare staff generally view governors as being negative to any reform programmes and the present system of running prisons, which is based on safe custody and control, militates against proper welfare and reform programmes.

The welfare service sees itself as involved in the rehabilitation and resocialisation of prisoners though alternatives to imprisonment have yet to be fully explored in this country.   Their work should be community-based but for the present their task should be, according to the principal welfare officer, to:

> provide the link between the prisoner and his family; to be involved in all problems relating to the total man and his family; to help the prisoner to build for the future; to befriend and advise him where he might get help and thus prepare him for re-integration into society.

The welfare staff were very concerned that they were being judged by prison management on the basis of whether or not they got jobs for prisoners or release or on how many prisoners were on work parole.

Because they considered that the nature of the case-work relationship with consequent need for detailed interviews was not properly understood by prison management, welfare officers were likely to become immersed in getting detailed information on, for example, hostel availability rather than in becoming involved with prisoners at the psychological and family levels; the problem with relationships at the psychological and family level is that they require much time to develop them and their benefits are difficult to quantify.

The principal welfare officer considered that if his welfare staff developed good relationships with prisoners then they were being effective.   He considered it unrealistic of prison management to have the procuring of jobs or even the training in job skills as criteria of success in the case of many prisoners who have never developed the 'work habit'.

Regardless of the programmes undergone by prisoners while in prison (and these were considered very inadequate), the large majority of welfare staff felt that for prisoners to return to the ghettoes whence most of them came ensured that 'old habits of crime' were continued.   The prison welfare service saw a function for itself, not yet realised, in counselling prisoners on adjustment problems prior to their release and in following up on prisoners after release. Welfare staff rejected the argument put forward by policy-makers that after-care was no part of a sentence and considered that the individual and society would benefit from after-care procedures.[37]   It should not be mandatory for prisoners to use after-care programmes but they should be oriented while in prison to use them.

The potential role of the welfare service in prisons, however, was not seen in such clear-cut terms by all welfare staff, some of whom considered that a welfare function could not adequately be carried out in closed prisons. The greater utilisation of open centres for recidivists and not the present concentration on first offenders who in all probability would not again be imprisoned and particularly the exploration of alternatives to imprisonment were what these welfare staff advocated. A sound working relationship between 'discipline' staff and welfare staff could never work as long as the present disciplinary system remained, according to the more sceptical welfare staff. Even if welfare staff make a case to allow a prisoner on parole, and if that prisoner breaks the terms of his parole, then the welfare service has to defend its actions. "All hell breaks loose", said one welfare officer, "but if the prisons are full to overcrowding, the Department of Justice releases prisoners without any compunction. I don't know why they worry so much about parole violation as the public won't know anyway".

Even senior welfare staff were very concerned that "when every country in Europe is moving away from imprisonment as a solution to crime, Ireland is building even more prisons".[38]

The overall aims of or expected output from the Irish Prison Service therefore at the time of the present study can be summarised as follows:

(a)   Offenders to be able to serve their sentences in reasonable conditions.

(b)   Those who are willing to co-operate to be encouraged to reform though no spectacular success expected.

(c)   Direct protection of society through the secure custody of potentially dangerous prisoners.

(d)   Indirect protection through imprisonment acting as a deterrent on others, i.e. as a symbol.

(e)   The maintenance of good order and discipline in prisons.

(f)   That prisoners should leave prison as physically and psychologically sound as when they entered.

These different output expectations form the canvas on which the activities and technology of prisons is sketched. These outputs allow the possibility for different staff groupings to impose their own priorities. The differing emphasis placed by different groups reflects a dynamic to maximise the influence of that particular group. Visiting committees would like to free themselves somewhat from the attention of the Department of Justice who in turn are reflecting the demands made by the environment on themselves and their Minister. Policy demands vary therefore as perceptions in society change; an increase in particular crimes may concentrate the emphasis on deterrance and punishment.

Prison governors have to administer policy based on the output requirements from policy makers while ensuring that these policy requirements are capable of implementation in the present structures. Middle management perceive output requirements as involving the maintenance of good order and the prevention of escapes and suicides. Their raison d'etre has developed based on these outputs. Prison officers generally do not have developed views with regard to output requirements but rather react to the perceptions of their superiors.

Professional groups working in prisons, chaplains, social workers, doctors, perceive output requirements in line with their own disciplines and each group would like greater involvement in defining output requirements.

TECHNOLOGY OF PRISONS

6.1   INTRODUCTION

It has been outlined in Chapters 4 and 5 how various groups in the
prison service perceive the inputs and outputs differently.   The
present chapter is concerned with the social technology of the prison
service or the techniques for transforming the inputs into outputs.

Technology is viewed here, not in the sense of machines, computers
etc. but in the sense of the study of techniques or tasks, or more
particularly the social arrangements which have developed to transform
possibly recalcitrant raw material into acceptable outputs.[1]

The "technological school" as outlined by Perrow, argues as follows;

(a)   When the tasks are routine and well understood, a bureacratic
        structure is the most efficient.

(b)   Where the tasks are not well understood generally because the
        raw material is possibly reactive and recalcitrant, the tasks
        are not-routine.   Such units are difficult to bureacratise.
        More discretion must be given to lower level personnel with
        greater emphasis on professionalism.[2]

The custodial mental hospital according to the argument can be
routinised whereas the treatment oriented one cannot.

Perrow acknowledges the difficulty in defining precisely what
"technology" is and suggests that a 'pure' concept, independent of
organisational structure and measured independently of human behaviour
e.g. number of items produced per minute, scrap rate is not very
useful.

With regard to prisons however, it can be argued that the structure is part of the technology or technique for processing people. It is proposed therefore in this chapter to treat technology and structure as interlinked and it is argued that the drive in prisons to routinise all tasks has in-built contradictions.[3]

Where the raw material is not well understood, tasks are non-routine and lower level personnel have high levels of discretion e.g. social workers. The raw material (i.e. prisoners) of prisons is not easily understood and can be recalcitrant. Tasks therefore should be non routine and junior staff should have high discretionary levels.[4] We shall see that this is not the case, at least as the authorities have defined it though discretion is exercised by junior staff in areas where total routinisation cannot be achieved.

Technology (including structure) cannot however be viewed in isolation from raw material (i.e. inputs) or outputs; the three components represent a dynamic whole.

All the elements are subject to change by, for example, changes in;

(a)   The 'type' of prisoner as in Ireland through the introduction of 'subversives'.

(b)   The technology having to adapt to new demands arising from changes in inputs or from the changed expectations with regard to outputs.

(c)   The output requirements resulting from incarceration of different 'types' of prisoner or because the existing technology cannot meet present output requirements.

The interaction of input, technology and output requirements in the historical development of prisons has already been discussed in Chapter 2.

The imposition of a routine in the form of hard work was viewed not just as a means of inbuing prisoners with a sense of discipline which would stand to them on release but also as a refinement of emerging ideas on techniques for transforming people. By the beginning of the 19th Century a system of discipline had developed to the extent that the Inspectors General of Prisons in Ireland in the 1829 report stated that:

> The system under which he is placed in the modern establishments presents to such a character everything that is formidable and revolting; constant inspection; strict cleanliness; moral restraint; obedience to rule from morning til night; privation of extra food, liquor, tobacco and other sensual luxury; the school room, the workroom, solitude and seclusion by night and above all the treadwheel.[5]

Both Perrow and Foucault stress the tendency of organisations to 'routinise' tasks, the former suggesting that the organisation adapts to the task in hand, the latter that routinisation has a deeper meaning in a whole network of a disciplinary society. Both approaches provide a useful framework for understanding the technology of prisons or the techniques employed to transform the raw materials into acceptable outputs. Perrow stressed the 'nature of the task' as strongly influencing the technology while Foucault stresses that the technology is part of a development towards a disciplinary society and that the task is not relevant but is only a label for carrying out the requirements of such a society.

Foucault's analysis is important in studying prisons as it outlines the techniques employed in a disciplinary society and already summarised in Chapter 2, e.g. enclosure, partitioning, interchange-ability of elements, timetabling, and a precise system of command.

Foucault's thesis is that the extension of continuous hierarchical surveillance in the 18th century owed its importance to the mechanisms of power that it brought with it. Hierarchical surveillance was the cornerstone of the 18th and 19th century penitentiary and is still employed as the technology in 20th century prisons. Prisoners were to be transformed by the imposition of discipline which in turn implied surveillance. The output requirements of transformation of the prisoner, became closely interlinked with the possibilities of the technology.

The penitentiary had a powerful logic involving the detailed monitoring of prisoners and indeed staff movements by the imposition of strict time-tables and rules. Prisoners were to be disciplined by the requirement of hard labour which would eventually lead to their transformation.[6]

The penitentiary experiment as advocated by Bentham and others did not survive though elements of it have been persisted in present day prison systems. Continuous hierarchical surveillance is still a feature though the development of open prisons and particularly overcrowding in prisons with consequent multiple cell occupancy have ensured that surveillance is more difficult.

The imposition of a strict disciplinary regime has become much more difficult as prisoners and outside pressure groups have become more conscious of rights and as professional staff have become more involved. The notion of transformation through hard labour and discipline has lost ground in society as recidivism has not yet diminished. Nevertheless, a disciplinary regime is seen as very useful in meeting other output requirements such as minimum disturbance, prevention of suicides and escapes.

The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the elements of the present day social technology in Irish prisons and how this technology is used to maximise the power of staff and prisoner groupings. It will be seen that while continuous hierarchical surveillance appears a clear prescription from powerful groups of how prisons must operate, elements of the hierarchical system attempt to maximise their own power and subvert the system where possible. Continuous hierarchical surveillance is not as clear a discipline as Foucault suggests but is constantly subverted by the actors in the system who impose their own 'reality'[7].

This chapter will be concerned with outlining the 'official' technology for bringing about the output requirements of safe custody, minimum disturbance and the elimination of escape and suicide attempts. Trans-formation of the prisoner, the early rationale for disciplinary society in prisons, is still relevant as an output but the transformation is related only to behaviour while in prison i.e. the prisoner must be transformed from being 'deviant' to accepting the legitimacy of prison authorities. The chapter will then contrast the official version of organisational 'reality' with that perceived by members of the organisation at different levels, particularly at the level of basic grade prison officer.

The social technology of prisons should ideally be studied by
observing behaviours and tasks over a long period of time.
Particularly with regard to prisons, this is rarely feasible.[8]   An
alternative is to develop a questionnaire measure which can elicit
some information on tasks and behaviours in prisons.   While this
approach has a number of drawbacks, it does have the benefit of a
much wider sampling of behaviours and locations.[9]   As already
outlined in Chapter 3, the uniformed grades, and particularly the
basic grade prison officer, were the focus of the questionnaire.   As
well as the questionnaire material an amount of information was
elicited through extensive interviews with staff and some of this will
be presented where it throws light on the tasks and techniques
employed in prisons.

The criteria which are usually considered most indicative of the
failure of the prison system are (a) escapes, (b) suicides and (c)
serious disturbances.   These are the usual criteria by which the
political system and society at large evaluate the performance of
prison authorities.   All superior staff, and particularly governors
and chief officers in closed prisons, acknowledge that their objective
is to keep the system running smoothly.   All the chief officers and
assistant chief officers who completed the questionnaire strongly
agreed that "a superior officer's first duty is the security of the
prison".   Indeed the rules, regulations and governors' orders are
designed to ensure that as few problems as possible interfere with
the running of prisons.[10]

According to senior staff, the 'ripples', or worse, the breaches in
the system are most likely to appear when some prisoners refuse to
co-operate.   A number of senior prison staff mentioned that prisons
were unmanageable unless the prisoners were 'won over'.   If prisoners
show signs of refusing to co-operate, particularly if they are
regarded as doing so rationally, they are dealt with severely.[11]
Those who cause trouble are 'put out of circulation' as quickly as
possible.   This may mean a transfer to the special segregation wing
in Mountjoy or, if a group is involved, a transfer to another prison.
Occasional irrational outbursts by individual prisoners are dealt with
by the governor;   the prisoner is either warned or punished by loss of
privileges.   The more seriously disturbed prisoners are referred to a
psychiatrist.

One of the fears which prison administrators mentioned in interviews was the ever-present possibility that a trivial incident, particularly between a staff member and a prisoner, would grow into a disturbance of major proportions.[12]   It was felt that heated incidents must be kept to a minimum, and prison staff who are unable to control prisoners without creating such incidents are not considered good staff.   Governors and chief officers stated that they would prefer that a prison officer did not 'hound a prisoner' since it might provoke him to retaliate.   When a minor outburst does occur, they felt that it was advisable to ignore it.   If a prison officer decided to report the prisoner, then there is an onus on the governor to withdraw some privileges from the prisoner to maintain staff morale. According to governors, punishment for an outburst can antagonise prisoners to a point where serious disruption can occur.[13] Therefore, contrary to what an outsider might expect, the general rule is that the more frequently an officer places prisoners on report, the lower is his superior's estimate of his ability.   This is often a problem with new staff who have been taught that their job is to control prisoners.   Because they lack confidence they are often unable to differentiate between a minor outburst and a more serious one;   they tend to err on 'the safe side' and report many more incidents than do their more experienced colleagues.[14]

A further attribute of a good officer, according to supervisors, is that he should not have favourites and that when he promises to do something for a prisoner he will do his utmost to carry it out, for failure to do so may result in an incident.   It was also stressed that prison officers should be particularly watchful for signs of depression after prisoners have received letters or visits from spouses or when a rumour has been spread by other prisoners.

More rational attempts by prisoners to break the system are dealt with primarily by isolating those considered to be the instigators. Senior staff rely heavily on the grapevine for information concerning possible escape attempts or disturbances.   A good staff member according to some governors, will have trusted prisoners to keep him informed of develop- ments.   Apart from the 'rational' troublemaker, the type of prisoner who causes most concern for senior staff is the 'loner'. This prisoner does not confide in anybody and, consequently, the grapevine cannot provide information concerning his intentions. Governors and chief officers worry that such a prisoner may either be planning an escape or considering doing harm to himself.

Good staff, it was revealed in interviews with governors and Department of Justice officials, keep the part of the prison under their control clean and in good order, have little trouble with prisoners and do not query the decisions of superiors. Those staff who question decisions and who complain about working conditions are considered 'agitators' and are subject to transfer or, if still on probation, to dismissal.

Apart from those staff who are considered troublesome, prison authorities also expressed concern that some officers might leave themselves open to compromise.[15] According to senior officials, this could happen for a number of reasons, and some of those mentioned were:

(1)   For humane reasons, staff might become interested in a prisoner's problems and take his messages in or out of the prison. Further complications might arise if a prison officer became involved with a prisoner's wife since this might lead him to help the prisoner escape.

(ii)   Staff could be compromised by incidents in their private lives if these came to the notice of prisoners.

(iii) Staff who do not live soberly might be in need of money and engage in trafficking in order to get it.

(iv)   Staff who are too 'familiar' with prisoners might be accused in the courts of homosexual advances.[16]

The traditional method of control in prisons is to ensure that a prisoner carries out specific work under the direction of a prison officer. Such work, according to senior prison staff, keeps the prisoners' minds off trouble-making. It also helps (some senior staff believe) to rehabilitate prisoners by training them to be 'regular in their habits' and by developing a sense of discipline and control.

Since work plays an important part in maintaining equilibrium in the prison system, many governors, chief officers and assistant chief officers feel that it is not possible for a prison officer to exercise control by directive on one occasion, if on others he becomes engaged in friendly discussions with prisoners about the work. In the view of some of these superiors, conversation should always be initiated by the prisoner.

Senior prison officials also stated that they use 'motivators' as systems of control as well as directives related to work activities. They consider that the prospects of temporary release and parole keep many prisoners from creating problems.

A list is given below of some of the requirements of a 'good' prison officer as elicited in the interviews with governors and chief officers.

is observant of doors, locks and of prisoners whispering,

is 'even-tempered with prisoners and is not easily goaded,

knows which prisoners to command and which to coax,

keeps promises which he has made to prisoners

sets an example for prisoners by being tidy and by showing respect for his superiors,

does not engage in conversation with prisoners other than concerning the work in hand,

calls prisoners by their first name if possible and never by a nickname,

keeps order with the minimum of fuss and helps resolve problems,

is punctual and of sober habits,

is preferably of big stature since this gains respect,

knows the rules and regulations and abides by them,

exerts moral authority over prisoners by his personality

has a good sick leave record.

These qualities were regarded by the senior officials to be essential
in closed prisons.   The same officials felt that these qualities were
desirable in officers in open centres too, though with certain
modifications.   Size is not considered to be that important in open
centres and staff are encouraged to participate more with prisoners.
Several governors drew attention to a difference in outlook between
officers in closed and open prisons.   Staff in closed prisons "stand
back, direct and supervise prisoners", while staff in open prisons are
"leaders who guide and encourage prisoners".[17]

According to most of the goverors and Department of Justice officials,
the chief officers form the vital link in the prison system.[18]   They
portrayed a good chief officer as a person with common sense and the
capacity to listen, as well as an ability to be constantly aware of
anything that might cause problems within the system.   The ideal
chief officer would be capable of separating prisoners who had formed
factions and of matching the abilities of his staff with the demands of
the situation.   A good chief officer would not place an argumentative
prison officer in charge of a young prisoner;   rather, such an officer
would be placed in charge of a habitual prisoner who had learned not to
react to quarrelsome staff.   Should a governor feel it necessary to be
strict with a prisoner at a hearing, the chief officer should be able
to balance this with a proper amount of leniency so that the prisoner
does not feel persecuted.   Also, a good chief officer would ensure that
trustworthy prisoners were used to staff the kitchen, since complaints
about food were seen as frequently the prelude to serious disturbances.

A good chief officer, in the view of his superiors, is therefore
involved in all aspects of the prison.   The extent of this involvement
is shown by the finding from the interviews with assistant chief
officers and chief officers that two-thirds of them made five or more
checks around the prison each day;   the remaining one-third making
three checks daily.

Because of the small size of the Irish prison system, it is possible
for Department of Justice officials to take a very active role in the
running of prisons.   They are frequently in touch by telephone with
most of the prisons, particularly the high security ones, and make
regular visits to ensure that Department policies are implemented.
Department officials say that by frequent visits they can get an
accurate 'feel' for potential causes of grievance and that any
injustice or heavy handedness can be noticed and quickly ameliorated.

There seems to be a feeling within the Department that governors are not always attuned to policy directives and that perhaps Departmental thinking is sometimes too advanced for some governors. The officials feel, therefore, that they have to be active in ensuring that policies are implemented. One of the results of this constant inspection is a tendency for governors to refer minor decisions to the Department, a practice that results in considerable work for the D6 division of the Department.

Some governors and chief officers, however, feel that the Department does not allow them scope to make decisions.[19] They maintain that the Department has a tendency to listen to the advice of non-custodial groups such as welfare, teaching and religious staff and not to fully understand the difficulties of the custodial service.

6.3   Patterns of Behaviour Engaged In By Prison Staff

The above discussion serves as a starting point to an analysis of the behaviour patterns of prison staff, particularly the officers themselves. The method of obtaining the required information was described in Chapter 3. Thirty 'behaviours' were presented to officers who were asked to rate them on scales which measured (i) frequency of occurrence and, (ii) importance.[20] The formats used were as follows:

(A)   MOST OFFICERS IN MY PRISON

1. Call prisoners by
   their first names   Never :___:___:___:___:___:___:___: Always

and

(B)   HOW IMPORTANT IS IT IN YOUR PRISON THAT A PRISON OFFICER SHOULD

1.   Call prisoners by
       their first names   Very   :___:___:___:___:___:___:___: Very
                         Unimportant   Important

With thirty separate 'behaviours' to consider, the analysis was likely
to become rather unwieldy. Also, it was probable that many of the
behaviours would prove to have a great deal in common with other
behaviours. Hence the officers who, for example, call prisoners by
their first names might also be those most likely to discuss a
prisoner's problems with him.

Factor analysis is a statistical technique which takes a series of
questions and discovers what underlying patterns exist, if any. From
the thirty behaviours, a smaller number of basic clusters can be
obtained. Responses to both the frequency and importance of the set
of thirty behaviours were subjected to factor analysis and yielded
four underlying dimensions. These dimensions are referred to here
as 'behaviour patterns' since they represent four distinct aspects of
what prison officers do in the course of their work.

The four patterns are presented below. Only those for the 'frequency'
responses are given. Those for the 'importance' responses were almost
identical to the ones that emerged on the basis of the assessment of
'frequency' and they are therefore omitted from the text. The 'loading'
opposite a behavour indicates the degree to which it corresponds to the
underlying 'meaning' of the pattern — the higher the loading, the
greater the degree of agreement. Where a loading is preceded by a
negative sign, it is the absence of the behaviour that corresponds to
the other behaviours in the pattern.

The behaviour patterns of prison officers revealed by the factor
analysis are as follows:

Pattern 1

RULE-ABIDING BEHAVIOUR

This pattern is consistant with abiding by the rules and regulations of
the prison.   The high loading items are:

		Loading*
1.	(Be) consistent in dealing with prisoners	.57
2.	(Be) able to 'use' themselves if the need arises	.54
3.	Look smart and alert on duty	.50
4.	(Be) punctual and regular in attendance	.48
5.	Report accurately to superiors what went on in visits, courts, etc.	.46

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* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation

Pattern 2

REMAINING UNOBTRUSIVE

This pattern of behaviour is consistent with not coming too much to notice
and corresponds closely to 'keeping one's nose clean', an expression used
frequently by officers during interviews with the researcher.

		Loading*
1.	Stay on post until relieved	.60
2.	Show respect for superiors	.57
3.	Prevent incidents from getting out of hand	.51

Pattern 3

'PRISONER-ORIENTED' BEHAVIOUR

This pattern of behaviour indicates that the officer is conscious of
the importance of the relationships between staff and prisoners in the
maintenance of order in the prison system.

		Loading*
1.	Know prisoners who will tell them if trouble is brewing	.63
2.	Help prisoners with reading and writing	.57
3.	Help prisoners to get jobs outside	.44
4.	Establish authority over prisoners	.35

* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation

Pattern 4

CUSTODIAL COMPROMISE

Staff who follow this pattern of behaviour judge for themselves, as much as possible, what to do in dealing with prisoners. They often compromise in order to maintain friendly relations with prisoners.

Loading*

1. Iron out problems with prisoners rather than report them   .49

2. Call prisoners by their first names   .49

3. Discuss prisoners' problems privately with them   .48

4. Examine doors, windows for possible escape attempts   − .39**

5. Report a prisoner immediately for disobeying an order   − .38**

6. Allow prisoners have extra tobacco etc.,   .34
   when they consider them deserved

7. Ignore regulations that appear out-of-date   .33

---

* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation

**Negative signs mean that the item is negatively loaded on the factor.

These four patterns represent fundamental orientations around which prison officers organise their actions. What the four patterns suggest is that the behaviours manifest in prison officers are not developed at random but rather from a limited number of sets of actions with which the officers respond to the work environment. Certain types of behaviour tend to go together, and an officer who frequently performs one of the behaviours in a pattern will also tend frequently to perform the others as well. The extent to which a given officer performs the behaviours in a pattern will depend, in part, on a complex interaction between the norms of the prison and work group to which he is assigned and his personal orientation. It is also worth noting that several of the behaviour patterns identified by the factor analysis do not conform to official prison policy. Apparently, however, those behaviours are useful to the officer in the day-to-day performance of his duties.

Officers were questioned about specific incidents which occur from time to time in prisons involving breaches of rules and regulations by prisoners. The questions were asked of prison officers as well as of chief and assistant chief officers. Staff were asked to indicate what usually happened in such cases.

Example:

(A) Prison Officers

	I deal with it on my own	Colleagues and I deal with it	Superiors deal with it	Other
1. Two prisoners fighting in a toilet	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|

and

(B) Chief Officers and Assistant Chief Officers

	Prison officers deal with it	I deal with it	Superiors deal with it	Other
1. Two prisoners fighting in a toilet	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|

Table 2 compares the responses of the prison officers with those of the chief and assistant chief officers. This is done by combining the first two columns of the prison officers' responses (i.e., "I deal with it on my own" and "Colleagues and I deal with it" to create a measure of prison officer responses under the heading, "Prison officers deal with it". The responses of the chief and assistant chief officers to the column "Prison officers deal with it" are used. Care should be taken in interpreting the responses of the superior officers since only a small number were interviewed.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON BETWEEN PRISON OFFICERS' RESPONSES
AND CHIEF AND ASSISTANT CHIEF OFFICERS' RESPONSES
REGARDING THE METHODS USED BY THE FORMER IN
DEALING WITH INCIDENTS

	Prison Officers Deal with it Without referring Upwards	
Breaches of Rules/Regulations	Prison Officer Responses (N = 182)	Chief/Assistant Chief Responses (N = 9*)
1. Two prisoners fighting in a toilet	66.9%	37.5%
2. A prisoner refusing to work	14.2	—
3. A prisoner answering back a prison officer	57.5	12.5
4. A prisoner having a dirty cell	84.3	66.7
5. A prisoner not 'falling-in' when told	61.4	25.0
6. A prisoner striking an officer	16.7	0.0
7. A prisoner intimidating other prisoners	33.9	0.0
8. Prisoner stealing items from other prisoners	17.2	0.0

* For some of the items, the responses of only eight superior
   officers are available

The main point to emerge from this table is that superiors are less
likely to perceive, or at least to admit, that prison officers often
handle incidents themselves.[21]   Of course, it may be that superior
officers have different perceptions of what the questionnaire means by
an 'incident'.   They may have a more serious breach in mind than the
prison officers did when responding to the item "a prisoner answering
back an officer".   Indeed, prison officers themselves may have had
different notions of the seriousness and this problem is worthy of
further study.   The indications are, however, that prison officers do
handle incidents informally among themselves without consulting
superiors.   The more serious breaches that are usually passed up the
line are "a prisoner refusing to work", "a prisoner striking an
officer", or "a prisoner stealing items from other prisoners", and
often "a prisoner intimidating other prisoners".   These are clearcut

breaches of discipline which an officer usually decides to refer to his superiors. He is also likely to be supported by them when he does so. Officers report that they themselves are likely to deal with breaches such as "a prisoner having a dirty cell", "a prisoner not 'falling in ' when told", "two prisoners fighting in a toilet" and "a prisoner answering back a prison officer". Some superiors are also likely to agree that this is indeed what happens. These latter breaches are ones over which the prison officer is expected to exercise some control and, if he decided to refer these incidents, he may not receive the same support as when he reports the other matters.

6.4 Prison Officers' Relationships with Professional and Other Groups In the Prison Service

The roles of chaplains, medical staff, visiting committees and teaching staff were outlined in the discussion on the historical development of the prison service. The services of these groups are accommodated into the organisation structure with little difficulty. Chaplains provide an impetus for efforts at rehabilitation within the prison system, medical staff provide physical and mental care, and visiting committees guard against possible excesses by prison staff. It is only recently that any serious challenge to the norms of the custodial orientation occurred in Ireland. This was brought about by the introduction of the welfare service and, to a lesser extent, by an extension of the medical service into the psychiatric field and the expansion of educational facilities which led to the secondment of vocational education committee teachers into the prisons.

The orientations of the custodial service, particularly prison officers, towards these specialist groups, and the reactions of the groups to the prison officers are presented below. It is likely, however, that the demands on the custodial service differ between prisons and consequently the relationship with professional groups might also differ in some respects between prisons. Some of these differences will be considered in the next chapter.

6.4.1 Prison Officers' Relationships with the Welfare Service

It is likely that there is little contact between the welfare service
and prison officers, particularly in closed prisons.   Eighty-seven
per cent of prison officers reported that they had not been asked by a
welfare officer in the previous month how a particular prisoner was
getting on.   Prison officers would like to have more influence in
deciding whether a prisoner should be referred to a welfare officer.
According to ninety per cent of the officers, this decision is
currently made by their superiors.   Eighty-seven per cent of prison
officers agreed that it would be beneficial to them to "have more
contact with welfare officers".   However, the level of co-operation
between prison officers and welfare officers was considered
satisfactory by the majority of prison officers.   Prison officers
disagreed among themselves about whether the acquisition of jobs for
prisoners was the criterion of a good welfare officer.   Forty-eight
per cent of them did not think that this criterion was appropriate.[22]

Most prison officers perceived that prisoners would trust some prison
officers more than they would place their confidence in welfare or
teaching staff.[23]   Not surprisingly, eighty-two per cent of prison
officers thought that "welfare officers in prisons should come from
the ranks of prison officers".[24]

At present, encounters between the welfare service and the custodial
service tend to be made at a higher level.   The interviews with
members of the welfare service indicated that prison management did
not understand the aims of the welfare service.   Welfare staff felt
that governors and the Department of Justice judged them on their
success in getting jobs for prisoners.   As mentioned earlier, prison
officers were divided on this question, although there was evidence
from the interviews with governors that this criterion was used to
judge the welfare service.   The prospects of temporary release for
prisoners are seen by the prison management to be a reason for good
behaviour.   The procurement of a job is a prerequisite to such
temporary releases.

The welfare service feels that its aim should be to make prisoners more self-aware and where possible to foster the links with the family, so that on release the prisoner is ready to reintegrate into the community. The welfare staff feel that this should be done by building up relationships of trust through frequent case-work interviews and by arranging regular home leave for prisoners.[25] A difficulty is that a welfare officer has to report on the suitability of a prisoner's home background before parole can be considered. They say that they tend to be conservative in their recommendations because of the possible repercussions if a prisoner breaks parole after they have advised that he be temporarily released.

The welfare officers stated that recidivist prisoners rarely received a second chance from the Department of Justice and argued that it was because of the tendency to reject recidivists for assignment to the open centres that the Department had experienced such difficulty in filling available places in them.[26]

Welfare officers also felt that they were required to do an excessive amount of detailed work and so had less time for case-work. They claimed that prisoners tend to see them as errand-runners, while governors seem to delegate to them some of the minor, irritating decisions, such as applications from prisoners to enter the school. Welfare staff felt that much of the detailed work could easily be performed by the prison administration. A somewhat contrary viewpoint emerged from the interviews with governors. They welcomed the participation of the welfare officers in settling minor decisions but regarded with suspicion their attempt to build relationships of trust between prisoners and themselves.

Welfare staff concurred with this view since their main work should be community based and the present Departmental policy of providing more prisons ran counter to this aim. Although most countries in Europe were seeking alternatives to prisons, they said that the present policy in Ireland was to increase accommodation.

6.4.2 Prison Officers' Relationships with Chaplains

Forty one per cent of prison officers asserted that there was "not enough involvement in the running of a prison by chaplains". Their superiors generally did not agree. Most governors thought that chaplains should confine themselves to their spiritual duties and resented any interference by the chaplains in prison administration. The chaplains who were interviewed mentioned that they worried about having to compromise between their own views concerning what was just and proper treatment and the need not to 'rock the system'. Some chaplains have complained to the prison administration from time to time about the treatment of certain prisoners, though they realise that a few prisoners (one chaplain mentioned five per cent)) are very difficult to handle.

The chaplains thought that greater utilisation could be made of open centres by changing the selection criteria. They also felt that most prison officers were unlikely to refer prisoners to a chaplain and that some uniformed staff attempted to humiliate prisoners by bullying and by neglecting to carry out their requests.[27] Some officers were very conscientious about requests and others were not. Chaplains said that prisoners, particularly younger ones, categorised prison officers into those they liked, those they disliked and those towards whom they were neutral.

6.4.3 Prison Officers' Relationships with the Medical Profession

Psychiatric sessions are held three times a week in Mountjoy, twice a week in St. Patrick's and once a week in Arbour Hill. Prisoners who wish to see psychiatrists can request a meeting and the number doing so is increasing. If the staff suspect that a particular prisoner is acting strangely, they may put down that prisoner's name to see a psychiatrist. It is worth pointing out that the psychiatrists who visit prisons are against the idea of a permanent psychiatric service. Some feel that it would be too limiting professionally and consequently would not attract the highest quality of practitioner. Others feel that the main drawback would be that psychiatrists employed by the Department of Justice would be under pressure in their dealings with prisoners and would not be trusted by them.

Although the medical profession (both general practitioners and psychiatrists) had no formal relationship with prison staff, the prison regime dictates that they should work in harmony. The provision of medical care for prisoners has a long history and legal safeguards exist to ensure that medical care is provided.

Prison authorities do not want prisoners to become upset. Agitated or disturbed prisoners can create incidents from which more serious trouble may develop. Therefore, psychiatrists help to maintain order in calming agitated prisoners by talking to them and prescribing medication. When a prisoner becomes very agitated, he is referred to the medical officer who in turn may decide that he needs treatment at the Central Mental Hospital in Dundrum. If a prisoner is transferred there, it is arranged on foot of a certificate signed by two general practitioners.

Eight-four per cent of prison officers agreed that doctors co-operate well with prison officers. The prison administrators did not think that doctors caused many difficulties, although one governor thought that one particular doctor was too willing to put prisoners on special diets which presented problems for the kitchen staff.

Doctors and psychiatrists who were interviewed thought that people are sent to prison as punishment and not for punishment as many of the public would wish. Two psychiatrists felt that prison was a damaging experience for the general prison population. According to one psychiatrist, a vital aspect of staff relations which was often neglected was the mental health of prison staff. It is interesting that seventy-four per cent of prison officers agreed that "working in prisons over a long time can affect an officer's mental health" and eighty-one per cent agreed that "it is usual for officers to become hardened in the prison service".[28] 'Hardened' was a term used frequently by officers during interviews with the researcher and seemed to indicate that they approved of a stricter regime for prisoners.

Some psychiatrists consider that most prisoners were in need of
psychiatric treatment, though one thought that their deviant behaviour
would have been tolerated if they came from middle-class families.
Two psychiatrists believed that not enough use was being made of open
centres by prison administrators.   Some psychiatrists mentioned a
problem that was also raised by chaplains, which occured when a few
officers who over-react in tense situations are shielded by the
majority of the uniformed staff.[29]   Although doctors and
psychiatrists were aware that the prisoner code allowed them to use
any ploy to ease their predicament, they felt that some complaints
from prisoners regarding harsh treatment were warranted.

An interdisciplinary liaison committee meets monthly in Mountjoy, St.
Patrick's and Arbour Hill to consider psychiatric cases.   The
committee comprises psychiatrists, welfare officer(s), chaplain,
teachers, a psychologist, the prison medical officer, governor and
chief officer as well as a Department of Justice official.   Neither
the general policy nor internal management issues are discussed but
only specific cases whose resolution requires continuing evaluation by
a psychiatrist.   The committee makes recommendations to the
Department about the management of prisoners who have psychiatric
histories.

In the event of a suicide, the prison medical officer, in consultation
with the prison authorities become more concerned about prisoners who
have demonstrated a tendency to inflict injuries on themselves.
After the usual certification, such cases are transferred to the
Central Mental Hospital.

One medical officer mentioned that when custodial staff are
transferred to the hospital wing in Mountjoy, they seem to show a
greater concern for the prisoners' care and welfare.   Some of the
hospital officers said that one of the rewarding things about their
job was that their work was not interfered with too much by
superiors.   A few mentioned that the custodial staff did not
appreciate the constraints and difficulties encountered when working
in a hospital wing.

6.4.4 Prison Officers' Relationships with Teachers

Fifty-six per cent of prison officers agreed that "teachers co-operate well with prison officers". The POA claims that education is one of the rehabilitative tasks which has been taken away from the uniformed service. The appointment of a co-ordinator of education in the mid-1970's coincided with an increase in the number of classes in prisons and the introduction of teachers on secondment from the vocational education committees. The co-ordinator resigned within a few years and was not replaced. Recent reports suggest that some educational facilities have been withdrawn to provide more secure accommodation. One immediate difficulty for teachers is the different educational standards of the prisoners and the variations in the length of their sentences. Some senior prison staff were sceptical of educational arrangements and saw them as a means by which prisoners avoided work. There seems little doubt that seconded teachers are a cause of worry to administrators, who argue that they are not always co-operative and see their role as 'saving the prisoners'. Administrators mentioned that it was very important not to have radicals working in the prison service since this caused unrest among prisoners. It was mentioned that the female prisoners frequently returned from classes — where they were given scope to decide on the class activities — in "an unmanageable mood".

Three governors considered classes to be a good idea, if for no other reason than they kept prisoners busy. Two other governors had different views, and felt that classes took prisoners outside the control of the custodial service for the duration of their sentences. Approximately fifty per cent of the senior prison staff who were interviewed felt that teachers looked for too many concessions for prisoners.

6.5   Prison Officers' Perceptions of the Decision-Making Process

The prison service is characterised by a high degree of supervision
and control. When a situation arises within a prison that is not
specifically governed by the existing rules and regulations, it will,
with rare exceptions, be referred for a decision to the Department of
Justice.   Similarly, the actions of the prison officers are closely
controlled by their immediate superiors within the prison.

This section will examine the prison officers' perceptions of the
decision-making process and of the organisational hierarchy of the
prison service.   It describes the officers attitudes to the system
and their feelings on how it should be improved.   When asked whether
there were too many supervisors telling them what to do, sixty-two per
cent of the officers agreed that this was indeed the case.[30]   Only
thirty-seven per cent of the officers, however, stated that they "feel
harassed by ACOs and COs in my job".   Also, sixty-three per cent of
the officers agreed with a statement that "supervisors are good at
making decisions", while seventy-eight per cent felt that "a prison
officer is supported by his superiors when he reports a prisoner".

In addition to such general questions, the prison officers were also
asked to indicate the frequency with which they felt they were
involved in decisions in eighteen specific instances.   The ratings
provided by the 182 officers in the sample were then used to compute a
mean for each decision.   These means, which are presented in Table 3,
represent the average.   For example, in the first decision area, that
of sending a prisoner to see the welfare staff, the average of the
prison officers' answers was 2.6.   This indicates that most prison
officers felt that the frequency with which they made such a decision
was somewhere between "rarely" and "sometimes".   The mean score for a
particular decision is computed by adding together the ratings of the
182 officers and then dividing that total by the number of respondents.

TABLE 3
'MEAN' RESPONSE BY PRISON OFFICERS TO ITEMS MEASURING
THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN DECISIONS
(N = 182)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
1. Sending a prisoner to see the welfare staff	1	2	3 (*)	4	5
2. Transferring a prisoner to another prison	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
3. Allowing a prisoner write to a T.D.	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
4. Altering the lay-out of rooms within the prison	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
5. Granting a radio to short-term prisoner	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
6. Allowing extra visits to prisoners	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
7. Granting of parole to prisoner	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
8. Changing duty roster for officer	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
9. Allocation of prisoners to different jobs in the prison	1	2 (*)	3	4	5
10. Allowing extra letters to prisoners	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
11. Allowing a prisoner to see the governor	1	2	3 (*)	4	5
12. Censoring of letters to/from a prisoner	1	2	3 (*)	4	5
13. Allocation of incoming prisoners to class	1	2	3 (*)	4	5
14. Allowing prisoner to visit wife in hospital	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
15. Sending prisoner to see psychiatrist	1	2 (*)	3	4	5
16. Sending prisoners to outside hospital for treatment	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
17. Organising entertainment for prisoners	1 (*)	2	3	4	5
18. Introducing different forms of work into prisons	1 (*)	2	3	4	5

As can be seen from Table 3, the officers felt that, generally, they had relatively little say in decisions taken within the prisons. There were exceptions however. Officers said that they exercised some influence on whether a prisoner was to see the governor and when incoming prisoners were allocated to 'classes'. They also felt that they had responsibility in censoring of letters and in whether a prisoner was to be sent to see the welfare staff.[31]

In theory, every prisoner who wants to see the governor is allowed access to him. However, in practice, it seems that staff filter these requests by various means and it is likely that some prisoners are discouraged from pursuing their requests. Of course, some requests may be for trivial matters and can be dealt with by officers or supervisors.

In general, officers believe that they do not possess substantial decision-making powers. This is the result of a strict hierarchical tradition where formal rules specify the duties of officers at each level; the senior level guards its own sphere of influence.

INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE RATIONALE
- DIFFERENCES BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

In the study so far, administrative rationale for prisons involving
discipline, timetabling, application of rules, the meeting of market
demands has been outlined.   Prison Officers and their superiors'
interpretations of this rationale in the form of different behaviour
patterns has also been outlined.

It has been shown that the staff levels in the prison service
interpret the rationale in different ways, related to the demands
placed upon the different levels and the propensity to maximise power
and influence.

The present chapter elaborates on the interpretations of the rationale
by different 'types' of individual while the next chapter is concerned
with the manner by which the rationale is given reality in different
prisons.

7.1   The relationships between individual characteristics of prison
        officers and their perceptions of administrative rationale

This section investigates the relationships that exist between prison
officers' personal characteristics and their job-related perceptions
and behaviour patterns.

The first section of the chapter outlines the manner in which the
personality and self-image characteristics have been measured.   Then,
the relationship between personality and self image variables on the
one hand, and perceptions and behaviours on the other will be examined.

It will be seen in this section that personal characteristics
influence perceptions and behaviour, even though the administrative
view would be that rules and regulations are rigidly and fairly
applied.

7.2 Measuring Personality Characteristics

In Chapter 3, there was a description of the procedure used to obtain information on personality characteristics of prison officers. A large number of Likert-type questions were asked of the officers. To reduce the number of characteristics to a workable number and to establish a set of underlying, fundamental personality and self-image orientations, factor analysis was again used. The result was the following five factors, each representing a cluster of questionnaire items that can be interpreted as a dimension of personality and self-image:

Factor 1*	Loading*
1. It is safest to assume that all people have a vicious streak	.58
2. A strong person doesn't show his emotions or feelings	.45
3. If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you	.44
4. Fellow officers would seek my help in a tough situation rather than that of most others	.44

This pattern was very similar to that found in other studies and has been named authoritarianism.[1]

Factor 2*	Loading*
1. It is the duty of a citizen to support his country, right or wrong	.83
2. A person should defend the actions of his Institution against outside criticism	.35

This orientation has been named duty.

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* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation and the high loading items are closest to the meaning of the pattern.

Factor 3*   Loading*

1   A person should do things in the exact manner
    he thinks his superior wishes them to be done   .59

2. I rarely do anything I think my fellow officers
    won't agree with   .54

3. A person should avoid taking any action which
    might be subject to criticism   .44

The cluster has been named compliance

Factor 4*   Loading*

1. Other officers think I'm too soft on prisoners   .69

2. I sometimes feel under pressure from superiors
    to do things I don't like   .59

3. Prisoners find me easier to get on with than they
    do most officers   .48

4. I sometimes feel under pressure from other
    officers to do things I don't like   .44

5. Prisoners sometimes take advantage of me   .38

This cluster of items seems to suggest an orientation which is in
conflict with some of the norms of the prisons. It has been
called perceived pressure to conform.

Factor 5*   Loading*

1. Superiors consider me a good officer   .64

2. You can trust most people   .33

3. I tend to be friendly socially with other
    prison officers outside work   .31

This orientation has been named self-esteem.

_____

* The factors are derived from orthogonal rotation and the high
loading items are closest to the meaning of the pattern.

The factor analysis results made it possible to obtain for each prison officer a set of five composite scores which represent that individual's position on the factor itself. Therefore, it will be possible to examine the relationship to perceptions and behaviour patterns of each of the five dimensions of personality and self-image: Authoritarianism, Duty, Compliance, Perceived Pressure to Conform, and Self-Esteem.

The extent to which relationships exist will be expressed through correlation coefficients. The responses obtained from the questionnaire represent the views of the sample of prison officers. In examining correlation coefficients, therefore, our essential interest is in the extent to which the relationships found for the 182 officers in the sample are also true for the entire rank of prison officers. This can be done through tests of statistical significance. Given a particular correlation coefficient, for example .33, it is possible to ask what the probability is that the comparable correlation in the total population of prison officers is greater than zero. If the coefficient is statistically significant, we can be confident that what was found is true of prison officers generally, and not only those included in the sample. It does not guarantee, that had we asked all the prison officers to complete the questionnaires, exactly the same correlation of .33 would have been obtained, but it is strong evidence that the relationship is at least present. Three levels of statistical significance will be used in the analysis. The most significant coefficients are at the level of .0001; that is at this level there is only one chance in a thousand that in reality no relationship exists between the two variables concerned. The other two levels are .01 and .05 which represent, respectively, one chance in one hundred and one chance in twenty. Where a coefficient failed to meet any of these three levels of significance, it is not included in the tables.

Correlational analysis, as presented in this report, is concerned with the relationship between two variables at a time. In each case a 'work perception' or 'behaviour pattern' is examined in relationship to a characteristic of the prison officer. These bivariate relationships give a general picture of the differences on characteristics between respondents who differ on a given perception or behaviour pattern.[2]

7.3 The relationship of demographic and other background variables to behaviour patterns

Table 4 represents the statistically significant correlations relating background characteristics to perceptions and behaviours.

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
AND BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS [1]
(N = 182)

Demographic Variables	No. of Warnings to Prisoners	I generally feel harassed by ACOs	Custodial Compromise	Maintenance of order through rules	Prisoner oriented behaviour (importance)	Remaining un- obstrusiv (importance
1. Age	−.29**	−.25***				.16
2. Education	.19**	.17*		−.18*		
3. Height					−.20*	
4. Weight			−.24***	−.24***	−.24***	

[1] Pearson Product-Moment Correlation
   * p < .05
  ** p < .01
 *** p. < .001
 (Blanks = non-significant relationships)

It was apparent from the interviews that younger staff, and consequently those on probation, are more likely to feel harassed by assistant chief and chief officers than are older prison officers. The interviews with prison officers revealed clearly that the probationary period is a most anxious time. Staff on probation reported that they were constantly aware of the need to avoid breaking rules, a tendency that seemed to result in a certain rigidity in their dealings with prisoners.

Turning to the correlation results, it can be seen in Table 4 that younger staff tend to be more likely than their older colleagues to issue warnings to prisoners. This is partly the result of their feeling of anxiety regarding the probationary period, as well as the fact that older officers have learned to compromise on the strict application of rules and regulations. Older and more experienced officers are able to deal with difficult problems without reporting prisoners. Also, the prison management does not like officers to be overly eager in reporting

prisoners. Prisoners begin to feel harassed if they are brought before the governor for trivial matters and the governors feel pressure to impose some punishment to uphold the 'rule of law'. In interviews, young officers sometimes expressed confusion that they were not adequately supported by prison management in disciplining prisoners.[3]

Some forms of compromise are acceptable to management, others are not, and if an officer compromises in an unacceptable fashion, he can sometimes be transferred or dismissed. Older officers seem to have learned that the best approach is to remain unobstrusive and not to get too involved for they realise that the main difficulties with management appear to arise if they take it upon themselves to sort out prisoners' problems.

Table 4 indicates relationships concerning the build of officers. Taller and stronger staff tend to be more likely to believe in the maintenance of order through rules. Smaller officers tend to emphasise the importance of prisoner-oriented behaviour and to engage more often in compromise. There may, however, be other influencing variables; for example, bigger staff might be assigned the more difficult jobs.[4] It should be noted that there was no relationship found between the height of officers and the size of the prison, though there was a slight relationship between height and age $(r = -.12 < .05)$. Recently there seems to be a trend to recruit taller and stronger staff and this may be partly due to the availability of a wider pool of applicants. When asked what qualities they would look for in a prison officer, governors and deputy governors (particularly those in the higher security prisons) mentioned size first. They felt that prisoners respect bigger staff and so cause less trouble and that smaller staff are more aggressive and react too quickly when they are provoked. The present data does not enable us to confirm or deny such assertions. In the top security wing of Mountjoy, nearly all staff are physically big and considered to be among the best staff by at least some of their superiors. This seems to corroborate the views of some penologists that most prisons are basically and inherently conflict situations and control can be exercised best by a show of force.[5]

There has been a significant improvement in the educational standards of prison officers in the last few years, with a correlation of $-.57$ ($<.001$) between age and education. This can be explained partly by the increased level of education in the community. Other possible contributory factors are the current lack of job opportunities and the willingness of people to take jobs that they might not enter in more favourable economic circumstances.[6]

There are some indications from table 4 that officers with less education tend to believe in the maintenance of order through rules.   Higher educated officers tend to feel more harassed by assistant chief and chief officers than their less-educated counterparts. The above trends should be seen, however, in the light of the finding that younger staff are also likely to be more highly educated.   Yet it does seem that an increase in the educational standards of staff may change the balance of relationships in the prison service and might eventually change the norms of behaviour in prisons.

7.4   The relationship of personality and self-image characteristics to
      work perceptions and behaviour patterns

This section presents another series of correlation results pertaining to factors related to the perceptions and behaviours of prison officers. In tables 5 and 6 the demographic variables discussed in the preceding section are replaced by the five dimensions of personality and self-image.   Through the correlation coefficients in those tables, it will be possible to specify the extent to which such individual characteristics are associated with particular attitudes and actions of prison officers.

TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERSONALITY AND SELF-IMAGE
AND BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS [1]

(N = 182)

Personality and Self-Image Variables	Rule abiding behaviour (frequency)	Prisoner-oriented behaviour to maintain order (frequency)	Custodial Compromise	Problem Prisoners require tough action	Prisoners are un-trustworth
1. Authoritarianism			-13*	.36***	.33***
2. Compliance	.27***	.20**			
3. Duty					
4. Self-Esteem	.23**				
5. Perceived Pressure to conform	-.25***		.26***		

(1) Pearson Product-Moment Correlation
    * p < .05
   ** p < .01
  *** p. < .001
   (Blanks = non-significant relationships)

TABLE 6

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERSONALITY AND SELF-IMAGE

AND BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS [1]

(N = 182)

Personality and Self-Image Variables	Number of letters written for prisoners	Number of prisoners mentioning problems	Number of times officers were consulted by superiors about prisoners	I generally feel harassed by ACOs and COs	The feeling of physical danger is frequently present
1. Authoritarianism					.27***
2. Compliance				.24***	
3. Duty	-.14*			.17*	
4. Self-Esteem	.16*			-.27***	
5. Perceived Pressure to conform	.13*	.25***		.45***	

[1] Pearson Product-Moment Correlation
    * $p < .05$
   ** $p < .01$
  *** $p < .001$
  (Blanks = non-significant relationships)

Examination of these tables indicates the following findings associated with the relationship of 'authoritarianism' with perceptions and behaviour patterns.   Authoritarianism tended to be associated with a feeling that prisoners must be dealt with toughly by officers and that prisoners are incapable of compromise.   The higher an officer's score on authoritarianism, the less likely he was to think that it is important to engage in prisoner-oriented behaviour.   Correlations were also found between authoritarianism and a feeling that physical danger was frequently present in prison.

Perhaps the most interesting finding to emerge from the relationships found to be associated with authoritarianism is that regarding a sense of physical danger.   This feeling of danger is more prevalent in some prisons than others. (See Chapter 8)   However, since authoritarianism itself does not differ between the types of prisons, it is likely that

the relationship found in Table 6 is a direct one between authoritarianism and a sense of exposure to danger in a prison.   This vulnerability can be related also to the correlations of authoritarianism with perceiving prisoners as untrustworthy.   A slight correlation ($r = .21$, p $< .01$) was found between authoritarianism and weight and ($r = .14$, p $< .05$) with height.   This correlation, while interesting in itself could help explain some of the feelings of physical danger among those high on the authoritarianism factor; big staff are likely to be exposed to more demanding jobs.   This would seem a useful area for further social/ psychological research.[7]

The variety of variables to which authoritarianism is related is an indication of the importance of that personality characteristic for understanding what occurs within a prison.   Authoritarianism has been found elsewhere to be related to the propensity of individuals to join hierarchical organisations and to a willingness to receive and give orders, rigidly.   Those scoring high on authoritarianism tend to use a narrow range of options in responding to difficult situations.[8]

Those scoring highly on compliance tend to be those who engage in rule-abiding behaviour.   Compliance is also related to a tendency to engage in prisoner-oriented behaviour to maintain order and to being consulted about prisoners by superiors.

Compliant behaviour for officers in prisons can be described as: following rules and regulations, 'keeping their noses clean', steering clear of difficult situations, engaging in prisoner- oriented behaviour which is normal for the particular prison, and, especially, reporting to their superiors on prisoners' behaviour. Officers who know prisoners well enough to be able to glean advance warnings of possible trouble were frequently praised by prison management.   It seems that staff who score highly on compliance adjust to the prevailing norms of some prisons.   It is interesting that compliance is negatively related to educational qualifications: the more highly educated staff are likely to be less compliant.

Those prison officers who score highly on the 'duty' factor are more likely to be consulted by superiors about prisoners than those with lower scores on the factor.

Those who have a specific job in the prison service are more likely to score highly on a sense of duty ($r = .25$ p $<$ .001), which may reflect both on the selection procedures for special jobs and on the socialisation process in specific jobs.[9]

The variable 'perceived pressure to conform' has been developed specifically for the present study. It relates to pressures on officers from colleagues, superiors and prisoners and can be regarded as a self-image variable in relation to work. Those officers who tend to acknowledge that there is pressure on them to conform also tend to engage in custodial compromise and are less likely to engage in rule-abiding behaviour.

A particularly interesting correlation is that between perceived pressure to conform and a feeling of being harassed by ACOs and COs. In interpreting that correlation there are two elements to be considered. One is that officers who perceive pressure to conform do so because the norms of the prison service do not accord with their own values and consequently they feel pressure in trying to adjust. Another element is that assistant chief and chief officers may be putting more pressure on staff whom they suspect of not conforming. It should be mentioned that this pressure to conform is felt mostly by younger staff and by staff in the more open prisons. This latter aspect will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Staff who feel pressure to conform tend to have written more letters for prisoners and to have listened more to prisoners' problems.

It seems likely therefore that prison officers who score highly on perceived pressure to conform have not been socialised into the prison service. Those who cannot adjust will almost certainly leave if the opportunity presents itself.

In contrast to the correlations found for perceived pressure to conform those for self-esteem suggest a tendency for high self esteem to be associated with conformity to the rules and to not feeling harassed by superiors. Such officers also tend to write more letters for prisoners than do officers with low self esteem. A correlation of .24 (p $<$ .001) was found between self-esteem and an intention to remain in the prison service.

This variable of self-esteem seems to be connected with non-anxiety and sociability. Such characteristics appeal to supervisors who therefore do not importune such officers. The officers in turn are sufficiently aware socially to abide by the rules but are still able to react fairly positively to prisoners.[10] Self-esteem is positively related to the possession of some apprenticeship training ($r = .19$ p $< .01$) and consequently, somewhat negatively related to educational attainment. Although this may be partly due to the impact of age, it does seem that highly educated officers may find more difficulty in conforming to prevailing norms, while the less highly educated (particularly those with some technical training) might have less difficulty.

Overall, a substantial number of interesting and potentially important relationships were identified between background variables and the prison officers' perceptions and behaviours, but it should be stressed that, generally, these relationships, as expressed through correlation coefficients, were slight. They represent tendencies for officers with particular personality orientations to think and act somewhat differently from officers with different orientations. These relationships cannot be summed up by statements such as "all younger staff members have issued more warnings to prisoners than have any of the older staff". All that can be stated from the correlations is that "younger staff members are somewhat more likely than older staff to warn prisoners".

A COMPARISON BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' WORK

PERCEPTIONS AND BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS

Up to now, the prison service has been discussed as if it were a unitary system. The administrative view is that it is so and the system of rules and regulations is designed to promote this view. It has already been shown that the administrative view is diluted as one moves down the hierarchy; prison officers perceive the foundation of their authority and the rationale of the prison service differently to more senior members. The theme throughout the analysis of such perceptions is that different grades seek to maximise their areas of influence.

This present chapter looks at differences in perception between prisons, taking the grade as constant. Prison officers' perceptions related to task demands in different prisons will be explored and linked to possible differences in input, technology and output requirements.

In Ireland, the major bases for differentiating between the existing prisons are (1) open v. closed; (2) large v. small; (3) juvenile v. adult; and (4) committal v. non-committal. The question which this chapter seeks to answer therefore, is, whether prison officers in one type of prison tend to have different beliefs and behaviour patterns from officers in other types of prison?

The three open centres are Loughan House, Shanganagh Castle and Shelton Abbey. These centres will all be treated as small prisons. The seven closed prisons and detention centres can be subdivided as follows:

Breakdown of Closed Prisons

	LARGE	SMALL
Committal	Mountjoy	Limerick St. Patrick's
Non-Committal	Portlaoise	Cork Arbour Hill Training Unit

It is useful to treat Portlaoise as a special case since it is currently used almost exclusively for 'subversive' prisoners, although it has a small party of 'ordinary' prisoners who help in the running of essential services.

For each variable which describes a perception or a behaviour pattern, the following procedure was used to determine whether an important difference exists between the staffs of two prisons as far as that variable was concerned. First was computed the average score of each prison's staff on that variable. Then a t-test was applied to the amount of the difference in the averages derived from the two prisons' staffs. This procedure was followed for all possible pairs of prisons. For example, the average obtained from Mountjoy's prison officers was compared, by means of a t-test, with the averages found in each of the nine other prisons' staffs. Therefore, for each variable, forty-five separate t-tests were performed, allowing for a comparison between the scores of each prison's staff with the staff average from all the other prisons. Where a t-test establishes a statistically significant difference between the staffs of two prisons, it can be stated with confidence that the difference is not due to chance but represents a real difference in perception or behaviour. Once each prison has been compared to all the others, it is possible to group together those prisons whose staffs made roughly comparable responses on that item.

In the tables below such groups will be placed in a single box.   For
most of the variables examined, two or three distinct groups of
prisons were discovered.   Prisons enclosed within a single box are
those <u>without</u> statistically significant differences in their staffs'
average response.

Some of the variables which are to be compared represent a single
question from the questionnaire.   Others are composite scores that
represent a whole series of questions that together form a factor.
These composite scores correspond to a dimension of perception or
behaviour and were discussed in detail in earlier chapters.   In
composite scores the averages for the prisons will be positive or
negative.   Negative responses indicate that the average for that
prison's officers was low on the item or dimension.   Composite scores
are computed in such a manner that the mean (average) score for the
182 officers in the sample will be zero.

8.1 A Comparison Between Prisons of Prison Officers' Work Perceptions
    and Behaviour Patterns Related to Superiors

Table 7 presents differences between the staffs of ten prisons on two
behaviour patterns.   For this and the other tables in this section,
prisons within one box can be taken as having no significant
differences in their mean scores on the variable in question.   In
Table 7 two variables are presented together, since the groupings of
prisons on the two variables are identical.   Each of the other tables
in this section presents only one variable.

As can be seen from Table 7, staff in the closed prisons are more
likely than those in open centres to prevent problems by the
application of rules and by remaining unobstrusive.

Table 7

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICER'S
BEHAVIOUR PATTERNS RELATED TO (a) RULES AND (b) NON-INVOLVEMENT

(a) Maintenance of Order   (b) The Importance of
        through Rules*   Remaining Unobstrusive*

Prison	Mean		Prison	Mean
Mountjoy	0.31		Limerick	0.41
Portlaoise	0.18		Arbour Hill	0.18
Limerick	0.18		Mountjoy	0.17
St. Patrick's	0.12		Cork	0.12
Arbour Hill	0.04		St. Patrick's	0.05
Cork	0.04		Portlaoise	0.02
Training Unit	−0.30		Loughan	−0.38
Loughan	−0.41		Shanganagh	−0.39
Shanganagh	−1.30		Shelton	−0.49
Shelton	−1.40		Training Unit	−0.51

* Composite Scores

The Department of Justice's policy encourages staff in open centres to asociate more with prisoners. Open centres are a recent development in Ireland and there are therefore no prison traditions which might make such a policy difficult to implement. As was indicated in chapter 2, a strict application of rules and maintaining a distance from prisoners as methods of control, have a long history in the prison service. There are, therefore, different pressures from superiors in open and closed centres and different criteria for doing a good job.[1] Another possible result of the different influences may be seen in Table 8.

Table 8

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICER'S
PERCEPTIONS RELATED TO COLLEAGUES TELLING STORIES ABOUT THEM

Staff are conscious that Other Staff will tell Stories about Them.*

Prison	Mean
Arbour Hill	5.6
Cork	5.5
Mountjoy	5.3
Portlacise	5.1
St. Patrick's	5.0
Limerick	4.6
Shanganagh	4.4
Loughan	4.3
Training Unit	4.0
Shelton	4.0

* Individual Item

In the individual questionnaire item, a score of seven represents strong agreement with the statement under consideration; a score of one indicates strong disagreement. While the general trend is for the staffs of the various prisons to agree that other members of the staff will "tell stories about them", to a statistically significant degree the staffs of closed prisons hold this belief more strongly than do staff in open prisons.[2] The staffs of Arbour Hill, Cork, Mountjoy, Portlaoise and St. Patrick's all formed a single group on this variable. Limerick stands mid-way between the closed prisons and the open centres. All open centres grouped together. It seems that information gathering is used as a control mechanism, not only by staff on prisoners but by superiors on subordinates.

Although the open centres appear to provide more trust in this regard, the prevalence of this feeling even in open centres is noteworthy.

There was a slight but not statistically significant difference between open centres and most closed prisons on the number of disciplinary 'half-sheets' on officers which are completed. Arbour Hill was the exception and significantly more half-sheets were completed on officers in that prison than in any other. One reason for this may be that the staff in Arbour Hill are quite young, and superiors tend to write more reports on young staff. It may also reflect a difference of approach by the prison management in Arbour Hill.

As Table 8 demonstrates, of the staff in all the closed prisons, officers in Limerick were the least likely to be conscious that other staff would tell stories about them.

The dichotomy of open versus closed is not associated in so clearcut a fashion with the remaining variables in this section, although the trend is still present in Table 9.

Table 9

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS
OF PRISON OFFICERS' PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

Frequency of Officers' Involvement in Decision-Making*

Prison	Mean
Loughan	2.6
Shanganagh	2.2
Shelton	1.9
Limerick	1.9
Training Unit	1.9
Arbour Hill	1.7
Mountjoy	1.7
St. Patricks	1.7
Cork	1.7
Portlaoise	1.4

* This variable is a composite score of prison officers' perceptions
of their participation in eighteen decision areas.

The open juvenile centres seem to offer most opportunity for officers to
play a part in decision-making.[3]   Shelton Abbey, the Training Unit
and Limerick are in the next highest grouping.   Staff in Portlaoise
felt the least involved in making decisions and this reflects the
exceedingly tight control from the top of all activities in Portlaoise.

Where participation in the running of prisons is at a minimum, it is more
likely that any power given to the staff will be jealously guarded.
Another problem is that when staff have little else of interest to occupy
them, they may indulge in spreading rumours.   They may also of course
tell stories in order to attract the attention of superiors.[4]

Table 10 presents the differences between prisons of the long-term
effects on staff who work in them.

Table 10

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS REGARDING LONG-TERM EFFECTS ON STAFF OF WORKING IN PRISONS

Working in prisons over a long time can effect an officer's mental health*

Prison	Mean
Loughan	5.5
Mountjoy	5.3
Arbour Hill	5.2
Portlaoise	5.2
Cork	5.0
Limerick	4.8
St. Patrick's	4.8
Shelton	4.8
Training Unit	3.7
Shanganagh	3.5

* This is an individual questionnaire item.

The analysis in chapter 6 indicated that seventy-four per cent of all
prison officers agreed that "working in prisons over a long time can
affect an officer's mental health".[5] However, staff in the Training

Unit and in Shanganagh were less likely to believe this than were staff in the other prisons. It is remarkable that Shelton and Loughan , both open prisons, do not follow the same pattern for this as for previous variables.

It is unlikely that more abiding personality orientations would change significanty by virtue of the place or type of work engaged in. There were no significant differences between prisons in the measures of authoritarianism, compliance or duty. It is likely, therefore, that staff are randomly assigned to prisons as far as these variables are concerned.

The work-related, self-image variables constructed specifically for this study did highlight interesting differences between the staffs and these are outlined in Tables 11 and 12.

<u>Table 11</u>

<u>DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS'</u>
<u>PERCEPTIONS REGARDING PRESSURE TO CONFORM</u>

Prison	Mean
Shanganagh	0.40
Training Unit	0.35
Cork	0.28
Shelton	0.11
Limerick	0.10
Loughan	0.08
St. Patrick's	0.08
Mountjoy	-0.02
Arbour Hill	-0.14
Portlaoise	-0.44

* Composite Score

It was indicated in chapter 7 that the two self-image variables were formed by items pertaining to superiors and colleagues; they are discussed in this section as work perceptions related to superiors. Table 11 shows that staff in Portlaoise perceive less pressure to conform to the norms of their prison than do staff in any other prison. The job of a prison officer in Portlaoise is well-defined — to provide a physical presence and to maintain their distance from prisoners. Likewise many prisoners in Portlaoise have decided not to communicate with the staff. The presence of the military and the gardai in the prison may lend support for the notion that the prisoners are 'the enemy' and the staff find it easier to have a common purpose towards them.[6] The threat of violence also ensures that staff form a more cohesive group. This is not always the case in any of the other prisons or detention centres.

Table 12

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' SELF-ESTEEM

Self-Esteem*

Prison	Mean
Shelton	0.39
Arbour Hill	0.30
St. Patrick's	0.18
Shanganagh	0.12
Loughan	0.11
Cork	0.05
Mountjoy	−0.04
Limerick	−0.09
Portlaoise	−0.26
Training Unit	−0.45

* Composite Score

Table 12 relates to the variable of self-esteem. The staff in both Portlaoise and the Training Unit are significantly lower in self-esteem, than the staffs of any other prison or centre. As has already been mentioned, there are no major differences between prisons in the personality orientations of their staffs. Self-esteem appears to be an exception and it is possible that the prison environment affects that particular variable.

Portlaoise has frequently been mentioned in this section as constituting a separate category. It seems that the nature of the regime at Portlaoise may adversely affect the officers' self-esteem and superiors may be less likely to bolster their subordinates' self-esteem because of the pressure on themselves. There is also little opportunity to prove that one is a 'good' officer and prisoners in Portlaoise are not likely to bolster a prison officer's self-esteem.[7] As far as the Training Unit is concerned, it is more difficult to explain this finding. The unit itself was not fully operational during the course of this study, but it concentrates on training prisoners for a trade. Specialist trainers were recruited and the role of the uniformed service in this centre might have been somewhat ambiguous, accounting for the lower self-esteem there.

8.2 A Comparison Between Prisons of Prison Officers' Work Perceptions and Behaviour Patterns Related to Professional and Other Groups

The general work perceptions and behaviour patterns related to professional and other groups have already been presented in chapter 6. This section examines differences between prisons of prison officers' work perceptions and behaviour patterns.

Table 13 presents differences between groups of prisons in the frequency with which welfare officers inquire about prisoner's well-being. Welfare officers in the open youth centres of Shanganagh and Loughan are much more likely to ask the prison officers how particular prisoners are getting on. This seems to reflect the welfare policy of the Department of Justice, which emphasises youth welfare and the acceptability of prison officers discussing matters with welfare staff in youth centres. Young offenders are especially chosen for Shanganagh and Loughan and are more likely to be amenable to talk to welfare staff. This acceptance

makes it easier and more rewarding for welfare staff to inquire about prisoners and to deal with them direct.

Table 13

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS IN FREQUENCY OF CONTACT BETWEEN PRISON OFFICERS AND WELFARE OFFICERS REGARDING PRISONERS

Number of times a welfare officer inquired of a prison officer concerning a prisoner (in the last month)*

Prison	Mean
Shanganagh	1.8
Loughan	1.2
Limerick	0.6
Training Unit	0.4
Cork	0.4
St. Patrick's	0.2
Shelton	0.2
Mountjoy	0.0
Portlaoise	0.0
Arbour Hill	0.0

* Individual questionnaire item.

Welfare staff in Portlaoise, Mountjoy and Arbour Hill are the least likely to ask officers about prisoners.   The constant turnover of prisoners in Mountjoy and the continual movement of staff between the prisons and the courts, may mean that the job of the welfare staff in the prison is particularly difficult.   It is also likely that a greater distance is maintained there between uniformed and welfare staff than in smaller, closed prisons.   In Portlaoise, welfare services are provided

one day per week by visiting staff.   The welfare service in Arbour Hill
was not fully operational during the course of the survey.

Table 14 sets forth prison officers' perceptions of the level of
co-operation between themselves and welfare staff.

Table 14

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE LEVEL OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN WELFARE OFFICERS AND THEMSELVES

Welfare officer co-operates well with prison officers*

Prison	Mean
Loughan	6.3
Limerick	6.1
Shanganagh	5.8
Cork	5.6
Shelton	5.2
Training Unit	4.9
St. Patrick's	4.7
Arbour Hill	4.5
Mountjoy	4.0

* Individual questionnaire item.

As Table 14 makes clear, prison officers in Loughan and Shanganagh
perceive a high level of co-operation with welfare officers.   This
accords with the finding presented in the preceding table that welfare
officers in these two centres are more likely to inquire about a
prisoner from a prison officer.[8]   A high level of co-operation is
also perceived in Cork and Limerick and this may be partly due to the

smaller size of both prisons. The findings in relation to Arbour Hill and Mountjoy are also consistent with Table 13.

Table 15 examines the role of the chaplains in helping to administer prisons.

Table 15

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT OF CHAPLAINS IN THE RUNNING OF PRISONS

There is not enough involvement in the running of a prison by chaplains*

Prison	Mean
Shelton	5.2
Training Unit	5.0
Shanganagh	4.5
Loughan	4.4
Limerick	4.1
Cork	4.0
Arbour Hill	3.4
Portlaoise	3.4
St. Patrick's	3.0
Mountjoy	3.0

* Individual questionnaire item.

Staff in the open centres, as well as the Training Unit, Cork and Limerick, are significantly more likely to believe that chaplains should be encouraged to play a larger role than are staff in the other prisons. St. Patrick's, Arbour Hill and Mountjoy have full-time chaplains (unlike the other prisons, except Shanganagh) and staff in these three prisons may feel that chaplains are already sufficiently involved.

Table 16 deals with the differences between prisons in the level of co-operation between teachers and prison officers. Most prisons grouped together in their prison officers' perceptions of this question. Prison officers in Limerick, however, were significantly more likely to perceive a satisfactory level of co-operation than were officers in any other prison; officers in Loughan and Shelton were the next most likely. This finding may be partly explained by the various characteristics of teachers in different prisons. For example, the only teacher in Limerick had previously worked as a psychologist in the Department of Justice and may have found it easier to understand the viewpoint of the uniformed staff.

Table 16

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE LEVEL OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN TEACHERS AND THEMSELVES

Teachers co-operate well with prison officers*

Prison	Mean
Limerick	6.2
Loughan	5.3
Shelton	5.2
St. Patrick's	4.7
Training Unit	4.3
Cork	4.3
Portlaoise	4.1
Mountjoy	4.0
Shanganagh	3.8
Arbour Hill	3.6

* Individual questionnaire item.

8.3 A Comparison Between Prisons of Prison Officers' Work Perceptions and
    Behaviour Patterns Related to Prisoners

Table 17 presents differences between the prisons in the frequency with
which their staffs engage in friendly and helpful behaviour towards
prisoners.   This table indicates that in addition to differences between
open and closed prisons on this question differences also occur within
those two groups.   Staff in Loughan House and Shanganagh (both open
centres dealing with juveniles) are most likely to engage in friendly and
helpful behaviour.[9]

<div align="center">

Table 17

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS IN FREQUENCY OF
FRIENDLY AND HELPFUL BEHAVIOUR ENGAGED IN BY PRISON OFFICERS

</div>

Custodial Compromise*

Prison	Mean
Shanganagh	1.20
Loughan	0.90
Shelton	0.62
Training Unit	0.40
Cork	0.14
Arbour Hill	0.13
Limerick	0.09
St. Patrick's	−0.15
Mountjoy	−0.37
Portlaoise	−0.42

(* This composite score suggests a compromise between staff and prisoners)

Among the closed prisons, the size of prison and the categories of prisoners seem to influence the extent to which the staff engage in friendly and helpful behaviour, though in Portlaoise there is minimum contact with prisoners anyway. This is not true of Mountjoy although its size makes it more difficult for staff to engage in friendly and helpful behaviour than in smaller prisons. Staff in Mountjoy are unlikely to know many of the prisoners and the smooth running of the prison seems to dictate a system which reduces the opportunities to behave in a friendly manner to prisoners.[10]

Table 18

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE POSSIBILITY OF MOTIVATING PRISONERS

Prisoners can be motivated*

Prison	Mean
Shelton	0.67
Cork	0.39
Shanganagh	0.30
Training Unit	0.29
Loughan	0.28
Arbour Hill	0.20
St. Patrick's	0.00
Mountjoy	−0.21
Limerick	−0.23
Portlaoise	−0.29

* Composite Score

This table shows that staff perceptions of positively motivating prisoners are more associated with non-committal prisons. The staff of St. Patrick's, Limerick, Mountjoy and Portlaoise are significantly less likely to think that prisoners can be motivated. In committal prisons, prisoners are constantly changing either because they are on remand or as a prelude to their transfer elsewhere. Furthermore, a proportion of the staff's time is spent on escort duties, which puts a strain on rostering arrangements. Staff in these prisons are also less likely to have prolonged contact with prisoners.

Prisoners are likely to remain in non-committal prisons, on the other hand, until the completion of their sentence. In addition, there are more educational and training facilities available in these non-committal prisons, which may affect officers' perceptions of the possibility of motivating prisoners.

Table 19 presents differences between prisons of prison officers' perceptions of the appropriate action to be taken with 'problem' prisoners.

Table 19

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE APPROPRIATE ACTION FOR PROBLEM PRISONERS

Problem prisoners require tough action*

Prison	Mean
Mountjoy	0.21
Arbour Hill	0.00
Limerick	0.00
St. Patrick's	0.00
Shelton	0.00
Portlaoise	0.00
Cork	−0.22
Shanganagh	−0.37
Loughan	−0.43

* Composite Scores

Table 19 establishes that most of the prisons group together in the
views which their staff hold on dealing with difficult prisoners.
Staff in Shanganagh and Loughan are the least likely to think that tough
action is required with problem prisoners; this again may reflect the
Department's more moderate policy in regard to these two centres.   It
is worth remembering that prisoners selected for these open centres are
usually first offenders and are considered to be least likely to present
difficulties.

So far the comparisons in this section have dealt with differences in
staff perceptions between prisons, which seem to be associated with the

size of prison, committal/non-committal, open/closed, and juvenile/adult.
The following tables reflect actions taken by officers towards prisoners
and by superiors towards staff which cannot be accounted for by such
categorisations.   Although it was not possible to measure all actions
taken by officers towards prisoners and by superiors towards staff, it is
hoped, nevertheless, that the actions referred to in the next few tables
give further indication of behaviour patterns in prisons.

Tables 20 and 21 are concerned with disciplinary reports and warnings to
prisoners.   These behaviours have already been discussed in chapter 7 in
connection with the propensity of certain officers to engage in them.

Table 20

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE NUMBER OF DISCIPLINARY REPORTS ON PRISONERS

Number of disciplinary reports on prisoners in last month (per individual
prison officer)*

Prison	Mean
St. Patrick's	0.9
Shanganagh	0.8
Limerick	0.7
Mountjoy	0.6
Arbour Hill	0.3
Training Unit	0.3
Loughan	0.2
Portlaoise	0.1
Cork	0.1
Shelton	0.0

* Individual questionnaire item

Table 21

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS'
PERCEPTIONS OF THE NUMBER OF WARNINGS TO PRISONERS

Number of warnings to prisoners in last month (per individual prison officer)*

Prison	Mean
Loughan	3.2
St. Patrick's	3.2
Arbour Hill	2.9
Cork	2.8
Shanganagh	2.8
Limerick	2.7
Mountjoy	2.7
Training Unit	1.7
Shelton	1.4
Portlaoise	0.5

* Individual questionnaire item

Portlaoise is again consistently low in reports and warnings. The unexpected finding concerns the open juvenile centres, particularly Shanganagh.[11] Staff there issue a high average number of warnings and reports. The average number of reports on prisoners in Loughan is comparatively low, although the number of warnings is as high as at Shanganagh.[12] The Training Unit and Shelton are comparatively low on both counts. However, it should be mentioned again that the Training Unit was not fully operational at the time of the study and this may have affected the results. With the exception of Portlaoise, the closed

prisons grouped together in the frequency with which their staffs issued warnings. Staff in Cork prison, however, were the least likely of the staffs to write disciplinary reports. This may partly be accounted for by the fact that prisoners in Cork are usually recidivists sentenced for short periods.

Table 22 presents differences between prisons regarding the number of prisoners who mention personal problems to staff.

Table 22

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE NUMBER OF PRISONERS MENTIONING PERSONAL PROBLEMS

Number of prisoners mentioning personal problems in the last month (per individual prison officer)*

Prison	Mean
Shanganagh	3.0
Cork	2.8
Limerick	1.9
Training Unit	1.9
Arbour Hill	1.7
Mountjoy	1.6
Shelton	1.6
Loughan	1.4
St. Patrick's	1.2
Portlaoise	1.2

* Individual questionnaire item

Prisoners in Cork are more likely to mention a personal problem to officers than are prisoners in any centre except Shanganagh. It is worth noting that Shanganagh comes much more to the notice of the Department of Justice officials than Loughan House, for example. New developments in education or welfare are more likely to be tried in Shanganagh first. This may cause difficulties for the prison management. While the staff of nine of the prisons and open centres did not significantly differ in their evaluation of the importance of rule-abiding behaviour, Shanganagh's staff felt to a statistically significant degree that such behaviour was less important than did the staffs of the other nine prisons.

The main implication of Table 23, however, is that it indicates that prisoners in the closed prisons of St. Patrick's, Arbour Hill, Limerick and Mountjoy are just as likely to mention personal problems to staff as are prisoners in the open centres of Loughan, Shelton and the Training Unit. Portlaoise, again, is significantly low.

Table 23

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS'
PERCEPTIONS OF FREQUENCY OF LETTER WRITING FOR PRISONERS

Number of letters written for prisoners in the last month (per
individual prison officer)*

Prison	Mean
Cork	2.2
Loughan	2.2
Limerick	1.9
Shanganagh	1.2
Mountjoy	0.9
Shelton	0.8
Arbour Hill	0.8
Training Unit	0.5
St. Patrick's	0.4
Portlaoise	0.0

* Individual questionnaire item

The pattern does not follow any of the prison dichotomies outlined
earlier. An important variable in this case may be the distance of the
prison from the prisoners' homes: the greater the distance, the greater
the demand on officers to help prisoners write their letters. No
letter-writing for prisoners is done at all in Portlaoise, though it is
situated in a small country town, again bearing out the lack of contact
between prison officers and prisoners at that prison.

Table 24 is concerned with prison officers' feelings of danger and vulnerability. This feeling was mentioned frequently during interviews with prison officers.

Table 24

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SCORES BETWEEN PRISONS OF PRISON OFFICERS'
PERCEPTIONS OF PHYSICAL DANGER

The feeling of physical danger is frequently present in my job*

Prison	Mean
Portlaoise	6.1
St. Patrick's	4.9
Cork	4.8
Mountjoy	4.8
Arbour Hill	4.5
Shanganagh	3.7
Loughan	3.7
Shelton	3.6
Training Unit	3.5

* Individual questionnaire item

As was affirmed in chapter 7, officers who scored high on a measure of authoritarianism were also likely to feel that physical danger was present in their jobs. Table 24 reveals that this feeling is also related to the type of prison. Officers in the open centres and the Training Unit are least likely to feel in physical danger, while officers in Portlaoise are most likely to report this feeling. No significant differences were found between the other prisons.

8.4 Conclusion

When the sample of 182 prison officers was broken down into ten sub-samples, each representing a specific prison, interesting and important differences were found to be present in the perceptions and behavior of prison staff. These differences were frequently related to the type of prison or centre in which the prison officers worked: the staffs of committal prisons differed from those in non-committal prisons, as did staffs in large prisons from those in small prisons and those in open centres from those in closed prisons. Other differences in perception and behaviour appeared to be associated with the type of prisoners incarcerated. Still other differences were more puzzling and did not appear to be systematically related to the basic types of prisons under review.

Previous chapters contrived to prove that the prison service is far from monolithic. There is a considerable diversity in the beliefs and activities among prison officers and among their superiors. Chapter 7 established that some of this diversity may be related to a diversity in the backgrounds of the prison officers. Variation in the officers' work experience, too, seemed to be related to differences in their perception and behaviour. The present chapter has attempted to contribute to an understanding of the state of the prison service by highlighting the variations that exist between the staffs of different prisons.

CONCLUSION

9.1   The Historical Legacy

This study has been concerned with the analysis of the Irish Prison
System, using the model of Input ——— Technology ——— Output as the
method of analysis.   The analysis has developed along two separate
lines

- the administrative view of the inputs, technology and output

- the organisational 'reality' as perceived by staff at
  different levels which is 'acted out' in the framework
  created by the administrative view but which deviates
  substantially from that view.

The administrative view is seen to have a complex historical develop-
ment commencing with changing views regarding punishment coupled with
the development of models of punitive imprisonment.

It has been argued that European societies eventually realised that
capital punishment was uneconomic and that labour power could be
exploited if punishment were coupled with productive output.
Prisoners became galley slaves and worked in mines though the
culmination of the link between work and punishment was the
development of a detailed system of work in prisons, along lines
already laid down in the Houses of Correction.

Output requirements evolved as a result of philosophical develop-
ments related to the nature of punishment and imprisonment. What was
expected from prisons developed from simple containment pending trial
or for minor offences to a detailed requirement that prisons should

- be economically viable
- act as a deterrent in place of capital punishment
- be a means of inflicting punishment for crimes
- act as a reforming agent on prisoners
- make society a safer place by incarcerating dangerous people

The challenge was to institute a prison system which could meet all of these output requirements simultaneously and to create a new social technology which would bring about these differing requirements.

Foucault has argued that the development of a new technology was not only to meet output requirements but rather was an extension of an emerging all encompassing disciplinary society. At any rate, the technology which did emerge utilised the techniques of strict discipline, a detailed system of rules and regulations governing activities of staff and prisoners, strict time-tabling and a precise system of command. Prisoners were to be isolated where possible and made to work at activities of a monotonous and wearying kind.

The administrative view developed that output requirements of efficiency, punishment, deterrence and reformation could all be achieved by the employment of the new techniques in line with the changing philosophical ideas related to punishment and reformation. Administrators set about refining these techniques and centralising prison affairs under one administrative umbrella which in Ireland was called the General Prisons Board.

But even at the height of administrative control in the 19th century, with its emphasis on silence and segregation, the second 'reality' of prisons, that of the day-to-day interaction beyond the accepted administrative view, was in evidence. The Royal Commission on Prisons in Ireland was concerned to ensure that the tendency for staff to take matters into their own hands in dealing with prisoners should be curbed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether 19th century prison policy makers believed totally in their aim of efficiency or whether this was a useful platform on which to extend their influence. These policy makers did however create the stage on which subsequent dramas, often at different levels, were acted out; efficiency, linked to other output requirements of reform and punishment, as well as to the emerging ideas on the disciplinary society, created an all-embracing system.

We have seen how the reformers of the eighteenth century insisted on a new meaning for punishment; that it should deter others from crime but that it should also reform the criminal. This task fell to prisons for historical reasons already discussed and the techniques for transforming the raw material through the imposition of discipline were developed for use in prisons.

As long as rules and regulations and detailed specification of activities as part of the disciplinary procedure remained the rationale for prisons, then a coalescence of the objectives of the reformers and policy makers with those of the prison staff was achieved.

Apart from their perceived benefit in teaching prisoners discipline and habits of industry, rules and regulations were very attractive in setting up and running smooth and efficient prisons. They enabled administrators to control greater amounts of prison activities, an objective considered extremely important as the prison system became centralised and administrators imposed policies from afar.

The coalescing of objectives with administrative rationale was manifest in many nineteenth century practices of internal administration. It was most evidenced in the 'separate system' whereby prisoners were to be kept separately in single cells and not allowed to communicate with other prisoners; the objective initially was to allow prisoners the solitude to reflect on their crimes and to prevent hardened criminals from influencing others, but this system also proved very effective from an administrative point of view in controlling a prison since it made the development of an inmate subculture difficult.

Essentially, it thus became the rule that measures originally intended as a means of prisoner reform were recognised more and more rather as a means of prisoner control. Discipline and order, originally regarded as means by which inmates could improve their attitudes, had the unanticipated consequence of reducing uncertainty and increasing predictability within prisons. Trade training and education, regarded as crucial to the reform of the prisoner, began to be seen as useful elements in a reward and punishment system. The requirement that prisoners take a bath on committal to prison, originally a means of stamping out fever, came to be used as part of an initiation 'degradation ceremony', ensuring that prisoners were quickly made aware of their low status, thus aiding control.

So long as the 'separate' or 'silent' systems were maintained in the prisons, it was a relatively simple task for staff to subdue, if not win over, the prisoners. But where such systems did not operate, or where later in the century this discipline was relaxed, inmate subculture developed; and where differentiation of treatment of certain categories of prisoners compounded rules and regulations, the problems of their administration in the spirit in which they were drafted became intractable. The functioning of the prison system by means of strict rules and regulations then became much more precarious. Prison staff had then to develop their own methods of control, frequently involving the application of rewards and punishments not countenanced by the authorities.

The historical development of the Irish Prison Service followed a similar pattern and evolved similar structures to the Victorian English prison service. The English service was to change substantially as a result, according to Thomas, of the Gladstone Committee report of 1895. From what had been a "small service, tightly-knit and organised in a para-military structure", there emerged a confused organisation which "saw the increasing alienation of the prison officer from the aims of the organisation, aims which he found confusing, and in some cases, repugnant". The governor's role changed to being that of a reformer, and the governor grades began to identify more with prisoners issues rather than with the tasks of the prison officer.

The Irish Prison Service 'escaped' the main effects of the Gladstone Committee reforms and remained, at least until the 1960's, a small, tightly-knit service with a clear aim of safe custody. The governor grades were staffed and continue to be by people coming through from the 'discipline' services and successive Irish Governments felt no strong public pressures to institute reforms. If equilibrium were maintained by the minimising of escapes, suicides and disturbances, the Irish public appeared satisfied and no reform movement spread.

The 1960's and early 1970's ushered in a climate with the possibilitis of change. Three main strands coincided in this changing climate:

- a dramatic increase in crime and imprisonment rates
- a liberalising of social attitudes
- the incarceration of subversive prisoners resulting from major disturbances in Northern Ireland

The first two of these strands placed policy-makers in a unenviable poition; how to reconcile demands from certain sections of the community for a tough approach to criminals and from other sections for a welfare oriented approach. The subversive prisoners unwittingly helped solve the dilemma for policy-makers. By increasing the emphasis on security of these prisoners and by gaining public acceptance for a hard-line policy, policy-makers have overcome the demands of the reformers. The public has, for example, accepted the occasional transfer of educational and welfare resources to accommodate overflows brought about by a security issue.

The external demands of higher numbers, reform groups and subversives, and the small, tightly-knit structure have created increasing pressure for change, often in opposing directions. These opposing demands have allowed the service to maintain much of its Victorian structure albeit allowing the introduction of some professional groups dedicated to rehabilitation and the setting up of a few open centres. The climate of the Irish prison service remains 'security and safe-custody conscious' with the Victorian para-military staff structure fairly intact.

While the difficulties faced by the uniformed service in England, which saw prison officers excluded from the aim of rehabilitiation, did not happen to the same extent, nevertheless serious staff problems have occurred since the 1970's, particularly in regard to relationships between the Prison Officers Association and the Department of Justice.

The Department of Justice effectively controls all policy and even routine decision-making in prisons resulting in the power of governors being circumscribed. Governors, perhaps because they have all been promoted from the lower ranks (probably because they have 'kept their noses clean') or perhaps because promotion and transfer decisions are made in the Department, defer to civil servants on many issues.

While Irish prison officers did not have to contend with reform-oriented
governors as happened in England, the work climate engendered by the
emphasis on security coupled with a continuation of Victorian staff
relations created a breeding ground for alienation of uniformed staff,
many of whom were better educated and more aware of modern trade union
practice than heretofore.   Relations between the Department of Justice
and prison staff had deteriorated sharply since the early 1970's and
reached such a low ebb that in 1983 the Minister for Justice agreed to a
POA demand to set up a Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System. This
committee assessed the difficulties occurring as stemming from an
unwillingness on the part of young prison officers to accept traditional
prison discipline, to a lack of recognition of normal trade union
procedures, inadequate managerial skills, lack of delegated authority
to governors and lack of job satisfaction in a purely custodial role
coupled with increased tension related to the custody of subversives.

A model for analysing the Irish prisons was proposed in the present
study which suggested that three elements, viz. input, technology and
output interacted, often in quite subtle ways to change and develop
thinking in relation to imprisonment and that the history of the Irish
Prison Service can be traced in the changing patterns related to these
elements. It cannot be said that, for example, output requirements
dictated the technology; rather did both elements interact.   Certain
output requirements such as safe custody did ensure that the
technology was adapted to this aim.   Likewise, the development of the
new technology for transforming people resulted in new output
requirements of efficiency and reform.

The Input — Technology — Output framework has been used in this study
not just to trace the historical development of organisational reality
in Irish prisons but also to analyse the nature of that reality at the
present time.   Perceptions of different staff and interest groups
related to input, technology and output were ascertained with a view
to establishing whether the administrative view of reality coincided
or diverged from that perceived by different groups.

9.2 Developing Trends Related to Input, Technology and Output

(a) Changes Related to Input:

Changing patterns of incarceration led to serious crimes being
dealt with by imprisonment rather than by death or transportation;
the use of imprisonment for those convicted for subversion being a
particularly difficult problem for prison administrators. The
suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in the early 19th century in
Ireland resulted in many convictions for breaking the terms of
curfew.

Some changes relating to revised inputs of prisoners were the
results of developing liberal social views. Other changes
emerged from difficulties encountered by prison administrations in
coping with certain prisoners as, for example, in the financial
constraints felt by large urban prisons in coping with the influx
of vagrants from country areas. Still other changes occurred
because other systems of deterrence and punishment were no longer
acceptable. The reluctance of Australian administrations to
accept convicts eventually led to the demise of the system.

The history of imprisonment has many instances where changing
social views coinciding with new conditions interacted to produce
new policies. It cannot be said that philosophies always
developed to impose demands for changed conditions. Frequently,
conditions themselves had to change and philosophies developed
sometimes as post-hoc rationalisations.

(b) Changes Related to Technology and Output:

The centralisation of prisons under one authority coincided with
increasing Government involvement in many spheres of activity but
was facilitated and even became inevitable as a result of the
unwillingness of local authorities to develop prisons in line with
advanced thinking on the nature of imprisonment. This 'advanced'
thinking is encapsulated in the preamble to the 1779 Penitentiary
Act which expressed the hope "that solitude, hard work and religion
could lead to the reform of the criminal and the deterrance of
others from crime."

The technology to reform and deter came to be refined through a strict regime involving solitude, hard work and religion. By the latter half of the 19th century, the technology had so developed that the Royal Commission on Prisons in Ireland, reporting in 1884, sought to refine further the already detailed system of rules and regulations which had evolved to control the activities of prisoners and staff. The Commission saw its task as creating an efficient, rather than a reforming, centralised prison system where all eventualities and disturbances could be predicted and where all activities were prescribed by the system of rules.

A quasi-military organisation had evolved in the running of prisons. Such a structure had been found to be useful in military type organisations where control is the prime necessity and where orders, transmitted down the hierarchy, are expected to be obeyed. The lack of emphasis on reform by the Royal Commission, in contrast to the Gladstone Committee in England, ensured that the practice of external recruitment to the governor grade did not occur in Ireland and that the uniformed tightly-knit structure continued.

Developments in the technology of prisons, or rather lack of them, have created major difficulties for staff groups, particularly for the basic grade prison officer. The detailed specification of rules and regulations with constant monitoring of activities of staff and prisoners, emanating from the Victorian mind, may well have been useful tools for efficiency and control as well as being acceptable to prisoners and staff in the 19th Century. The abolition of the separate and silent systems relieved prisoners of some of the disciplinary burden but made problems of control more difficult for staff. The development of an inmate sub-culture resulting from association ensured that the prison officer had to 'interpret' the rules and regulations to survive. But the rules and regulations relating to prison staff's behaviour changed hardly at all with the result that the present day prison officer is working in a disciplinary climate appropriate to the Victorian age and is relatively in a much more difficult position than his Victorian counterpart who did not have the problems of inmate association to contend with.

9.3 Perceptions Related To Inputs

The administrative view of reality related to inputs centres on those
prisoners with the potential to cause most embarrassment if not held
securely.   Chief among this group are what the authorities call
'subversives' who can only be contained by the use of police and army
personnel to re-enforce prison staff.   Other prisoner categories of
concern to the authorities are those with psychiatric problems who
might be the cause of a furore if they committed suicide, drug abusers,
remand prisoners who sometimes disturb the equilibrium by demanding
special treatment, odd individuals classed as 'troublemakers' and more
recently prisoners with AID's antibodies who are isolated in separate
wings.   Governors' views were that the majority of prisoners could be
handled easily enough but that the few with 'personality' problems
required careful handling.   Governors therefore did not have global
attitudes to prisoners but only developed strong views concerning those
prisoners likely to disturb the equilibrium of their prison.   Those
governors who have had dealings with subversives considered these as
very dangerous because they threatened escapes and disturbances.

The administrative view leaned towards diverting potential problems
away from the established prison system, to military or quasi-military
custody in the case of 'subversives' as well as reducing the number of
remand prisoners through liaison with the gardai, to enable that system
to stay in equilibrium and to allow the technology process all who
entered the system.   Policy makers and senior administrators did not
therefore have strong attitudes towards prisoners, apart from
subversives, but rather viewed them objectively as senior management of
most organisations would view raw materials.

The raw material in prisons begins to make a more forceful impact on
levels below that of policy maker and senior administrator and it is at
lower levels that stronger attitudes develop. Attitudes towards
prisoners were seen to have developed as a result of the history of
demands made on prison staff by prisoners but also because of the
interpretations of these demands based on personal orientations of
staff. Middle management for example, had much stronger views related
to 'subversives' than had basic grade prison officer, not least because
interaction was generally with senior prison staff rather than with
prison officers who were only there as a physical presence alongside
army and police personnel.   It would be difficult for the authorities

to blame individual prison officers for escapes or riots caused by these prisoners. This finding is at variance somewhat with the view of the Committee of Inquiry which identified the pressures generated by subversives as the main cause of difficulties for prison officers. Indeed, the presence of subversives may have helped to clarify the goal of safe custody and deflected the inroads of the 'helping professions'.

In general long-term prisoners are seen as easier to deal with as they have come to terms with the 'facts' of prison life and have begun to partake of an agreed scenario between authorities and prisoners. Short-term prisoners are perceived as most difficult because the system of rewards and punishments has little impact on them.

Because basic grade prison officers have to oversee the activities of prisoners and interpret the rules and regulations to ensure that equilibrium is maintained, it is not surprising that diverse attitudes related to prisoners have developed. The main impression from interviews with prison offices was that the nature of the crime committed was usually unrelated to prisoners' behaviour while in prison and consequently to prison officers' attitudes to prisoners.

Further exploration with questionnaires revealed eight belief patterns among prison officers concerning prisoners:
- Psychiatric causes of trouble in prisons

- Problem prisons require tough action

- Maintenance of order through rules

- Prisoners are capable of compromise

- Prisoners can be motivated

- Prisoners are untrustworthy

- Prisoners are not rehabilitated in prisons

- Prisoners will behave quietly if handled well

These belief patterns highlight the fact that prison officers have diffuse attitudes towards prisoners which inevitably results in their behaving somewhat differently though the system of rules and regulations might demand similar behaviour on the part of all.

These belief patterns were found to be related to personal orientations of prison officers as well as to the type of prison in which officers worked. For example, the belief that 'problem prisoners require tough action' and that 'prisoners are untrustworthy' were both found to be positively correlated with authoritarianism.

Other 'personality' variables were found to be correlated with behaviour and belief patterns. Prison officers for example high on a factor identified as compliance were more likely to engage in rule-abiding behaviour but also to be concerned with maintaining order through prisoner-oriented behavour. Staff scoring high on this factor were more likely to be consulted by superiors concerning prisoners.

Size of prison officer was found to be negatively correlated with the belief that custodial compromise is possible in prisons or that prisoner-oriented behaviour was important. More research would be required to test the significance of this finding. It may be partly explained by the probability that big staff are allocated the more stressful jobs. There may, however, be other reasons such as the possibility that big staff do not feel the need to engage in compromise or in prisoner-oriented behaviour.

Those staff who perceived strong pressure to conform, not surprisingly, reported feeling harrassed by superiors and also reported that they involved themselves less frequently in rule-abiding behaviour but more in custodial compromise behaviour.

Personal characteristics of prison officers or indeed of staff in most organisations orients them into behaving in certain ways. The Victorian para-military structure of prisons evolved a system of roles to minimise the effects of personality by aiming to apply rewards and punishments in an even- handed way. Not all activity can be controlled by rules and regulations and the manner in which opportunities for deviation within a prison are fastened onto will depend to a large extent on personal orientations. Where, for example, a disturbance occurs within a prison, it is highly likely that officers high on authoritarianism will react in a tougher manner than their colleagues who score lower on this factor. Those officers oriented towards compliance are likely to abide closely by the rules. Big prison officers, as well as being in demand for certain jobs by superiors, are less likely to maintain order through rules and to be less concerned about compromise.

The selection of staff for special squads as, for example, the riot squad in Hull discussed by Thomas and Pooley, would be an interesting area of study to identify if certain personal orientations including size were identified by senior staff. The personality orientation of the senior officer (Physical Education Instructor) who effectively took control during the Hull riot and of individual officers who meted out tough treatment was likely to have been a factor. The development of a selection instrument based on the personality questionnaire in the present study might help to filter some of the more extreme prison officers. Senior staff would probably wish to have a majority of compliant prison officers, though they may also wish to have a reserve force of tough-minded officers. Such selection instruments are only worth developing at a time of high unemployment anyway.

While it seems highly likely that personal characteristics of prison staff orient them towards behaving in certain ways towards prisoners, these orientations are counter-balanced by the demands made through working in certain kinds of prisons and this is discussed in 9.6.

Professional staffs' views of prisoners were seen to be influenced by their own personal orientations but particularly by the demands placed on them by professional education and training.

Doctors and psychiatrists stressed psychological problems arising from deprivation as being major causes for prisoners difficulties while welfare staff saw prisoners as social casualties. Chaplains were positive towards the idea of prisoner reform. What all professional groups had in common was a more 'objective' view of prisoners than uniformed staff who had to deal with the more stressful side of prison life.

9.4 Perceptions related to Outputs

Output requirements are to a certain extent fashioned by historical trends and different eras have made different demands viz simple containment, reform in various guises, efficiency, punishment, deterrence, safe custody, humane containment; each output demand being influenced by prevailing philosophical and social views as well as by administrative assessments of what was feasible. At any point in time, the administrative view of output requirements is fashioned by the demands made by the environment. Politicians and consequently senior

civil servants are influenced by interest groups, by demands made through constituents and by perceptions as to what are feasible and acceptable outputs.

A number of important developments had occurred in the 1960's and early 1970's which had caused a re-assessment of aims.   The liberalising of social attitudes in the 1960's might have brought about a strong emphasis on rehabilitation if an increasing crime rate, coupled with public demands for deterrent measures as well as the influx of subversives, had not resulted in increased security consciousness.

Ministerial pronouncements are a function of what is considered feasible with the available technology and expedient politically. Senior administrators walk a tightrope between what is feasible and what is acceptable to the public and pronouncements on outputs are a fundamental part of the administrative 'fiction' as to what is happening.   The administrative view stresses most possible outputs, safe custody, reform, elimination of escapes and suicides, education, welfare, deterrance because all interest groups have to be taken into acount.   Government policy was to securely contain subversive prisoners while making some changes in education, training and welfare services, while remaining conscious of the "man in the street's" views not to make prison regimes too soft.

To ensure that possible public concern is reduced, policy-makers and senior administrators attempt to highlight those activities likely to be congruent with prevailing public concern and minimise discussion on non-congruent activities.   News related to suicides, escapes or disturbances is difficult to manage and usually brings great attention on the prison service. Such events are, however, irregular and public awareness soon subsides.   Apart from such irregular events, three main developments have occurred in the 1970's to make the management of output information more difficult for policy-makers and senior administrators.   The first is the incarceration of subversives who can command strong media attention; their various prison protests against conditions, strip-searching, curtailment of visits, since the early 1970's have kept public interest in prisons alive though no strong public support for change in their conditions has emerged. The second development is the establishment of the Prisoners' Rights Organisation which constantly monitors prison management's performance. The third development is the emergence of the Prison Officers Association as outspoken critics of management performance.

These developments have made management of output requirements more
difficult, and public pronouncements related to prisons tend to be
oriented towards appeasing particular interest groups. Organisational
aims should therefore be judged, not just on public pronouncements of
its policy-makers but on the activities it produces.

Senior civil servants in the Department of Justice are the interpreters
of environmental demands and the co-ordinators of these demands with the
organisational technology and available personnel. They refine the
overall goals as outlined by ministers as well as refining the
technology to take account of fresh inputs of raw material and changing
personnel demands. Environmental pressures can be seen therefore as
transformed into organisational goals, which are themselves interpreted
in their own way by the various groups comprising the prison system.

The environment for the penal policy-makers are individuals, groups and
organisations with whom the prison service forms relationships; e.g.
courts, politicians, gardai, welfare agencies, other government depart-
ments, pressure groups of various sorts with some interest in the
workings of prisons. Not alone do these policy-makers interpret the
demands from the environment but they also seek to influence these
demands or defuse them. They may do this for a number of organisational
reasons, not least because they consider that some demands may be very
difficult for the organisation to meet. Of course, there may also be
an element of being satisfied with 'tried and true' methods and of being
wary of any change, the consequences of which might be difficult to
foresee.

Changes in environmental demands in relation to output have to be
reacted to in some form, however, by policy-makers. While initial
organisational reaction might be to ignore demands, persistant demands
require action.

The administrative view related to outputs from prisons becomes refined
as views of prison management and basic grade staff are ascertained.
Governors stress safe custody and security not least because they are
held legally responsible in these matters but also because they are
likely to be censured if breaches occur. Governors are, however,
subject to other conflicting pressures from visiting committees and from
professional groups who often are perceived to demand different outputs
related to welfare and education of prisoners, demands which are

perceived to threaten the equilibrium of the prison. Governors can go some way to appeasing these demands because some of the demands can be funnelled to help meet what governors consider to be their prime responsibility, i.e. safe custody. Training and education programmes for prisoners as well as job parole can be useful tools in the reward and punishment system developed to maintain a safe custody environment, because these programmes can act as motivators. The development of welfare and training programmes is also seen to keep professional staff busy and 'off the governor's back'. Psychiatric programmes are seen by governors as useful tools in reducing tension and in allowing difficult prisoners be transferred to the Central Mental Hospital. Visiting Committees, while imposing certain demands on governors are nevertheless viewed as serving a very useful purpose in upholding the rule of law.

The para-military structure which had evolved from the Victorians had a clear goal to exercise control with a view to maintaining equilibrium. Incidences or developments which disturbed that equilibrium were to be countered and the organisation was geared to minimising such incidents and developments. A total disciplinary system had evolved which the uniformed service had taken on board as its raison d'etre. Ministers and policy-makers could change the "brand name" for public consumption but the operators of the system were less likely to change the product.

Middle managers' perceptions of output demands are concerned with the application of the 'tried and true' methods and where necessary adapting to meet intense demands for output change. The more usual approach to changing output demands, however, is to ignore them or if this is not possible to show that meeting the demands will prove disastrous for the prison service.

Safe custody is seen by Chief Officers and Assistant Chief Officers as the crucial task of the prison service. They consider that many prisoners, particularly long-term, would escape if given the chance. This belief is instilled into recruit prison officers and is used to justify the pre-occupation with constant vigilance, not just related to escape attempts but also suicides and disturbances.

Management are almost certainly right in assessing that increases in escapes, suicides or disturbances would be unacceptable to the public. The uniformed service is convinced that to prevent these incidents, the system of control which it has inherited is the optimum approach under 'normal' circumstances. In 'abnormal' circumstances, as happened in

the case of the Mountjoy riots in 1972 involving subversive prisoners,
the uniformed service pressed strongly for the re-housing of these
prisoners in Portlaoise and the setting up of a control system based on
armed perimeter security and high levels of manpower within the prison.

Having defined the outcomes from the 'normal' prisons as being safe
custody and minimum disturbance, the uniformed service applies the
traditional methods of control where all activities are prescribed and
where deviations, by prisoners and junior staff, are subject to
sanctions. One of the main concerns is to "nip in the bud" any
possible unacceptable output or at least ensure that such outputs do not
come to public notice. Another purpose is also served by swift action
by uniformed staff in minimising disturbances; the belief that if
disturbances went unchecked, the continuation of the relationship
between prisoners and uniformed staff whereby prisoners at least overtly
accept the imposition of rules and regulations, would be eroded.

Middle managers (Chief Officers and Assistant Chief Officers) rarely
mentioned outputs such as training, education, employment or welfare.
Uniformed trades staff saw possible openings for prisoners on release if
only trade training were developed. These trades staff considered that
they can offer intelligent employment to prisoners but are not enouraged
by the 'discipline' side of the prison service.

Work activity is, however, seen by the uniformed service as helping to
meet the main goals of safe custody and minimum disturbance by:

(a)   adding meaning to the prison officers' job in overseeing
        'productive' activities;

(b)   keeping prisoners busy and away from sources of trouble;

(c)   increasing the domain for the application of rewards and
        punishments whereby attractive jobs can be offered to
        well-behaved prisoners and the threat of losing such a job is
        also seen to motivate prisoners towards good behaviour.

Middle managers viewed the development of educational facilities with
scepticism, saw teachers "filling prisoners' heads with liberal ideas"
and prisoners using attendance at class as a means of escape from the
domain of the uniformed service by dodging work.

In general, Chief Officers and Assistant Chief Officers do not consider it to be the job of the 'discipline' side to get involved in welfare work. Prison officers are warned against 'over-friendliness' with prisoners because of the possibility of being compromised but also because of the perceived difficulty in "sitting down with the prisoner to-day and making him work tomorrow".

Rehabilitation is not considered by middle managers to be a feasible output as most believe that even a short time in prison can confirm a prisoner in crime, though they are convinced that most prisoners give up crime by the age of thirty. Those who do not, become alcoholics, drug addicts or vagrants for whom there is little hope anyway. Chief Officers and Assistant Chief Officers did express some puzzlement at the fact that some prisoners who are 'great workers' while in prison revert to a life of crime on release.

Some middle managers who expressed a belief in the possibility of prisoner reform considered that the imposition of strict discipline was the best means of reform rather than education or welfare facilities.

Prison officers are generally concerned about output requirements only insofar as these may directly affect themselves through demands made by superiors. Much of the prison officers time is taken with 'keeping his nose clean' and with 'not making waves'. If escapes and disturbances do occur, the main issue for individual officers is whether they could be held responsible. Those prison officers who did analyse overall output requirements were very sceptical of any reforming role for prisons, though literacy education and training were development possibilities.

While individual prison officers may not have strong views regarding output requirements, the Prison Officers Association expressed a view that rehabilitation should be an output requirement and that prison officers should be responsible for bringing it about. The POA was concerned to ensure that increased job satisfaction would be possible for prison officers through involvement in rehabilitation programmes.

The POA has been smarting for a number of years from what it considers were arbitrary disciplinary decisions related to their members and from negotiating in an industrial relations climate more relevant to a previous era.

The Department of Justice had been using the umbrella of 'security' to justify many of its decisions related to staff matters and its unwillingness to negotiate with the POA on important issues. The influx of teachers and welfare staff aggrieved the POA who saw in the services provided the possibility of a development which could benefit their members if given an opportunity. Almost certainly they also saw the introduction of education training and welfare services as an area on which to put pressure on the Department of Justice who could not put forward the 'security' argument.

The POA officials themselves were coming under pressure from the large numbers of better educated recruits to change the Victorian climate of staff relations and to create a new platform for modern trade union negotiations. More recent public utterances suggest that young articulate prison officers are dominating the POA and a climate of open hostility to the Department of Justice has been created.

Visiting committees have historically been the public watchdog on the implementation of outputs and have usually been guided by established views on the purposes of imprisonment, particularly the importance of control and discipline. Some re-appraisal of their role as 'courts of law' was evident as they seemed to be concerned with looking beyond the outputs of safe custody and minimum disturbance to greater utilisation of open centes and to alternatives to imprisonment.

Prison chaplains were dissatisfied with the absence of a treatment orientation in the Irish Prison Service and questioned the value of prisons which excluded programmes of education and training. Chaplains considered that the POA were not interested in introducing treatment regimes but were also aware that many members of the public wanted tough regimes in prisons. Chaplains were convinced that once treatment regimes were introduced, public confidence in such regimes would grow.

Medical staff tended to stress safe custody as an important output from prisons. They disagreed, however, that incarceration of such high numbers in prisons was warranted on grounds of dangerousness. A re-appraisal of dangerousness should occur and those prisoners not so considered should be placed on rehabilitative programmes designed to prepare prisoners for life outside prison. Medical staff considered that the disciplinary regime in closed prisons militated against the building of staff/prisoner relationships thus ensuring that prison experience remained a damaging one for prisoners.

Prison welfare staff also considered that the climate of discipline and control is anathema to proper welfare and reform programmes. The output from the welfare service should, according to themselves, be the provision of a link between the prisoner and his family and counselling on adjustment problems on release as well as following up on released prisoners. They rejected the demands of prison management that welfare officers should provide jobs for prisoners on release. Some welfare staff were highly sceptical of any meaningful welfare function being carried out in the disciplinary climate of closed prisons and pointed to the under-utilisation of open centres as proof that policy-makers paid lip-service to rehabilitation.

These different output expectations form the canvas on which the activities and technology of prisons is sketched. These outputs allow the possibility for different staff groupings to impose their own priorities. The differing emphasis placed by different groups reflects a dynamic to maximise the influence of that particular group. Visiting committees would like to free themselves somewhat from the attention of the Department of Justice who in turn are reflecting the demands made by the environment on themselves and their Minister. Policy demands vary therefore as perceptions in society change; an increase in particular crimes may concentrate the emphasis on deterrence and punishment.

Prison governors have to administer policy based on the output requirements from policy makers while ensuring that these policy requirements are capable of implementation in the present structures. Middle management perceive output requirements as involving the maintenance of good order and the prevention of escapes and suicides. Their raison d'etre has developed based on these outputs. Prison officers generally do not have developed views with regard to output requirements but rather react to the perceptions of their superiors.

Professional groups working in prisons, chaplains, social workers, doctors, perceive outputs in line with their own disciplines and each group would like greater involvement in defining output requirements.

Hierarchical surveillance was the cornerstone of the 18th and 19th
century penitentiary.   Prisoners were to be transformed by the
imposition of discipline and control which in turn implied constant
surveillance.   The logic of the penitentiary involved the detailed
monitoring of movement within prisons, both of prisoners and staff.

It has already been pointed out that the change from the separate and
silent system to one of association had important effects on the
development of inmate sub-culture, making control more difficult.
The system of control exercised on junior staff would seem to have
changed less than it did on prisoners.

The logic of the disciplinary system implies that prisoners and junior
staff come to accept their lowly positions in the hierarchy.   The
various initiation rites, the bath, prison clothes, requirements to
call staff 'sir' are designed to appraise new prisoners of their lack
of status.   Recalcitrant prisoners are punished through various
formal and indeed informal systems.   In the case of subversives,
where the usual 'degradation ceremonies' have not worked, the
technology has developed through the use of constant strip searching,
lightning raids on cells, curtailments on visits and facilities.

The recent POA resistance to the imposition of traditional
disciplinary methods is an indication that junior staff may in the
future not be willing to accept their traditional status.

The structure of the prison service can be viewed as part of the
technology insofar as it forms part of the process for transforming
prisoners.   The hierarchical command structure forms an integral part
of the way rules and regulations are administered to bring about a
change in prisoner behaviour.

The change in prisoner behaviour is the refinement of all output
requirements;   uniformed staff wish the prisoner to conform to their
view of compliance with prison discipline, welfare staff wish for
greater prisoner integration with the family, psychiatrists for
altered interpersonal behaviour which can be applied outside the
prison.

Work activities are the kernal of the discipline system within prisons and are also the means by which a prison officer's skill in relating to prisoners and imposing discipline is judged. It is through work that prisoners are motivated, kept busy or even punished, though the notion of transformation through hard work has almost disappeared. A disciplinary regime is seen as useful in meeting output requirements of safe custody and minimum disturbance.

Activity is the key to good order, according to senior prison staff. When prisoners refuse to work, this is seen as a direct attack on the system and is dealt with through forfeiture of privileges or transfer to another unit, either a hospital wing or segregation unit. Prisoners who comply with disciplinary requirements related to work are rewarded through transfer to prime jobs or by being recommended for early parole.

As well as the imposition of rules and regulations within the context of work activity, the technology also employs detailed timetabling and hierarchical surveillance, the objective being that all activities of prisoners and staff should be known by those on the next 'level'. This is the method by which the prison system is expected to run smoothly, disturbances and incidents kept to a minimum and escapes and suicides eliminated. Where incidents do occur which threaten the smooth operation of a prison, the perpetrators, either staff or prisoners are admonished by the administrative system as follows;

(a)   For minor offences, being brought before the visiting committee if a prisoner and being given a written reprimand if a prison officer.

(b)   For major incidents, through transfer to a punishment or hospital wing or Central Mental Hospital in the case of prisoners; transfer to another prison or dismissal in the case of prison officers.

Prison officers are expected to (i) be even-handed in dealing with prisoners, (ii) be observant, (iii) be neat and tidy, (iv) keep promises to prisoners, (v) know prisoners who will tell them if trouble is brewing, (vi) call prisoners by first names rather than a nickname, (vii) be preferably big as this gains 'respect'. All of

the above 'qualities' are seen as important in the smooth running of a
prison by ensuring that prisoners are not unnecessarily hassled, that
information on potential trouble is forthcoming and that good order
prevails; staff who are not able to control prisoners without creating
incidents are not considered good staff.

The administrative view insists that all activities of prison officers
are specified by a detailed set of rules and regulations and by
constant monitoring by Chief Officers and Assistant Chief Officers,
some of whom make at least five inspections per day.

The establishment of any familiarity with prisoners is frowned upon as
the possibility of being compromised is seen as very real by prison
management who also consider it is not possible for a prison officer
to exercise control by directive on one occasion, if on others he
becomes engaged in friendly discussions with prisoners.

The pivot on which the disciplinary system works is the Chief
Officer. The Chief Officer is expected to be linked to the staff and
prisoner grapevines, should know the peculiarities of his staff and
prisoners and should keep separated those junior staff and prisoners
likely to be quarrelsome.

Though the disciplinary system has evolved partly to control and
prescribe the activities of junior staff, prison officers have
developed patterns of behaviour around which they organise their
actions. Four such patterns were identified in the present study
viz. rule-abiding behaviour, remaining unobstrusive, prisoner-oriented
behaviour and custodial compromise.

What the four patterns suggest is that the behaviours manifest in
prison officers are not developed at random but rather from a limited
number of sets of actions with which the officers respond to the work
environment. Certain types of behaviour tend to go together, and an
officer who frequently performs one of the behaviours in a pattern
will also tend frequently to perform the others as well. The extent
to which a given officer performs the behaviours in a pattern will
depend, in part, on a complex interaction between the norms of the
prison and work group to which he is assigned and his personal
orientation.

Prison officers were much less likely to remain unobstrusive in open prisons for example and also much less likely to engage in a custodial compromise in Mountjoy (a large committal prison) or Portlaoise (a prison housing subversives). It is also worth noting that several of the behaviour patterns identified do not conform to official prison policy. Apparently, however, those behaviours are useful to the officer in the day-to-day performance of his duties.

Further evidence was sought from prison officers as to how certain incidents were actually handled even though prescriptions for their handling were laid down by the rules and regulations. Prison officers themselves often handle situations such as two prisoners fighting in a toilet or handle a situation of a prisoner answering back. Some more serious breaches are referred to superiors though 17% of prison officers said that officers themselves handled situations, probably by physical means, where an officer was struck by a prisoner. Further evidence for the view that prison officers attempt to maximise their influence and subvert the administrative view comes from the finding that a proportion of prison officers report that they themselves decide on whether a prisoner should see the governor or the welfare staff. A proportion also report that they censor prisoners' letters and generally filter requests from prisoners.

An outline has already been given as to how attempts are made to subsume various professional groups' aims into the technology; medical staff are seen to aid control by administering drugs, education and welfare staff are seen as providing opportunities for incentives. There is little doubt, however, but that professional groups are a potential threat to the traditional system of control. Professional staff would hope to build relationships of trust with prisoners, and develop greater self-awareness. The achievement of these aims would undermine the traditional basis for the technology viz the acceptance by prisoners of low status. Professional groups too tend to question existing methods of control and are generally perceived by uniformed staff as too interfering.

Most governors considered that chaplains should confine themselves to their spiritual duties rather than interfering in prison administration; though two out of five prison officers felt that chaplains did not have sufficient involvement in how prisons are run.

Prison administrators had easier relationships with medical staff, particularly psychiatrists who are perceived as calming troublesome prisoners. Eighty-four percent (84%) of prison officers agreed that doctors co-operate well with them. Doctors did not seem to 'interfere' to the same extent as chaplains though they generally felt that some complaints by prisoners regarding harsh treatment were warranted.

Teachers were perceived by over half the prison officers as co-operating well with them.

In general, therefore, professional groups do not have major impact on the technology. They sometimes question aspects of it but their activities are not seen to threaten it at present. Indeed, some of their activities are seen to merge well with the technology.

9.6 Application of the Technology in Different Prisons

The Victorian ideal was for the even-handed application of rules and regulations within a complete disciplinary system involving staff and prisoners.

We have already seen how staff 'modify' the technology to meet their own personal orientations and interpretations of a situation. The demands made on staff are likely to vary in different prisons and the application of the technology likewise varies.

Mention has already been made of the changed technology in Portlaoise where subversives are housed and where armed perimeter security is coupled with high numbers of prison staff and police; prison staff alone outnumber the prisoners. An inmate command structure exists and major incidents only occur if those in charge approve. Direct daily contact with junior staff is only for the purposes of feeding, supervision of visits and exercise of bodily functions. Negotiation on conditions is done by the leaders directly with prison management.

The traditional technology has had to be adapted to deal with this situation, mainly because prisoners in Portlaoise refuse to accept a low status definition. Strip searches, lightning cell searches, detailed specification of conditions for visits, have been developed

as ways of keeping subversives 'on the run'. Of all the closed prisons, staff in Portlaoise are less concerned with remaining unobstrusive (staying on their post, showing respect for superiors or preventing incidents from getting out of hand). Of all the prisons, open or closed, staff in Portlaoise, not surprisingly, report less involvement in all decision areas related to prisoners but also find it easier to conform to the norms of the prison.

Conforming is probably easier in Portlaoise for prison officers because their job is mainly to provide a physical presence and because prisoners are likely to be viewed as 'the enemy' and staff find it easier to have a common purpose. Prison officers' sense of self-esteem does not seem to be as high in Portlaoise as it is in most other prisons, probably because the opportunities to bolster self-esteem are reduced since staff are not in personal control of prisoners and perhaps because subversive prisoners deflate prison officers' self-esteem where possible. Staff in Portlaoise were also least likely to engage in custodial compromise behaviour, or to consider that prisoners can be motivated, or to warn prisoners, or to deal with requests from prisoners. Staff are most likely in Portlaoise to feel a sense of physical danger.

Staff in closed prisons, particularly the larger ones, maintained order through the application of rules and were less inclined to engage in custodial compromise behaviour than were their colleagues in open centres. Staff in open centres were more likely to become involved with prisoners and to be less concerned with the spreading of stories by colleagues. Open centres also seem to allow more scope for decision-making. Some significant differences occurred between staff in Shanganagh and Loughan House, both open centes for juveniles at the time of the study; the former being adjacent to Dublin, the latter located in a remote country area. Of all prisons staff in Loughan House felt most strongly that "working in prisons over a long time can effect an officer's mental health" while staff in Shanganagh felt least strongly that this was so. The nature of the regimes in both centres should be similar so there are unidentified factors operating, perhaps related to age structure, isolation, concern about relocation to another prison. Prisoners were much more likely to mention personal problems to staff in Shanganagh than were prisoners in Loughan House.

Staff in the committal prisons (and Portlaoise) are less likely to consider that prisoners can be motivated than are staff in the open centres and the small non-committal prisons. Committal prisons involve much movement of prisoners, to and from courts, between wings and to non-committal prisons. Prisoners transferred to non-committal prisons are likely to be selected long-term and more likely to be amenable to the rewards and punishment system.

9.7 Implications For The Study Of Organisations

The present study has used the Input - Technology - Output model to analyse the historical development of the Irish Prison Service and the present day 'reality' of that service. The model has been applied to a number of levels

(a) the level of the policy makers who put forward the administrative view of 'reality' and define the canvas on which other competing realities have to operate.

(b) the level of different uniformed staff levels, middle management and basic grade prison officers.

(c) the level of professional groups who operate within the prison service.

Each level of analysis has indicated that there is a complex relationship between Input, Technology and Output, each acting on the other in a circular fashion. Changes in inputs influence the technology as seen in the case of subversives held in a quasi-military prison; the possibilities of the technology influence what is marketed as possible outputs while environmental pressure for changes in outputs in turn can change inputs by for example de-criminalisation of certain acts as well as changing the technology by the use of welfare and psychiatric services.

The analysis of the administrative view has shown that the main thrust of policy is to maintain equilibrium. Threats to the equilibrium come from changes in inputs, technology and output expectations. Policy makers have reacted to changed expectations by, for example,

- diverting potentially troublesome inputs to hospitals or
  quasi-military institutions

- creating a technology which has as its raison d'etre the
  maintenance of equilibrium

- ensuring that staff or prisoners who disturb the equilibrium
  are relocated or dismissed

- introducing the notion of rehabilitation in the form of welfare
  and education staff while still essentially preserving the
  existing systems.

- marketing those outputs which are best brought about by the
  available technology, i.e. safe custody.

Policy makers therefore perform a balancing act between competing
demands brought about by input, technology and output and in that
sense can be seen to have a neutral view of what a prison system
should be.   The administrative view is to look for: "what works and
is publicly acceptable at this point in time, given the competing
pressures in the system"?   New ideas on what a prison system should
be are only important if they compete for notice in the public eye.

The views of organisational 'reality' change somewhat at different
staff levels and at the level of prisoners.   The outline of the
prison service as handed down from the 19th century has changed very
little even though there appears to be major contradictions.   It may
well be that, unlike other bureacracies, lower level actors can
exercise power;   senior prison staff over junior, junior staff over
prisoners and strong prisoners over weak.   The exercise of power is
facilitated in such a structure and the contradictions are subsumed to
that end.   What staff have to do on joining is to learn the nature of
organisational reality at different levels, ie. the administrative and
that perceived by lower grade staff and prisoners.

Looking at the three theoretical frameworks outlined in Chapter 1, it
can be shown that each of the frameworks can provide useful insights
to the study of prisons.

1.   Implications Related to Systems Theory

(a)   The cybernetic model of Input, Technology, Output is seen to be a
       useful framework to analyse data.

(b)   Goals are seen as symbols around which activities are justified.
       But goals must be viewed in the context of such activities and
       not necessarily as standing out from them.   The possibilities
       related to technology modify goals just as goals are seen to
       rationalise activities and technology.

(c)   Numerous instances were found to show how the prison service
       seeks equilibrium;   Staff are very conscious of the need to 'keep
       their nose clean' and not to 'make waves'.

       In dealing with the environment, the prison service attempts to
       filter demands related to the input of prisoners, as can be seen
       in the attempts to channel remand and 'subversive' prisoners away
       from civil prisons, and markets those outputs which it can best
       deliver, e.g. safe custody.   The technology is adapted to meet
       demands from the input and output.   When the existing technology
       could not cope with the input of subversives and where these
       prisoners could not be transferred to military custody, perimeter
       security was introduced in one prison.

       Internal equilibrium is maintained in a number of ways.   Staff
       are required to be even-handed in their approach to prisoners,
       difficult staff and prisoners are transferred to lower status
       units having been tried at a disciplinary hearing.   The
       provision of reasonable food is seen as helping equilibrium as is
       the provision of medical care, training and welfare facilities.

       The 'initiation ceremony' for prisoners ensures that they are
       made aware of their low status and requirements to comply with
       rules, while the two-year probationary period for staff ensures
       that those who do not learn organisational reality are
       dismissed.   In Portlaoise, where 'initiation ceremonies' have
       had little effect on subversives, the technology has developed
       strip-searching, lightning raids on cells, intense supervision of
       visits as means of establishing the legitimacy of the authorities.

The key staff member in the maintenance of equilibrium is the
chief officer who makes it his business to co-ordinate
information from the grapevine and who ensures that rewards and
punishments are administered even-handedly so that junior staff
or prisoners do not become too aggrieved.   The importance of the
grapevine in maintaining equilibrium is evident from staffs' view
of the 'loner' about whom no information is forthcoming and who
may be planning a suicide or an escape.

The chief officer too almost certainly is aware of many of the
unofficial ways in which junior staff deal with prisoners.
While some of these unofficial activities may be accepted as
practical and even necessary, the chief officer has to ensure
that such exercise of power by junior staff does not extend to
disturbing the delicate balance of relationships within
prisons.   The chief officer will, for example, ensure that a
quick-tempered officer is not placed in charge of a difficult
prisoner and that if officers promise to do something for
prisoners that such a promise will be carried out.

Difficulties with individual prisoners are required to be handled
so that a sense of grievance does not build up.   Where a fracas
or disturbance does occur, the objective is to 'nip it in the
bud' by forceful action.

The use of rewards and punishments is to keep prisoners from
causing upsets or disturbances and such rewards and punishments
have been extended by prison staff beyond what the administrative
view might allow.

In terms of systems theory, it is quite clear in the present study
that the policy makers and senior administrators have taken the
historically given structure and adapted it to meet changing needs.
The criticisms made of systems theory that it reifies organisations
and does not take the actors' definitions of the situation into
account is not borne out in the present study.   Rather is the
adaption of the prison system to its environment and its striving for
equilibrium to be seen as the 'senior' actors defining the situation
and requiring to keep all interest groups satisfied, while still
administering a 'system' that works, within their definitions.

While using a framework related more to systems theory, the study was
concerned to elucidate the various definitions of reality held by
different levels.

Mention has already been made that senior staff, and not the system,
sought adaptation and equilibrium to maintain their view of a coherent
prison service.

The imposition of one level's definition of 'reality' on junior staff
levels and prisoners is evident throughout the study. What most
junior levels and prisoners did was to accept the minimum of such
definitions necessary to survive without strain but then to re-define
'reality' to allow themselves as much scope as possible. The
filtering of requests from prisoners and the day-to-day unsupervised
interactions with prisoners were means, for junior staff, of
re-definining 'reality'. A number of patterns of action between
prison officers and prisoners were discovered and the patterns engaged
in by an individual staff member was a complex function of his
personal history and the job demands of particular prisons and even
tasks within prisons.   For example, the opportunities afforded in
open prisons for more interaction with prisoners results in actions
related to greater compromise.

Personal biographies can be seen to influence prison officers
definitions of the situation though an interesting fact is that so
many different biographies learn an organisational reality which
allows them to continue in the organisation.

There was some evidence that professional staff were attempting to
define a new reality, based more on treatment than on security, but
were unable to have their definitions accepted as administrative
reality.

Though not studied directly, there are indications that some prisoners
force their definition of reality on other prisoners but generally
have been unable to make an impact on the administrative view of
reality.   One major exception is the group known as subversives who
have imposed at least part of their definition of prison reality on
the authorities by refusing to accept a lowly status and by ensuring

that formal prison life is administered to a certain extent by their own hierarchy rather than controlled by junior staff.

An inconclusive finding in regard to the size of prison officers being related to a 'no-nonsense' attitude to prisoners may be important from an action frame of reference. It may well be that big staff find it easier to impose their definition of the situation on prisoners than smaller staff who may have to compromise more.

3. Implications Related to the Dialectic View

A number of apparent contradictions emerged in the study. It is difficult to know whether these contradictions existed in the 19th century though there is some evidence to suggest that they have emerged more recently. The dialectic view would suggest that these contradictions would develop to such an extent that they would usher in a new order.

There seems a major contradiction between the goals of security and rehabilitation but close scrutiny suggests that efforts at rehabilitation are subservient to the security goal. Rehabilitation staff, particularly welfare staff, attempt to impose a new view but they have been unsuccessful, not least because they are all employees of the Department of Justice.

The housing of subversive prisoners who have a coherent 'political' philosophy in civil prisons where acceptance of a certain view of 'reality' is required, seems also a contradiction. So far, the authorities have changed the technology somewhat to meet this contradiction. The acceptance, by prisoners, of the power of prison authorities ensures, in Weber's terms, its legitimacy and takes power from the realm of coercion to that of authority. Coercion or naked power will continue to have to be applied in the case of subversives who refuse to accept the 'authority' of prison management.

The ignoring of some official rules and regulations by junior staff who impose their own definitions on events seems a contradiction. The relationship between the organisation representing junior level staff (POA) and the Department of Justice is tenuous and may deteriorate further.

A contradictory element exists whereby the same uniformed service can man the full range of prisons including prisons for subversives where some staff sympathisers may exist or other security risks, first offenders, 'winos'. The incarceration of remand prisoners, first offenders, drug addicts, bank robbers, embezzlers within the same prison says much for the efficiency of the technology employed. In such cases the technology works because prisoners in the main have accepted a level of control over them.

The requirement that staff know everything about the activities of those under them, including prisoners, is becoming more difficult to sustain as prisons become more overcrowded. A more coherent prisoner sub-culture, perhaps based on contraband or on a radical philosophy, could create serious difficulties for the maintenance of the existing order. The question of legitimacy of prison authorities would be called into question, even as Rex has indicated, by a policy of passive resistance by prisoners should they be unable to revolt effectively.

The position of visiting committees as judges in the eyes of prisoners can be seen as a contradiction. These committees are the first arbitrators and dispensers of punishment related to prisoner misdemeanors and are perceived by prisoners as underpinning the prison system. Evidence has shown that some of these committees are dissatisfied with their role as judges and would seek to push the prison service away from its concentration on security.

The most fundamental contradiction, however, may well be shown in an analysis of goals. It has already been stated in the present study that the primary aims of prisons, as indicated by the activities carried out, is safe custody. This is the raison d'etre around which the definitions of reality of various groups are extended. The implication of a major goal of safe custody is that the majority of those incarcerated constitute a threat to society. Professional groups would disagree strongly that this is so. Should society come to agree with the professional groups' views, then alternatives to imprisonment would become the norm and prisons would house only those considered dangerous, though it has been shown that the prediction of dangerousness is tenuous. The technology would have to change substantially in that case as prisoners so defined would be likely not to easily accept the present system of control and would develop a

strong sub-culture which could undermine the present legitimacy which prisons have developed since the 18th century. The prisons then would be fewer but more like Portlaoise with perimeter security and high staff levels. Tensions in Portlaoise are, however, modified by the inmate hierarchy, even though the authorities must frequently impose their legitimacy by force. No such cohesion is likely to develop among prisoners whose main reason for being imprisoned is their dangerousness. Naked power and coercion would have to be constantly employed to gain acceptance of the 'authority' of prison management unless a new phase in the social technology could be developed.

CHAPTER 1

1.   E. O'Malley, <u>The Singing Flame</u>

      The deputy governor, Paudeen O'Keefe, had been secretary of Sinn Fein
      and had taken the Free State side during the Civil War.   O'Malley
      claims that the deputy governor "did not beat up prisoners himself;
      however, he allowed others to do so.   Fresh prisoners were consigned to
      the basement cells (of Mountjoy), dirty, oozy, ill—ventilated, where
      they were ill— treated by officers and lashed about by men of the
      garrison or by the CID" (P.207).

2.   Mountjoy in 1922 and 1923 was an extremely tense prison.   Executions of
      republican prisoners had been ordered as a deterrent against the
      shooting of senior Free State political figures and none of the
      prisoners knew if his turn would come; (See O'Malley, P.195)

3.   See L. Joyce and A. McCashin, <u>Poverty and Social Policy</u> (PP.3—4)

      Economic problems in the 1920's and 1930's related to:

      (a)   the very large number of small land holdings barely able to support
            a family;

      (b)   a process of rural decline as a result of emigration;

      (c)   a policy of self—sufficiency whereby small home industries grew up
            behind a protective wall of tariff barriers led to major balance of
            payments problems resulting from the need to import raw materials;

      (d)   the lack of an industrial base meant that those leaving the land
            could not be absorbed into employment.

4.   D.B. Rottman, "Crime in the Republic of Ireland", passim.

      See also Joyce and McCashin, Op.Cit., who argue that the period 1959 —
      1968 was characterised

      (a)   by a strongly expansionary fiscal policy; the resultant affluence
            provided the economic surplus needed to invest in social policy;

      (b)   the Second Programme for Economic Expansion published in 1963 and
            1964 explicitly recognised that an increased investment in
            education and training would stimulate economic growth;

      (c)   the Catholic Church's social teaching was more amenable to
            increased state involvement in social policy;

      (d)   the great air of pessimism in Ireland in the late 1950's, resulting
            from high emigration and stagnating living standards, gave way to
            rising incomes and to raised expectations in the 1960's for
            improved social policies (PP.5—6).

5.   J.E. Thomas, <u>The English Prison Officer since 1850</u> (P.218)

6.   Ibid., (PP. 218—219).

7.   Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System (P.271).

8.   Mountjoy had housed republican prisoners from the 1920's;

     O'Malley, Op.Cit., gives a graphic account of life as a republican
     prisoner in Mountjoy, where the warders on the republican wings were
     military personnel.

9.   It is not known whether the possibility of housing subversives in
     separate wings in Mountjoy was considered, as had happened in 1922.

10. Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System, Op.Cit. (P.287).

11. Ibid. (P.286).

12. Ibid. (PP.120-121).

13. Thomas, Op.Cit., (P.220).

14. Ibid., (P.2).

15. E. Goffman, Asylums, (P.268).

16. Goffman quotes B. Behan's Borstal Boy to show one example of how inmates
     express detachment from the place in the institution accorded them;

                    "The warder shouted at him
              'Right Sir', he shouted. 'Be right along Sir',
               adding in a lower tone, 'You shit'ouse'"

17. Ibid., (P.81).

18. Ibid., (P.81).

19. Ibid., (P.82).

20. Ibid., (P.83).

21. Ibid., (P.107).

     See also J. Rex, Key Problems in Sociological Theory, for a discussion of
     legitimacy;

     "In a stable social system ...., some set of ultimate values
     is necessary, in terms of which certain actions and the use of power in
     support of these actions can be shown to be legitimate". (P.91)

22. See B. Behan above.

23. G. Sykes and S. Messinger, "The Inmate Social System" (PP.6-9).

24. Ibid., (P.10).

25. Ibid., (PP.14-15).

26. Ibid., (PP.17-18).

27. J. Irwin; The Felon (PP.66-68).

28. 23. S. Cohen and L. Taylor Psychological Survival, (P.66 and passim,
         particularly (PP.90 and 102).

29. D. Clemmer The Prison Community, quoted in D.L. Garity, "The Prison as a Rehabilitation Agency", (P.362).

30. F.E. Emery, Freedom and Justice within Walls, (P.38).

31. Ibid., (PP.90-91).

32. Ibid., (P.96).

33. Ibid., (P.97).

34. T. Mathieson, Across the Boundaries of Organisations, (PP.17-128).

35. Ibid., (P.128).

36. D. Ward, Prison Rule Enforcement and Changing Organisational Goals, (P.86).

37. Ibid., (P.148).

38. Ibid., (P.153).

39. H. Jones and P. Cornes, Open Prisons (P.218).

40. Ibid., (P.218).

41. Ibid., (PP.218-223).

42. C. Haney et.al., "Interpersonal Dynamics in a simulated prison", passim.

43. Thomas, Op.Cit., (P.217).

44. Staff Attitudes in the Prison Service, (P.96).

45. Roberts, Karlene H., Holin, Charles L., and Rousseau, Denise M. - Developing an Interdisciplinary Science of Organisations, (PP. 28-47).

46. Ibid., (P. 33).

47. Ibid., (P. 35).

48. Ibid., (P. 37).

49. Ibid., (P. 39).

50. Weber, Max, The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation.

51. Woodward, Joan, Industrial Organisation; Theory and Practices.

52. Silverman, David, The Theory of Organisations.

53. Parsons, Talcott, The Structure of Social Action.

54. Ibid., (P. 198).

55. Silverman, Op.Cit., (P. 59).

56. Ibid., (PP. 66-67).

57. Gouldner, Alvin, W. 'Organisational Analysis' in Merton, Robert K. (Ed.,) Sociology Today.

58. Silverman, Op.Cit., (P. 69).

59. Ibid., passim.

60. Ibid., (P. 130).

61. Ibid., (P. 141).

62. Ibid., (P. 153).

63. Stinchcombe, Arthur L. "Social Structure and Organisations" in March, James G. (Ed.,) Handbook of Organisations.

64. Silverman, Op.Cit., (PP. 212-213).

65. Benson, J. Kenneth, "Organisations; A Dialectial View".

66. Ibid., (P. 3).

67. Ibid., (P. 10).

68. Ibid., (P. 14).

69. Ibid., (P. 15).

60. Ibid., (P. 16).

1. Debt was not considered a local problem, perhaps because it was seen to do with forces straddling the country as well as the unsuitability of local authorities for containing what were essentially the merchant class.

2. R.B. McDowell, The Irish Administration, 1801-1914, (P. 145).

3. Ibid., (P. 150).

4. Prisons of Ireland, Ninth Report of the Inspectors General H.C.1831 (172).

5. McDowell, Op.Cit., (P. 152).

6. Three decades later, when the principle had been established that central government were responsible for 'Government' prisoners, the Board of Superintendence of the City of Dublin prisons were writing to the Inspectors General of Prisons for payment in respect of the temporary lodgement of Fenian prisoners in the City Prison. (See Report from the Board of Superintendence of the City of Dublin Prisons for 1867, P.17)

7. The most famous penal reformer was John Howard who wrote The State of Prisons, in 1777, giving an account of the horrendous conditions in the many prisons he visited.

8. Quoted in Henry Heaney, 'Ireland's penitentiary, 1820-1831: an experiment that failed'. (PP. 28-39).

9. Thomas, Op.Cit. (P. 12).

10. Heaney, Op.Cit. (P.30).

11. Ibid., (P.32).

12. Ibid. (P.33).

13. J.J.Tobias, Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century, for a discussion on the effects on crime and imprisonment patterns of the rapid growth of cities.

    See also J.E. Thomas and A. Stewart, Imprisonment in Western Australia, who outline the main disadvantage of local control over prisons as being that local lay administrators are generally accountable for community money which has "always made them very reluctant to spend", (P. 5).

    See also S.H. Palmer "The Irish Police Experiment: The Beginnings of Modern Police in the British Isles, 1785-1795", who argues that "in education, public works, medicine and public health, local government, and police and prisons, the British Government in the nineteenth century practised centralisation in Ireland long before resorting to it at home" (P. 411).

14. Prisons of Ireland, Twenty-Seventh Report of the Inspectors General, H.C. 1849 (1069).

15. McDowell, (PP. 154-155); See also Tobias, Op.Cit., who quotes Robert Peel's and others' concerns that prisoners might be living too comfortably in comparison to labourers. Tobias argues that the result of the New Poor Law in 1834, which was based on the doctrine that life in the workhouse should be 'less eligible' than life as a free labourer, also had the effect of making the pauper less well treated than the prisoner.

16. The parallels between the English transportation system and the European galley system are outlined by J. Langbein in "The Historical Origins of the Sanction of Imprisonment for Serious Crime".

17. See Thomas and Stewart, Op.Cit., for a discussion on the last Australian penal colony, ie. Western Australia and its eventual closure. The Western Australian penal colony was under constant attack from the Eastern colonies who according to the authors were "trying to rid themselves of the image which seventy years of transportation had given them, and they were convinced that large numbers of ex-convicts from Western Australia were migrating to the east" (P. 31).

   See also L. Evans and P. Nicholls, Convicts and Colonial Society, 1788 - 1853, for a discussion on the emergence of the Australasian Anti-transportation League.

18. Irish Convicts continued to be transported to the Western Australian penal colony on ships from Britain; the Hougoumont, which transported a group of sixty-three Fenians, was the last ship to the colony (See Thomas and Stewart, P. 33).

19. McDowell, Op.Cit., (PP. 156 - 158).

20. See Thomas and Stewart, Op.Cit., who argue that (a) control by magistrates over prisons in England was being questioned by the middle of the 19th century; (b) central government was becoming increasingly involved in all local affairs because of the assumption that uniformity of administration was important; (c) there was growing dissatisfaction with the way in which prison administration was being handled at local level; (d) the ending of transportation forced central government to take an active part in devising new prison systems.

21. McDowell, Op.Cit., (P.159).

22. 40 & 41, Vict., C.45.

23. McDowell, Op.Cit., (P. 159).

24. Royal Commission on Prisons in Ireland, Second Report, H.C. 1884 (C. 4145).

25. M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish, (P. 105).

26. Ibid., (P. 120).

27. Rusche and Kirchheimer, Punishment and Social Stucture, (P. 42).

28. Ibid., (P.50).

29. See Langbein, Op.Cit., (PP. 41 - 42); also Rusche and Kirchheimer, Op.Cit., (PP. 53 - 58).

30. Rusche and Kirchheimer, (P. 69).

31. Ibid., (P. 69); the authors point out that some ecclesiastical writers, notably Mabillon, were even in the early 18th century stressing reformation as a goal of prisons and insisting on the requirement of work, not for reasons of labour exploitation but for the moral value of working.

32. Ibid., (P. 76).

33. Ibid., (P. 94).

34. Ibid., (P. 94).

35. Increases in convictions may of course be partly explained by for example more efficient policing or by changes in the laws of evidence.

36. Quoted in Evans and Nicholls, Op.Cit., (PP. 133 - 134).

37. Ibid., (P. 133).

    See also Thomas and Stewart, Op.Cit., who say that the Irish convicts were the target of many complaints. "As well as sheer dislike of the Irish, which was already hardening into a general English attitude as a consequence of Irish political activity, there was a certain amount of distaste of these men because they were Roman Catholics" (PP. 32 - 33).

38. Rusche and Kirchheimer, (P. 103).

39. Prisons of Ireland, Thirtieth Report of the Inspectors General, H.C. 1852 (1531).

40. Rusche and Kirchheimer, (P. 112).

41. Prisons of Ireland, Seventh Report of the Inspectors' General, H.C. 1829, (166).

42. Foucault, Op.Cit., (P. 122).

43. McDowell, Op.Cit., (PP. 152-153).

44. Prisons of Ireland, Seventh Report of the Inspectors General, Op.Cit.

45. 7, Geo., IV, C74.

46. Prisons of Ireland, Seventh Report of the Inspectors General, Op.Cit.

47. Foucault, Op.Cit., (PP. 141 - 156).

48. Ibid., (PP. 176 - 177).

49. Thomas, Op.Cit., (P. 41).

50. Rules for the Government of Prisons, 1947. There are 281 rules in total covering all aspects of activities in prison and they provide a useful insight into the evolution of the Victorian administrative mentality.

51. Thomas, Op.Cit., (P. 44)

    In the present study, many instances of information hoarding were given by recruits; their analysis of such hoarding was that experienced staff were 'covering their back' in case they could in some way be subsequently blamed for an incident related to the information they had imparted.

52. Ibid., (P. 36).

53. Ibid., (P. 41).

54. Op.Cit., (P. 19).

55. Report from the Departmental Committee on Prisons, 1895.

56. Rules for the Government of Prisons, Op.Cit.

1. The stimulus for the study was the ongoing pressure from the POA for an investigation into grievances, particularly related to communications with prison management and the Department of Justice. It was agreed that a representative sample of views of prison officers in all prisons be taken which made the use of questionnaires essential.

2. The official resistance reported by Cohen and Taylor in New Society, 30th January 1975, to their research proposals on the effects of long-term imprisonment did not happen. The research reported here was welcomed by the various groups in the prison system but for different reasons. Uniformed staff were keen to have their views propounded in a systematic manner hoping that an exposition of their views would help change personnel policies; professional groups were keen to have their positions clarified; prison management and particularly the Department of Justice, as well as being anxious to hear staff's views, also hoped that the time span for completion of the study would allow the existing bitterness between the uniformed service and themselves to subside.

3. See for example C. Moser, <u>Survey Methods in Social Investigation</u> who summarises proper questionnaire design as aiming to "ask questions only from those likely to be able to answer them accurately; to ask about past events only if he can reasonably expect people to remember them accurately .... and to ask opinions only if he can be reasonably sure that they understand what is involved and are able to give a meaningful answer" (P.214).

   For a critical appraisal of questionnaires see, for example, M. Roiser, "Asking Silly Questions" in Armistead (Edit.) — "Any person asked to participate in a survey has the right to expect that it will contain an unambiguous and unbiased statement of his own attitude. Maybe this expectation will make it very difficult to continue to design questionnaires of general applicability in their present form. In the meantime the infuriated fillers-in of questionnaires should be recommended not only to write in what they find wrong with which statements, but they should also insist that their objections be treated seriously by the psychologist concerned. This may serve to impress on him that attitudes are really part of a debate, from which the psychologist himself is not free to withdraw, and convince him that it is a caricature and a prejudice to foist on people consensual formulations" (P.113).

4. <u>Proportional Representation in Stratified Sampling:</u> This means ensuring, for example, that if 9% of all prison officers are in Limerick Prison, then 9% of the sample should be from Limerick Prison.

5. Such an approach overcomes problems of bias and ambiguity mentioned by Roiser, Op.Cit., including that of the researcher imposing his 'definitions' of the situation. In any research, however, the researcher begins to develop hypotheses as he progresses in the review of the subject matter; the pilot interviews did suggest various hypotheses, the testing of which were built into the questionnaires.

6.   See Moser, Op.Cit.; "The (Likert Scale) method is somewhat simpler
        in construction than that of Thurstone and is likely to be a more
        reliable and sensitive mirror of attitudes, if only because each
        question allows five alternative answers, rather than the straight
        dichotomy of the Thurstone technique.   On the other hand, it does
        not produce an interval scale, so no conclusions can be drawn
        about the meaning of distances between scale positions" (P.239).

7.   In this case 7 degrees of agreement, including the mid-point, are
        allowed for.

        See also A.L. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction
        who argues that attitudes do not fit easily into either/or
        categories but are essentially matters of degree; "It is a
        disadvantage of both the method of direct questioning and the
        observation of behaviour that they do not conveniently lend
        themselves to an assessment of the degree of affect individuals
        may associate with a psychological object" (P.8).

8.   See for example J. McGowan et.al.   A Study of Attitudes towards
        the Executive Officer Grade in the Civil Service.

9.   The author has abstracted from a number of sources on personality
        and self-image including the work of P. Lecky, G. Kelly, V. Vroom,
        L. Gordon and T. Adorno et.al.

1. The Weberian model relied on a few formal properties of bureacracy; neo-Weberian models such as Cyert and March's attempted to deal with the difficulties of control from the top, not perceived by Weber, by dealing with group conflict.

2. For a detailed history of agrarian disturbances, see G.C. Lewis, Local Disturbances in Ireland. A distinction should be made between agrarian movements such as the Whiteboys whose first disturbances, which were distinguished by the levelling of enclosures, were chiefly directed against landlords, and national movements directed at separation from England. Both strands often merged, however, in the 19th century and the criminal law was directed at both.

   See also Thomas, Op.Cit., passim., for an account of the influence in the 19th century of Irish political prisoners on (a) debates on prisons in the House of Commons, where Irish members spoke from experience and (b) the carrying out of investigations into allegations of ill-treatment.

3. Many writers on prisons suggest that the development of superior-subordinate roles (or master-slave) is essential to the establishment of control;

   See J.E. Thomas and T.A. Williams "Change and Conflict in the Evolution of Prison Systems: Old Dilemmas, Emergent Problems and Future Strategies", who argue that "The para-military structure provides them (Prison Officers) with the authority that is necessary to carry out their duties and defines them as having superior status over the prisoners" (P.351).

   See also D. Ellis "The Prison Guard as Carceral Luddite" who argues that "The prison in short, represents the extreme case in which a formal organisation arrangement has, among members of the same social class, converted an egalitarian into a master-slave relationship .... strategic to solving the problem of organisational order" (P.446).

   Subversive prisoners, in refusing to accept an inferior status, threatened the whole organisation.

4. The author would take issue with G. Grosser's argument in Theoretical Studies in Social Organisation of the Prison that "The prison therefore need not, as ultima ratio of its existence, ... respond to fluctuations of market conditions" (P.131).

5. L. Ohlin in Theoretical Studies in Social Organisation of the Prison claims that politicians and public figures take public resistance to change for granted in the area of prison reform and fail to sell new ideas (P.117).

   D.L. Smith and C. McCurdy Lipsey in "Public Opinion and Penal Policy" report findings related to conjugal prison visits which suggest a more 'liberal' view by the community than those held by prison officials.

6. A recent spate of joy-riding, involving some deaths, created a public demand for action. Police resources were mobilised against the joy-riders culminating in a high number of convictions.

7.   See N. Osborough, <u>Borstal in Ireland</u> (P.76).

8.   See G. Zallick in S. McConville (edit.) <u>The Use of Imprisonment</u> "Even where rights are conferred — like the remand prisoner's right to have food sent in — it is often difficult to exercise them" (P.13).

9.   The situation contrasts with that in most European countries where direct recruitment is the norm though lower grades are also eligible to apply;

    See <u>The Status, Selection and Training of Governing Grades of Staff of Penal Establishments</u> (Council of Europe).

10.   The absence of direct recruitment of governors has probably helped to perpetuate the Victorian structure and emphasis on safe custody and control has helped block the inroads of the 'helping professions'.

    The English service, according to Thomas, Op.Cit., passim.,with its insistence on outside recruitment of governors has been dogged with the alienation of prison officers who felt excluded from new developments.

    Cohen and Taylor, Op.Cit., report that prisoners in Durham were more likely to perceive governors as intelligent and presume their motives to be honourable; "They are not, like the screws, doing the job because there is nothing else they could do" (P.67).

    Governors in Ireland are more likely to use their prison officer training in dealing with prisoners and not to create a wide 'intellectual' gap in dealings with prison officers nor to see themselves as outsiders, as happened in England.

    See also Thomas and Williams, Op.Cit., who argue that: "In prison systems where the great majority of governors were recruited from the ranks of uniformed staff, such as in Australia, some of them drew closer to their officers in a united front against the new specialists" (P.353).

    The Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System, Op.Cit., has recommended that future recruitment should be through an Assistant Governor grade (P.23).

11.   Such 'political' groups are increasingly becoming a factor in prisons.

    See, for example, J.E. Thomas and R. Pooley, <u>The Exploding Prison</u>, who argue that "The growth of political awareness and activism amongst the blacks, who are disproportionately represented in American prisons, has led to a new challenge to prison authorities" (P.3).

    See also M. Wright, <u>Making Good</u>, who synopsises the Fowler finding on the Hull Prison Riots that sophisticated and politically motivated prisoners, with help from outside pressure groups, were causing the trouble; similar claims were made by the prison authorities after the Attica riots but were rejected by a subsequent inquiry (P.68).

12.   In interviews, some prison officers claimed that subversive
       prisoners had addresses of staff; one prison officer claimed that
       he was asked by prisoners as to how the building of his house was
       progressing as they 'hoped' that the "roof would'nt get blown off".

13.   A recent attempted break-out from Portlaoise has been linked to
       some staff collusion.

       See also F.S.L. Lyons Charles Stewart Parnell who provides
       documentary evidence that staff frequently took messages for Irish
       political prisoners.

14.   See P.E. Lawson "Towards a Humanistic Socialistic Paradigm for
       Prisons" who claims that: "Unlike humanistic bureacratic nations
       (such as Sweden), a totalitarian government only becomes concerned
       about prison conditions when disruption occurs.   They can get away
       with it because citizens simply do not want to know what happens
       within prison walls" (P.291).

15.   See M. Wright, Op.Cit., who quotes the experience of an English-
       woman in an Indian prison; "People wanting to know rules and
       talking about 'rights' were nothing but a damned nuisance" (P.68).

16.   Goffman, Op.Cit., calls 'loner' behaviour "situation withdrawal"
       and argues that it is one of the ways of adapting to a total
       institution; in mental hospitals, it is called 'regression', in
       prisons it might be called 'stir simple' (in America) (P.61).

17.   See R. Byrne, G.W. Hogan and P. McDermott, Prisoners' Rights, A
       Study in Irish Prison Law.   "Various statutes govern the
       commitment of such persons to mental hospitals for periods which
       need not be specified, until the competent authorities deem those
       committed to be sane.   Committal may occur during a court
       appearance or a criminal charge when the prisoner is found 'unfit
       to plead', or has established the defence of insanity, by process
       of civil commitment, or by an administrative act of the Minister
       for Justice transferring an inmate from his place of detention when
       he is found to be of unsound mind" (P.131).

18.   See Goffman, Op.Cit., for a discussion on the conflict in total
       institutions between the aim of providing certain humane standards
       of treatment and institutional efficiency (P.76).

19.   In 1972, at the time of the Mounjoy riot, the staff:prisoner ratio
       in that prison was 100:172; the 1984 ratio for Portlaoise, where
       the Provisional IRA prisoners are now housed, is 100:63.

       This represents a threefold increase in prison staff; to this
       should now also be added the numbers of police and military.   One
       can understand therefore the tension in 1972.

20.   For a sociological analysis of the effects of long-term
       imprisonment, see Cohen and Taylor, Op.Cit., passim.

       See also a psychological analysis by N. Bolton et.al.,
       "Psychological Correlates of Long-Term Imprisonment" who conclude
       that their longitudinal analysis offers "little support for the
       idea that long-term imprisonment is associated with psychological
       deterioration" (P.46).

       Thomas and Pooley, Op.Cit., argue that the possibility of escape
       releases tension in prisoners (P.8).

21. The emphasis on prisoners' rights has dominated Scandinavian prison systems. The trend is developing in America which sees, according to N. Morris, The Future of Imprisonment; "in the past five years, the 'hands-off' doctrine has been abrogated and there has been a flood of prisoners' rights litigation" (P.21).

Zellick, Op.Cit., asserts that in Britain: "even where the law is theoretically available to a prisoner, any attempt to assert his legal rights will be fraught with difficulties" (P.4).

22. For a review of the complexity of the relationship between staff and inmates, see for example Goffman, Op.Cit., who outlines "what might be called an involvement cycle .... starting at a point of social distance from inmates, a point from which massive deprivation and institutional trouble cannot easily be seen, the staff person finds he has no reason to refrain from building up a warm involvement in some inmates. This involvement, however, brings the staff member into a position to be hurt by what inmates do" (P.79).

See also Note 3 above on the issue of establishing a superior-subordinate relationship.

23. See Note 13 above.

24. See for example Silverman, Op.Cit., passim., for an account of how 'actors' interpret events in different ways.

For a psychological approach to ways in which individuals construe events, see Bannister and Fransella, Inquiring Man.

25. See Bolton et.al., Op.Cit., who found that prisoner hostility declined, the longer they were incarcerated.

26. This is another good example of the prison system adapting to threats; in the case of remand prisoners on a capital charge, authorities feel that depression and guilt could lead to suicide and can be best handled in a hospital wing.

27. See D. Ellis, H. Gradnick and B. Gilman, "Violence in Prisons; a Sociological Analysis"; who found greater levels of aggression and hostility in youth prisons.

See also Thomas, Op.Cit., who in discussing a borstal regime, suggests that the officer's "problems of control were eased by a rewards system of staggering proportion, the peak of which was a moveable release date" (P.169).

The borstal regime differed from regimes in which juveniles are currently held; a main difference being length of sentence.

28. Ward, Op.Cit., suggests that strong attitudes related to inmates develop as a result of prison officers feeling a reduction in power and status (PP.75-76).

Thomas and Williams, Op.Cit., argue that; "Faced with the task of confining and controlling unwilling inmates, a prevalent reaction is the development of generalised or stereotyped beliefs about prisoners that are unsympathetic, denigrating and hostile" (P352).

N. Jepson in McConville (Edit), Op.Cit., argues that "one way in which prisoners cope with the deprivation of imprisonment and the consequential threats to self-esteem is by lowering the status of the prison officer and thereby, relatively, raising their own" (P.29).

29.   For a useful summary of the procedures of attitude research, see Some Issues in the Methodology of Attitude Research (ESRI). Attitudes are defined as; "Emotional dispositions towards particular objects or stimuli. Questions designed to identify or measure attitudes should therefore be concerned with the respondent's feelings towards the stimulus" (P.100).

30.   For an exposition of the model underlying the Likert-type attitude scale, see K. Schuessler, Analysing Social Data.

        See also Baker et.al. in ERSI paper, Op.Cit., who summarise the conclusions of various authorities on attitude measurement as to the desirable characteristics in Likert items designed to elicit an attitude;

        1. They should be adequate in number to tap the expected attitude and to fulfil the remaining criteria.

        2. They should be balanced between statements favourable and unfavourable to the subject.

        3. They should incorporate strong, but not too extreme, expression of view, using vernacular language where possible.

        4. They should be worded appropriately for the purpose of eliciting feelings. Factual statements capable of being interpreted factually, should be avoided.

        5. They should clearly identify the object concerning which attitudes are being tapped. Statements that may be interpreted in more than one way, or that are not relevant to the psychological object being measured, should be avoided (P.67).

31.   For a discussion on the origins, purposes and limitations of Factor Analysis, see;

        (a) D. Child, The Essentials of Factor Analysis

        (b) D. Lawley and A. Maxwell, Factor Analysis as a Statistical Method

        See also K. Schuessler, Op.Cit.,

        Factor analysis is summarised in the ERSI paper; Op.Cit. as "a technique for identifying separate clusters within a group of variables. More specifically, it is a method for studying and grouping the correlations or covariances between the variables. Certain common tendencies underlie the pattern of correlations and account for a proportion of the common variance among the items. These tendencies are referred to as components or factors. There are as many components as there are items in the group, but most of them are very weak and account for only a small proportion of the variance. However, there are usually a few strong factors present which account for a high proportion of the total variance, and it is these strong factors which are sought in factor analysis".

32. See J.C. Nunnally, _Psychometric Theory_; "Since it usually is
    necessary to combine scores on a number of variables to obtain
    valid measures of constructs, some method is required for
    determining the legitimacy of particular methods of combining
    variables.   Important in determining this legitimacy are the
    patterns of correlations among variables.   Factor analysis is
    nothing more than a set of mathematical aids to the examination of
    patterns of correlations, and for that purpose, it is
    indispensable" (P.371).

33. For a discussion on professionalism, see for example H. Wilensky,
    "The Professionalization of Everyone".

    See also Goffman, Op.Cit., who argues that lower level staff (as
    opposed to professionals) as well as being longer-stay, "must
    personally present the demands of the institution to the
    inmates.   They can come then to deflect the hate of inmates from
    higher staff persons ...." (P.107).

34. Judges presumably interpret the dangerousness of criminal acts in
    different ways which is reflected in different sentencing trends.

1.   Official pronouncements on what prison services are trying to
      achieve can be seen in the various Council of Europe documents on
      crime problems, particularly: The Status, Selection and Training
      of Basic Grade Custodial Prison Staff and The Status, Selection
      and Training of Governing Grades of Staff of Penal Establishments.

      These documents can be seen as 'marketing' exercises by various
      countries.

      See also C. Perrow, in Readings on Modern Organisations (Etzioni
      Edit.), for an analysis of goals in organisations.

2.   See Note 5 in Chapter 4 for a discussion on public perceptions.

3.   Dissatisfaction with the performance of Civil Servants in carrying
      out their task is attested to in the finding of the Report of the
      Committee of Inquiry that "prisons and the services connected with
      them should be administered by a separate board which would enjoy
      as much independence of the Department of Justice as is compatible
      with the ultimate political responsibility of the Minister for
      Justice" (P.121).

      Criticism of Civil Service handling of the management of the
      English prison system can be found in Thomas, Op.Cit., (PP.194-195)

4.   See E.H. Schein Organisational Psychology for a synopsis of the
      ways in which various organisation theorists conceptualise the
      interaction of the environment with the organisation.

5.   See C.E. Lindblom "The Science of Muddling Through" in Etzioni
      (Edit.) Op.Cit., for a discussion on how policy decisions are
      arrived at through a "disjointed incremental approach".

6.   See Note 5 of Chapter 4 which suggests that politicians may
      exaggerate the public's resistance to the 'liberalising' of penal
      policy.

7.   See Cohen and Taylor, Op.Cit., for an outline of the barriers
      placed by prison administrators in the path of their continuing
      research.

8.   In the course of a critical review of the Mac Guigan Report on the
      penitentiary system in Canada, Ellis, Op.Cit., argues that among
      other functions, prisons "provide an expanding arena for the
      absorption of middle-class therapeutic-occupational roles" (P.48).

9.   The Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System, Op.Cit.,
      considered that defects in some of the existing alternatives made
      the judiciary unwilling to use them (P.45).

10.   The reformative ideal which created role and structure problems in
      England, (see Thomas, Op.Cit., passim.) did not impinge on
      Governors in Ireland.

      The socialisation problems encountered by Assistant Governors in
      England, as outlined by P.A.J. Waddington, The Training of Prison
      Governors: Role Ambiguity and Socialisation almost certainly does
      not occur in Ireland, where the socialisation process occurs
      during a career as a uniformed officer. Role ambiguity is reduced.

11. For a discussion on the maintenance of organisational equilibrium, see Chapter 1.

12. In a climate of high unemployment, the task of procuring employment for ex-prisoners would be a daunting one for welfare officers.

13. See also Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit., who argue that: "As long as officers feel that escape from an open prison is considered officially to be such a serious matter, they will feel pressurised by the system to subvert 'openness' ...." (P.203).

14. The curtailment of privacy and constant surveillance are major changes which prisoners have to come to terms with; see for example, Cohen and Taylor, Op.Cit., passim.

    Thomas and Williams, Op.Cit., suggest that: "The central problem is to establish a measure of internal freedom from supervision and coercion for inmates that is consistent with and conducive to good order" (P.357).

15. Thomas, Op.Cit., outlines the lead up to the Dartmoor mutiny in 1932 as involving "complaints about the porridge, in England the most important physical symbol of the experience of imprisonment" (P.157).

    See also Thomas and Pooley, Op.Cit., who quote the case of Attica, where "horseplay by inmates was followed by an assault on an officer which in turn led to two inmates being removed from their cells" (P.11).

    A state of heightened tension is, however, usually present before the particular flare-up.

16. Major disturbances attract great media attention and rarely does the uniformed service emerge unscathed from such attention. See for example Thomas and Pooley, Op.Cit., passim. related to the development of riots particularly at Hull and Attica.

    See also J. Mitford, The American Prison Business, passim.

17. See Thomas and Pooley, Op.Cit., passim.

18. Media reporting on disturbances tends to concentrate on prisoners grievances and reports related to possible staff misconduct.

19. Ward, Op.Cit., argues that "Staff and most inmates realize that order, expressed in rules and regulations, is essential ...." (P.145).

20. For a critical sociological review of work in prisons see K. Legge, "Work in Prison: The Process of Inversion", who concluded that: "................. the realisation of the official desire in Britain to make prison work as 'nearly comparable as we can manage with that outside', with the best will in the world, still seems far off" (P.20).

21. See G. Sykes, <u>The Society of Captives</u>, who points out that praise from the authorities for work done is hardly likely to elevate a prisoner's status among his peers, while official 'promotion' with its implications of grassing might merit sanctions (P.29).

22. This phrase probably encapsulates the now widespread perception of the contradication between rehabilitation and the imposition of discipline. See for example Thomas, Op.Cit., passim., for a detailed analysis of apparent contradictions.

    Some writers, particularly in the 1960's, perceived the contradiction as being solved by greater efforts and goodwill; See for example C. Schrag in Cressey, Op.Cit., passim., and D. Ward, Op.Cit.

    Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit., however, found that "prison officers are not conscious of their ambivalence in supporting, on the one hand, custodial measures designed to increase prison discipline and security, and on the other, therapeutic measures aimed at the improvement of prison welfare ...." (PP.201-202).

23. See R. Martinson "What Works? - Questions and Answers about Prison Reform".

    Having analysed data from 200 studies, he found little reason to be optimistic about reducing recidivism through rehabilitation; many of the studies did, however, show recidivism to be lower over the age of 30.

24. Their views could coincide with those of the 19th century policy makers; See Thomas, Op.Cit., passim.

25. Ibid., for a discussion document, published in 1963 by the POA in England, on 'The Role of the Modern Prison Officer' (PP.207-210).

26. Prison Officers' Association, Personal Communication, July 1977.

27. Thomas, Op.Cit., argues that the English POA expected little success from its proposals but its drawing up was motivated particularly by "a desire to arrest the process of status erosion which the officer, correctly, felt was the most significant development in his situation" (P.208).

    The communication from the Irish POA may be seen as similarly motivated, though the forces encroaching on them were less strong than those on their English counterparts.

28. Prison Officers' Association, Op.Cit.

29. See Thomas, Op.Cit., for a discussion on the Home Office response to proposals (PP.209-210).

30. Prison Officers' Association, Op.Cit.

31. See Thomas, Op.Cit., for an account of Visiting Committee threats to prison management authority in the 19th century (PP.69-70).

32. The Committee of Inquiry, Op.Cit., mindful of the fact that (a) Visiting Committees are political appointments, (b) their identification with the prison authorities, (c) the misapprehension surrounding their role to hear complaints and impose sanctions, (d) the bland nature of their reports, recommended that

- half the members should be nominated by the Minister and half by local bodies;

- meetings should be held outside prisons without the attendance fo prison management except at special request;

- surprise visits should be paid;

- their disciplinary functions should be abolished.

See also Thomas and Pooley, Op.Cit., for a severe criticism of the Board of Visitors at Hull for failing to protect prisoners from ill-treatment following the riot (PP.88-89).

33. Ibid., for an example where the Board of Visitors of Wormwood Scrubs "complained, in the early 1960's, that borstal boys were being kept too long in the Scrubs before being sent to their training borstal ...." (P.90).

34. Much of the difficulty between authorities in the Central Mental Hospital and the prison authorities stems from accommodation problems at Dundrum. The Committee of Inquiry, Op.Cit., has recommended the setting up of a special psychiatric unit in the prison system for "the treatment of subversive prisoners and others who require a high level of security", which may eliminate the problems mentioned.

35. See N. Morris "The Future of Imprisonment: Toward a Punitive Philosophy" for a critique of dangerousness as a basis for imprisonment mainly because "it predisposes a capacity to predict quite beyond our present or foreseeable technical ability" (P.414).

36. Ibid. for a note on two studies from the California Department of Correction's research group which developed a 'violence prediction scale' for the parole boards which resulted in 86% of those identified as potentially dangerous failing to commit a violent act while on parole (P.418).

37. See Morris, Op.Cit., for a presciption concerning aftercare in a model prison for repetitively violent criminals (P.90).

38. See Committee of Inquiry, Op.Cit., which proposes new alternatives to imprisonment (PP.46-47).

CHAPTER 6

1.   See Foucault, Op.Cit., passim.

2.   C. Perrow, Complex Organisations, (P.166).

3.   Foucault, Op.Cit., passim.

4.   Perrow, Op.Cit., (PP.166-167).

5.   Prisoners of Ireland, Seventh Report of the Inspectors' General, Op.Cit.

6.   See, for example, Thomas, Op.Cit., passim.

7.   See, for example, Benson, Op.Cit., passim.

8.   For barriers to such research see S. Cohen and L. Taylor, "Prison Research: a cautionary tale", Op.Cit.

9.   See A. Liska "Emergent issues in the Attitude-Behaviour Consistency Controversy"; This review of the literature concluded that behaviour predictability increases with the number of attitudes included in the predictive equation.

       A.W. Wicker, however, in "Attitudes versus actions; The relationship of verbal and overt behaviour responses to attitude objects" concludes that "the assumption that feelings (attitudes) are directly translated into actions has not been demonstrated" (P.75).

10.   See Thomas and Pooley, Op.Cit., for a description of the event leading to the Hull riot, ie. an altercation between a prisoner and prison officers which was believed by prisoners to have been an assault on the prisoner (PP.56-57).

11.   See Schrag, Op.Cit., who argues that "Most prison administrators, in order to maintain their official positions, must utilise devices other than violence in gaining inmate conformity and obedience" (P.339).

       See also Thomas and Williams, Op.Cit., who argue "the power of uniformed staff is subject to several limitations"; including limitation on legal authority by outside pressure groups and by inmate resistance, absence of moral authority and the lack of a range of rewards (P.351).

12.   See Ward, Op.Cit.; "Good custodial officers were those who, with respect to rule enforcement, adopted methods and acted in a manner appropriate to the conception of an officer's role in bygone years. Conversely weak officers, whose distinctive traits are inconsistency with respect to familiarity with inmates and inconsistent imposition of penalties ...." (P.148).

13.   See Note 12 above on the Hull riot.

      See also J. Morton "Parkhurst and After" who concludes that prior
      to the riot, there was an increase in "petty nickings" of
      prisoners for what were considered minor outbursts.   Morton
      presents a rather elaborate hypothesis for recent rioting in
      American prisons, particularly Attica in 1971, which suggests that
      the riots were "sparked by inner-prison struggles for control
      between the 'custodial' and 'treatment' points of view among
      staff: These struggles threatened to change the inmate status quo
      and led to a preventive counter-revolution led by a corrupt inmate
      priesthood ...." (P.3).

14.   See Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit., who conclude that: "Formal charges
      and disciplinary proceedings are, therefore, usually a last
      resort" (P.211).

15.   This is a further elaboration of senior prison staffs' view that
      you cannot be friendly with a prisoner on one day while making him
      work the next.

16.   This is a clear indication that control is the goal of the Irish
      prison service.

      See Thomas and Williams, Op.Cit.; "By clearly defining their
      roles, and by circumscribing the relationships between staff and
      prisoners that are permitted, the structure partly protects
      officers from becoming entangled in unofficial practices and
      informal commitments" (P.352).

17.   See Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit, who found that though there is "a
      formal remit to training, while on the other hand observational
      work shows there is constant preoccupation with security" (P.222).

18.   See Thomas, Op.Cit.

      "The (chief) is the most experienced official in the prison, and
      he is thoroughly acquainted with all the idiosyncracies,
      interests, and weaknesses, generic and particular, of the
      uniformed staff.   He is a master of routines, and is not prepared
      to buy popularity with inefficiency or corruption" (P.64).

19.   The Committee of Inquiry, Op.Cit., were "satisfied that the degree
      to which the detailed administration of prisons has moved into the
      Department of Justice, to the detriment of discretion and
      responsibility, and therefore of good management is excessive"
      (P.122).

      See also Thomas, Op.Cit., who points out that: "The increasing
      dominance of the administrative and executive civil servants is
      one of the most significant features of the period and it had
      important administrative, as well as psychological, effects"
      (P.194).

20.   For a further explication of this method, see McGowan, et.al,
      Op.Cit., (PP.26-40).

21.	Some of these incidents are probably what Jones and Cornes perceive as "Horse-play, and physical jockeying and rivalry (which) are deeply rooted elements of the behaviour of both staff and inmates. Problems arise only when this pattern of background activity gets out of hand, and it is on such occasions that Prison Rules are 'remembered' or called upon" (P.212).

See also Fitzgerald and Sim, Op.Cit., who conclude that:

"Formal power is firmly located in the officers' hands, and, despite the rules and regulations, can be and is used arbitrarily and unpredictably ...." (P.135).

22.	See Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit., who outline that while in one of the prisons they studied, the welfare staff complained of very low co-operation, in other prisons, however, the relationship between prison officers and welfare staff was "often mutually appreciative and helpful" (PP.46-47).

23.	See Staff Attitudes in the Prison Service, Op.Cit., where 74% of prison officers agreed that "Prison officers are the best people to look after prisoners' welfare" (P.53).

24.	See Thomas, Op.Cit.; "The prison officer saw the post of welfare officer as one for which he was admirably suited. This presented an opportunity for him to achieve status by working in an explanding area of rehabilitation" (P.199).

25.	Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit., found that "The (welfare) staff were really too few to have time to seek out men with problems" (P.80).

26.	The Committee of Inquiry, Op.Cit., commented that "In circumstances where crowding is a problem in the closed prisons the under-use of open prisons is inexcusable" (P.63).

27.	See Fitzgerald and Sim, Op.Cit., who refute claims by the POA, that prisoners naturally turn to officers with welfare problems, by outlining that "To see welfare workers, prisoners must make an application to the landing and principal officers of their wing. Usually they are made to divulge the nature of the problem before permission is granted" (P.137).

The same may happen at times in relation to referrals to chaplains.

See also Goffman, Op.Cit., who found that "Instead of having his request immediately and automatically granted, the inmate may be teased, denied, questioned at length, not noticed or .... merely put off" (P.43).

28.	See Report on Staff Attitudes in the Prison Service, Op.Cit., which found that 78% of prison officers said YES to the question "Do you think that working for the prison service has affected your outlook on life?"

29.	See Wright, Op.Cit., who concluded from ex-prisoners' statements that "a minority of prison officers are outstandingly good, the great majority are average, and a minority are bullies" (P.65).

30. A related statement to all uniformed staff is reported in <u>Staff Attitudes in the Prison Service</u>, Op.Cit.; To the statement "You never really know who your boss is", replies were as follows:

Completely Agree	Tend to Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Tend to Disagree	Completely Disagreee
15%	24%	13%	26%	22%

31. See Note 27 above.

1. For a detailed exposition of authoritarianism see T.W. Adordo
    et.al. The Authoritarian Personality who also make an argument for
    the assessment of complex attitudes by means of more than a single
    response.

2. See Note 9, in Chapter 6 related to the caution with which such
    bivariate relationships should be used.

3. In Staff Attitudes in the Prison Service, it was concluded that
    "If their credibility with prisoners is eroded by the remoteness
    of those who carry higher authority or, worse, by their failure to
    enforce sanctions, prison officers feel isolated, uneasy or even
    threatened" (P.100).

    It is likely that younger officers feel more isolated from the
    authority structure.

4. See Haney et.al., Op.Cit., who found that 'prisoners' perceived
    'guards' as bigger though there was no difference in mean size.

    See also Fitzgerald and Sim, Op.Cit, who quote the General
    Secretary of the POA as follows:

    "It remains a fact that the 5'6" PO looking up at a 6' prisoner is
    in a position of psychological as well as physical disadvantage"
    (P.127).

5. See Thomas and Williams, Op.Cit., who argue that "The general
    problem of role performance for uniformed staff is to maintain
    control in an unstable situation, and under continuous strains
    between reliance on legal authority and tendencies towards
    informal relations with the inmates" (P.351).

6. Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit., found that their prison officers'
    reasons "for joining their prison seem rarely to be vocational in
    character but .... are concerned mainly with security of
    employment" (P.175).

7. See previous discussion on the (unclear) relationships found
    between attitudes and behaviour (Note 9, Chapter 6).

    See also Haney C. et.al., Op.Cit., who, probably because they used
    a homogeneous middle-range subject population, "could not say that
    personality differences do not have an important effect on
    behaviour in (a prison) situation" (P.90).

    However, they conclude that "there is little reason to expect
    paper and pencil behavioural reactions on personality tests taken
    under 'normal' conditions to generalise into coping behaviours
    under novel, stressful or abnormal environmental conditions.

    (However), in the situation of imprisonment faced by our subjects,
    despite the patent situational control, individual differences
    were nevertheless manifested both in coping styles among the
    prisoners and in the extent and type of aggression and exercise of
    power among the guards" (P.91).

8.   See McGowan et.al., Op.Cit., who found strong relationships
      between a measure of authoritarianism and bright school leavers
      unwillingness to consider university as an option but to be more
      interested in working in clerical/administrative positions in
      large organisations.

9.   See Stotland, E. "Self-Esteem and Violence by Guards and Troopers
      at Attica".

      The author found that "Some of the older, more experienced guards
      got themselves transferred to jobs that involved less need to
      discipline the prisoners, leaving that job to less experienced,
      less secure officers" (P.90).

10.   Ibid., The author theorises that the violence by guards and
      troopers on inmates in the aftermath of the rioting at Attica can
      be understood as in the context of preserving self-esteem; "They
      viewed their ability to be violent when violence is needed as an
      important aspect of their sense of competence. And there were
      many threats to their self-confidence: the power of the inmates;
      the recognition they received; the insults from the prisoners; the
      evidence of the guards' and troopers' own ineffectiveness and
      powerlessness" (P.95).

1.   See Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit.

        "It will also be recalled that there is some evidence for a staff
        culture which clearly reflects the past experiences of the
        majority of prison officers and the kinds of training which they
        have received.   The culture also fosters the development of
        behaviours and attitudes which may not be relevant to the
        requirements of open prisons.   In these circumstances, it would
        be most surprising if an examination of the pattern of work
        undertaken by prison officers in open prisons and their attitudes
        and opinions about their work revealed substantial departures from
        what happens in closed prisons."

        The present findings would contradict Jones and Cornes somewhat;
        two possible reasons for the difference between the two studies are

        —   open centres in Ireland only cater for a small number of
            prisoners and these are carefully selected

        —   the 'closed prison' experience of prison officers in open
            centres may have been less in Ireland.

        Jones and Cornes found, however, that in longer-stay open prisons,
        there was less emphasis on duties associated with inmate
        regulation and security and more on rehabilitation (P.193).

2.   See Staff Attitudes in the Prison Service, Op.Cit., which found
        that 59% of all uniformed staff felt that they had colleagues and
        subordinates who could be more helpful (P.99).

3.   A distinction should be made here between formal decision-making
        within the organisation hierarchy and informal decision-making not
        countenanced by the hierarchy.

        Table 9 refers to formal decisions and the table indicates that
        the Weberian outline of bureacracy is being followed.

        Informal decisions related to prisoners may be more frequent in
        closed prisons: See, for example, Duaber E. and Shichor, D., "A
        comparative Exploration of Prison Discipline" on disciplinary
        actions not reported to supervisors in closed prisons.

4.   See Haney et.al., Op.Cit., for a discussion on the use of power in
        a simulated prison.

5.   This is a similar finding to that outlined in the report on Staff
        Attitudes in the Prison Service, Op.Cit., which found 78% of
        prison officers agreeing that "working in the prison service has
        affected your outlook on life" (P.59).

6.   The role ambiguity for prison officers mentioned in much of the
        literature on prisons does not occur in Portlaoise.

7.   See Goffman, Op.Cit., passim, for an analysis of lower staff
        levels self-esteem development based on inmate control.

        See also Note 4 in Chapter 4 for a discussion on the development
        of superior-subordinate roles.

See also Cohen and Taylor, Op.Cit., who discuss the denigration of the guards by long-term high security (and high status) prisoners (P.120).

8.   In the open prisons studied by Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit., it was found that prisoners "often discussed their problems with their party officers first .... (and) relationships between officers and the welfare department were very good" (PP.80 - 81).

9.   This finding is again at variance with those of Jones and Cornes who concluded that the "staff culture is active in resisting any moves towards real 'openness' in open prisons" (P.215).

10.   See B. Brown, et.al. "Staff conceptions on Inmate Characteristics" who found "that custodial staff at the more custodial setting viewed inmates as significantly more active and aggressive than did custodial staff at the more rehabilitative setting" (P.327).

11.   See the lower self-esteem experienced by prison officers in Portlaoise. The sense of control which prison officers can display may be easiest to exercise over juveniles and most difficult over subversives who refuse to accept a subordinate status.

12.   See Jones and Cornes, Op.Cit., who found that proportionately, the highest incidence of reports on prisoners occurred in closed prisons. "Next in order were the short-term and medium-term open prison, while the long-term open prison, ... was most different from the rest" (P.212).

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF ROYAL
COMMISSION ON PRISONS IN IRELAND, 1884

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF ROYAL COMMISSION ON PRISONS IN IRELAND, 1884

1. The Commission recommended the closure of the convict
    prison at Spike Island and the transference of convicts
    to Mountjoy.   The Commission also recommended the
    consolidation of the prison service generally.   The
    Commission felt that "... the larger the number of prisoners
    in any prison within certain limits, the greater should
    be both the efficiency and the economy of their maintenance
    and treatment".   Prisons should ideally accommodate 800
    or 900 prisoners, with a minimum inmate population of 100.

2. The foundation of good prison management, according to the
    Commission, should be frequent inspection by members of
    the Prisons Board.   The Commission found dissatisfaction
    among Inspectors as to the definition of their role
    particularly with regard to their stated lack of freedom
    in dealing with staff and prisoner complaints.

3. One of the three members of the Prisons Board should be
    a medical person.

4. A new hospital prison should be developed in Maryboro
    (now Portlaoise) for 'invalid and weak-minded' convicts.
    The prison should be put on the same legal footing as in
    Woking so that prisoners who became insane could be kept
    there rather than being transferred to Dundrum Asylum.

5. The Commission was very concerned about insanity in prisons,
    particularly in Mountjoy.   Between 1878 and 1884, the
    average number of insane prisoners was:

                 Males   15.4 per 100 prisoners
                 Females   22.9 per 100 prisoners

    The Commission recommended the setting up of reception wards

in each of the larger prisons where incoming prisoners could
be observed and where arrangements could be made for their
transfer to Maryboro if the need arose.

6. The Commission felt that the education system in prisons
    was inadequate. This system involved "schoolmasters or clerk
    warders, passing from cell to cell and giving each prisoner
    about four or five minutes' instruction". It recommended
    that "some system should be devised for the instruction in
    classes of such prisoners as from their age, length of sentence
    and conduct, are likely to receive benefit thereby".

7. The prison at Lusk was to be closed because of the large
    expenditure involved; thus, an experiment which was peculiar
    to Ireland ended.

8. Employment for prisoners was considered in some detail by
    the Commission. The Commission considered suggestions for
    public works such as the reclamation of land, the construction
    of harbours, the preparation of peat litter and even the
    occupation of Lambay Island. It concluded, however, that
    in the immediate term prisoners should be employed in building
    work on other prisons.

9. The Commission found that the Visiting Committees of Justices
    for local prisons were not working satisfactorily. Justices
    apparently were dissatisfied that their role in the administration
    of local prisons had been changed by the Act of 1877 to a
    very minor one. The Commission made various suggestions
    for improving the situation and felt that one of the Visiting
    Committees' prime functions should be in "adjudicating on
    all serious prison offences and awarding the necessary punishments".
    It was needless to point out said the Commission "... how
    the firm and judicious exercise of this function, from independent
    persons, would constitute at once a powerful support of prison
    officers in the maintenance of discipline, and would be equally
    a check on any officer liable to err in provoking or magnifying
    offences".

10. With regard to warders the Commission felt that the "weight
of evidence is that they are, as a class, somewhat inferior
both as regards physical standard and in other respects".
The following figures give some indication of what motivated
that conclusion.

Of the 538 warder appointments between 1878 and 1884

60 failed the Civil Service Commissioners qualifying
examination

32 were discharged during probation

46 were dismissed

34 were permitted to resign

127 resigned voluntarily.

11. The Commission felt that the pay and conditions were not as
attractive as those in the R.I.C., and the lunatic asylums.
Prison staff had longer hours and had difficulty in getting
leave. The Commission recommende: a salary increase and
the provision of quarters outside the walls for married
officers.

12. The Commission recommended that more care should be taken
in selection of staff "... by special enquiry, as to their
antecedents" and that newly recruited officers should be
sent to the larger prisons to learn their duty.

13. Great care should be taken, said the Commission, to ensure
that an officer should not lose by having to transfer to
another prison. The reasons for disciplinary transfers
should be fully communicated to the Prisons Board.

14. The Commission found great differences between prisons in
the number and severity of fines on officers. There were
at the time forty possible duties for which fines could
be levied on officers.

15. The Commission dealt very delicately with the question of
by whose authority appointments of prison governors ought

to be made.   The Prisons Board was anxious that such appointments
should be their responsibility, but the Commission only
suggested that perhaps the Lord Lieutenant should consult
the Board prior to appointing governors to obtain suggestions
of suitable individuals within the service itself.

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Appendix B

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
OF PRISON OFFICERS

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC AND OTHER BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
SAMPLE OF PRISON OFFICERS

(a) Age Distribution of Prison Officers

(N = 182)

Age	Under 20	20 to under 23	23 to under 25	25 to under 28	28 to under 31	31 to under 36	36-45	Over 45	Total
% of Sample	5.0	15.0	11.7	26.1	20.0	14.4	5.6	2.2	100%

(b) Percentage Distribution of Prison Officers by
     Size of Community of Origin

(N = 182)

	% of Sample
Dublin City (and suburbs)	12.7%
Cork City (and suburbs)	1.7%
Limerick City (and suburbs)	1.7%
Galway City (and suburbs)	1.1%
Waterford City (and suburbs)	1.1%
Other town with population over 10,000	13.3%
Towns over 3,000 to 10,000	11.0%
Towns over 500 to 3,000	6.6%
Village or open country	50.3%
	100%

(c) Percentage Distribution of Highest Level of
     Education Attained by Prison Officers

(N = 182)

	% of Sample
Primary School	11.1%
Some Technical School	9.4%
Some Secondary School	12.2%
Group Certificate	22.2%
Intermediate Certificate	15.6%
Leaving Certificate	28.3%
Some University	.6%
University graduate	.6%
	100%

(d) Percentage Distribution of Total Length of Service of Prison Officers and their Length of Service in Present Position

(N = 182)

Length of Service	under 1 Year	1 under 2 years	2 under 3 years	3 under 6 years	6 under 10 years	Over 10 years	Total
Total in Prison Service	10.1%	18.0%	13.2%	38.3%	9.4%	11.0%	100%
In Present Prison	22.3%	19.5%	14.0%	29.0%	6.9%	8.3%	100%

(e) Percentage Distribution of Height of Prison Officers

(N = 182)

Height	under 5'-9"	5'-9"	5'- 0"	5'-11"	6'-0"	over 6'	Total
% of Sample	19.2%	13.7%	17.6%	22.1%	11.5%	10.9%	100%

(f) Percentage Distribution of Marital Status of Prison Officers

(N = 182)

	% of Sample
Married	57.1%
Single	42.9%

(g) Percentage Distribution of Probation/Non-Probation Status of Prison Officers

(N = 182)

	% of Sample
On Probation	37.4%
Not on Probation	62.6%

(h) Percentage Distribution of Trade Apprenticeship
     Training of Prison Officers

                    (N = 182)

Whether Served Apprenticeship	No	Partly	Yes	Total
% of Sample	58.4%	17.4%	24.2%	100%

(i) Percentage Distribution of Jobs of Prison
     Officers Immediately Prior to Joining the Prison
     Service

                    (N = 182)

                                        % of Sample

	% of Sample
White Collar, Supervisory Clerical	18.7%
Skilled; Technician, Trade	36.8%
Semi-Skilled: Machine Operator, C.I.E. Truck-driver, Nurse	22.8%
Unskilled: Labourer, Helper	14.6%
Other	7.1%
TOTAL	100%

(j) Percentage Distribution of Unemployment Experience
     of Prison Officers in the Two Years Prior to Joining
     the Prison Service

                    (N = 182)

Were you unemployed for any time in the two years prior to joining the prison service?	No	Yes
	78.4%	21.6%

Appendix C

THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRISON OFFICERS

APPENDIX C

Confidential

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRISON OFFICERS

This questionnaire is part of a study being carried out by the
Institute of Public Administration on the development of the role
of uniformed staff in the prison service. The Prison Officers'
Association has been kept informed of the progress of the study
and of this questionnaire survey and has indicated its support.

The questionnaire has been designed to get the views of prison
officers concerning various aspects of their jobs. As many officers
will be unfamiliar with questionnaires of this type, instructions,
both written and oral, are given at the beginning of each section.

As it was not possible to administer questionnaires to all officers
in the prison service, a sample of officers was picked at random
from lists of all serving officers. Those officers completing the
questionnaire will not be asked for their names and they can be
assured of complete confidentiality. All answers will be analysed
confidentially in the Institute of Public Administration and will
be grouped before being presented in the form of a report.

Please be as frank as possible in your answers. There is no
possibility of your name being associated with any answers. We
would therefore urge you to give your true views, rather than what
you think others might wish to hear, regarding the questions
asked. Your co-operation will be of great help in planning the
development of the role of uniformed staff and of the prison system
generally.

Please feel free to ask questions on any part of the questionnaire
that seems unclear.

I hope you find the questionnaire interesting.

February 1976.

The next two pages of the questionnaire relate to the various activities officers do in the course of their jobs. For each activity you are asked to rate how frequently you consider it occurs in the prison in which you are working

For example, if you think a given activity occurs <u>always</u> you would mark the scale like this:-

<u>EXAMPLE:</u>   MOST OFFICERS IN MY PRISON

Work well together   Never :___:___:___:___:___:___: X : Always

If, on the other hand, you feel that a given activity <u>never</u> occurs, you **should** mark the scale like this:-

            Never : X :___:___:___:___:___:___: Always

If you feel that it <u>quite often</u>, but not always occurs, you should place your "X" as follows:-

            Never :___:___:___:___:___: X :___: Always

If you think that the activity <u>sometimes</u> occurs, you should place your "X" as follows:-

            Never :___:___:___:___: X :___:___: Always

If you think that the activity <u>rarely</u> occurs, you should place your "X" like this:-

            Never :___: X :___:___:___:___:___: Always

If you feel that the activity occurs <u>not very often</u>, you should place your "X" like this:-

            Never :___:___: X :___:___:___:___: Always

If you feel that you cannot really make a decision on whether a particular activity occurs or not, then place your "X" in the centre of the scale as follows:-

            Never :___:___:___: X :___:___:___: Always

Card
1
Col. 1

Skip
Col. 2

Col. 3 -

Skip
Col. 6

Col. 7 -

Col. 9 -

Important

1. Place your X's in the middle of spaces, not on boundaries:-

   :___:___: X :___:___: :___:___:__X__:___:
         Like this   Not like this

2. Please be sure to mark each item in order and do not skip any.

3. Do not put more than one "X" on any one line:

Make each item a separate and independent judgement. Work at
fairly high speed throughout. Do not worry or puzzle over
individual items. It is your first impression, your immediate
"feelings" about the items that we want. On the other hand,
please do not be careless because we want your true impressions.

Please feel free to ask questions at any time if something is
not clear.

MOST OFFICERS IN MY PRISON

1. Call prisoners by their   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
   first names

   | | 11 |

2. Look smart and alert on duty Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always

   | | 12 |

3. Examine doors, windows, etc. Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
   for possible escape attempts

   | | 13 |

4. Iron out problems with   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
   prisoners rather than report
   them

   | | 14 |

5. Quickly establish authority   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
   over prisoners

   | | 15 |

6. Report accurately to   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
   superiors what went on
   in visits, courts, etc.

   | | 16 |

7. Are of big build   Never::___:___:___:___:___:___:Always

   | | 17 |

8. Discuss prisoners' problems   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
   privately with them

   | | 18 |

9. Know where prisoners under   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
   their control are

   | | 19 |

10. Are able to 'use' themselves Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    if the need arises

   | | 20 |

11. Allow prisoners have extra   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    tobacco, letters, etc., when
    they consider them deserved

   | | 21 |

12. Leave the handling of   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    difficult prisoners to
    superiors

   | | 22 |

13. Quickly see when a prisoner   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    is upset

   | | 23 |

14. Are consistent in dealing   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    with prisoners

   | | 24 |

15. Are punctual and regular   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    in attendance

   | | 25 |

16. Take verbal abuse from   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    prisoners
                                                                              26

17. Prevent incidents from   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    getting out of hand
                                                                              27

18. Show respect for superiors Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always

                                                                              28

19. Refer prisoners to welfare Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    or medical staff
                                                                              29

20. Stay on their post until   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    they are relieved
                                                                              30

21. Try not to become involved in Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    difficult situations
                                                                              31

22. Keep promises to prisoners Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always

                                                                              32

23. Know prisoners who will   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    tell them if trouble is
    brewing   33

24. Are interested in their jobs Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    rather than in just passing
    the time   34

25. Report a prisoner immediately Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    for disobeying an order
                                                                              35

26. Help prisoners with writing Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    and reading
                                                                              36

27. Ignore regulations that   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    appear out of date
                                                                              37

28. Stand well apart from   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    prisoners in a work group
                                                                              38

29. Help prisoners to get   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    jobs outside
                                                                              39

30. Bring out-of-date   Never:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Always
    regulations to the notice
    of superiors   40

On the following pages are statements concerning the job of prison officer. People will have differing opinions as to whether these statements apply to them or not. There are no <u>right</u> or <u>wrong</u> responses to any of these statements.

In order to make it easier for you to express your opinion, we have provided three degrees of agreement and three degrees of disagreement for each statement. Please place an "X" in the box which best describes your opinion.

EXAMPLE

	DISAGREE			AGREE		
	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
I like the job of a prison officer	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

If you <u>disagree strongly</u> with the statement on the left above, you would place your "X" like this:-

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
✗ -3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

If you <u>disagree moderately</u> you should place your "X" like this:-

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	✗ -2	-1	+1	+2	+3

If you <u>disagree slightly</u>, you should place your "X" like this:-

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	✗ -1	+1	+2	+3

If you <u>agree strongly</u>, you would put your "X" like this:-

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	✗ +3

If you <u>agree moderately</u>, you should put your "X" like this:-

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	✗ +2	+3

If you <u>agree slightly</u>, you should put your "X" like this:-

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	✗ +1	+2	+3

If you cannot make up your mind about a particular statement, (if you have no opinion about it), you should mark your "X" like this:-

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	✗	+1	+2	+3

	DISAGREE			AGREE		

1. I'd prefer one particular duty than to have different duties everyday

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

41

2. It is difficult for an officer to settle in an 'open' centre when transferred from a 'closed' prison

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

42

3. Staff who are promoted are usually the best for the job

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

43

4. Young officers react more strongly than older ones in dealing with prisoners

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

44

5. I would dislike to be changed from the duties I do generally

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

45

. Staff in my prison are always conscious that other staff will tell stories about them

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

46

7. Officers could not afford now to go on a 'flat week'

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

47

8. I would like more time off even if it meant less money

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

48

9. Officers should have a better system of appeal against decisions of a disciplinary nature

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

49

0. I would recommend the job of prison officer to a friend

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

50

	DISAGREE			AGREE		

1. The long hours make me a stranger to my family

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

51

2. Some of the best officers leave the prison service

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

52

3. It is not difficult for an officer to become accustomed to the life of an 'open' centre

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

53

4. Officers often suspect one another's motives

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

54

5. My job would be more interesting if I could get to know prisoners better

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

55

6. There are too many superiors telling me what to do

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

56

7. I discuss my job with my family

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

57

8. Trade staff could play a greater part in the prison service

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

58

9. One generally needs political 'pull' to be promoted in the prison service

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

59

0. The day usually seems very long in my job

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

60

C8

	DISAGREE			AGREE		

21. I generally feel harrassed by ACO's and CO's in my job

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

61

22. My family would worry if they knew what my job entailed

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

62

23. Extra training in a classroom would help me to do a better job

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

63

24. Prison officers have too little say in running a prison

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

64

25. Superiors in my prison are good at making decisions on their own initiative

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

65

26. Prison officers in my prison are confused as to what they are to do

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

66

27. Extra training on-the-job would help me to do a better job

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

67

28. A prison officer is supported by his superiors when he reports a prisoner

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

68

29. A governor is allowed all the freedom he wants to run a prison

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

69

30. The wearing of uniforms by staff is essential to running my prison

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

70

	DISAGREE			AGREE		

31. Officers who are liked by prisoners are more likely to be promoted

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

71

32. The feeling of physical danger is frequently present in my job

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

72

33. Searching prisoners is a job I don't mind

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

73

4. Working in prisons over a long time can affect an officers mental health

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

74

5. Officers would like greater opportunities than they presently have to help prisoners

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

75

6. It is usual for officers to become hardened in the prison service

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

76

7. It is important for a prison officer's development to do different duties within the prison

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

77

3. Living in or near the prison is a good idea

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

78

). Political 'pull' is sometimes used in the selection of prison officers

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

79

). My prospects of promotion in the prison service are good

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

80

Card
2
Col. 1
Skip
Col. 2

Col. 3 ·
Skip
Col. 6

The questions below relate to the role of non-custodial staff in prisons. As in most sections of the questionnaire, there are no right or wrong answers to any of the statements. It is your opinion that is required.

	DISAGREE			AGREE		
	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong

1. Visiting Committees have a function in the running of prisons

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

7

2. Teachers co-operate well with prison officers

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

8

3. Prisoners would trust some prison officers more than welfare staff or teachers

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

9

4. It is good to have 'outsiders' like visiting committees, teachers, etc, to keep an eye on things

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

10

5. Doctors co-operate well with prison officers

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

11

6. A welfare officer who doesn't get jobs for prisoners is not doing his own job well

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

12

7. Welfare officers co-operate well with prison officers

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

13

8. Welfare officers take prisoners from work groups without informing prison officers

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

14

9. It would be beneficial to prison officers to have more contact with welfare officers

strong	moderate	slight		slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1		+1	+2	+3

15

CII

	DISAGREE			AGREE		
	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong

0. All welfare officers in prisons should come from the ranks of prison officers

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

16

1. There is not enough involvement in the running of a prison by chaplains

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

17

The following questions are concerned with views of prison staff concerning prisoners. As mentioned earlier, it is your own opinion that is required in each case.

	DISAGREE			AGREE		
	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
It keeps prisoners from making trouble if they have work to do	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

18

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
Almost all prisoners need tight security	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

19

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
It is easier to get on with prisoners in small groups	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

20

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
Prisoners who consider themselves tough must be isolated	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

21

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
Getting prisoners to work while in prison is a useful method of rehabilitation	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

22

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
Prison is of no benefit to the large majority of prisoners	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

23

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
Prisoners who are constantly reciting their rights are troublemakers and should be isolated	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

24

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
Some prisoners control others who may be weaker	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

25

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
Prisoners are less hostile to welfare staff than to uniformed staff	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

26

	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
A prisoner who behaves has a better chance of temporary release/work parole	-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

27

C13

1. The behaviour of prisoners in prison bears little relation to their behaviour outside

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

28

12. If staff didn't get information from prisoners it would be very difficult to run a prison

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

29

13. Only a very small percentage of prisoners are intent on making trouble

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

30

14. It is as serious to let a short-term prisoner escape as it is a long-term one

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

31

15. It is natural for a prison officer to be pleased at 'getting a conviction'

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

32

16. Censorship of letters is a necessary aspect of security in my prison

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

33

17. If a prisoner is a leader he should get extra punishment if he breaks regulations

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

34

18. The more the rules are relaxed, the more they are abused

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

35

19. It upsets long-term prisoners to hear discussions by short-term ones on release dates, etc.

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

36

20. Later locking-up time for prisoners would bring much pressure on prison officers

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

37

21. Troublemakers in prison are usually people with personality disorders

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

38

22. It is more difficult to deal with prisoners when they hear of family problems

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

39

C14

The following items refer to officers' views concerning dealings and relationships with people. Again, there are no right or wrong answers – your own views are important!

	DISAGREE			AGREE		

1. If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

40

2. A strong person doesn't show his emotions and feelings

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

41

3. When a person has a problem or worry it is best for him not to think about it but to keep busy with more cheerful things

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

42

4. A person should defend the actions of his institution against criticism by outsiders

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

43

5. A person should avoid taking any action that might be subject to criticism

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

44

6. A person should do things in the exact manner that he thinks his superior wishes them to be done

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

45

7. You can trust most people

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

46

8. Most people are inclined to look out for themselves than help others

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

47

9. It is the duty of a citizen to support his country, right or wrong

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

48

	DISAGREE			AGREE		
	strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong

10. Prisoners sometimes are inclined to take advantage of me

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

49

11. I rarely do anything I think my fellow officers won't agree with

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

50

12. My superiors consider me a good officer

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

51

13. I sometimes feel under pressure from other officers to do things I don't like

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

52

14. I tend to be friendly socially with other prison officers outside work

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

53

15. Prisoners find me easier to get on with than they do most other prison officers

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

54

16. I would like to be more involved in my job than is possible now

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

55

17. Other prison officers sometimes think I'm too 'soft' on prisoners

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

56

18. I sometimes feel under pressure from superiors to do things I don't like

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

57

19. Fellow officers would seek my help quicker in a tough situation than they would that of most other officers

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

58

20. It is safest to assume that all people have a vicious streak

strong	moderate	slight	slight	moderate	strong
-3	-2	-1	+1	+2	+3

59

The following statements relate to your opinions concerning prisoners. You are asked to indicate by ticking one box in each line, whether you consider that the statements apply to None; to Very Few; to Some; To a Fair Number; to Most; or to All prisoners.

(Please tick one box only in each line)

1. Prisoners work better in small groups

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

60

2. Prisoners want to serve their time as quietly as they can

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

61

3. Prisoners only understand tough action

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

62

4. Prisoners get into trouble more easily with officers they are not used to

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

63

5. Prisoners continue committing crime regardless of how they are treated in prison

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

64

6. Prisoners react favourably to efforts at understanding them

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

65

7. Prisoners make trouble for staff at every opportunity

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

66

8. Prisoners benefit from a stay in an 'open' institution

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

67

9. Prisoners become more committed to crime while in prison

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

68

0. Prisoners welcome the opportunity to work with trade staff

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

69

1. Prisoners take advantage of an officer who shows kindness

None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

70

	None Do	Very Few Do	Some Do	A Fair No. Do	Most Do	All Do
12. Prisoners have life too soft while in prison	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Prisoners behave better if they expect temporary release	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. Prisoners need to be seen by a psychiatrist if they cause trouble	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15. Prisoners have very few opportunities in life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. Prisoners expect to be met with force if they use it	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. Prisoners like older officers better than younger ones	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. Prisoners 'con' people who don't know them well	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. Prisoners see crime as a short-cut to easy money	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. Prisoners take advantage of any reduction in security measures	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. Prisoners worry about family problems while in prison	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

71

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80

The following items refer to decisions taken in the course of running a prison. Three questions are asked in relation to each decision;
(a) Do you consider that you have a say in this decision? There are five possible answers and you are asked to tick the box which you think is nearest to what happens. The other questions asked in relation to each decision are (b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? For example, if you think that the decision is finally made by the Chief Officer then you would tick the box with CO on top.
(c) What level of staff should in your opinion make the decision?

Remember only one box is to be filled on each line.

Col 1
Skip
Col 2
Col 3-5
Skip
Col 6

----

1. Sending a Prisoner to See the Welfare Staff

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in sending a prisoner to see the welfare staff? (please tick one box only)

→ | Never 1 | Rarely 2 | Sometimes 3 | Often 4 | Very often 5 |

7

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

| Officer 1 | ACO 2 | CO 3 | Governor 4 | Welfare Section 5 | Doctor 6 | Dept.of Justice 7 |

8

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

| Officer 1 | ACO 2 | CO 3 | Governor 4 | Welfare Section 5 | Doctor 6 | Dept.of Justice 7 |

9

----

2. Transferring a Prisoner to another Prison

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in sending a prisoner to another prison? (please tick one box only)

→ | Never 1 | Rarely 2 | Sometimes 3 | Often 4 | Very often 5 |

10

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

| Officer 1 | ACO 2 | CO 3 | Governor 4 | Welfare Section 5 | Doctor 6 | Dept.of Justice 7 |

11

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

| Officer 1 | ACO 2 | CO 3 | Governor 4 | Welfare Section 5 | Doctor 6 | Dept.of Justice 7 |

12

C19

3. Allowing a Prisoner Write to a T.D.

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in allowing a prisoner write to a T.D.? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
□	□	□	□	□
1	2	3	4	5

13

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
□	□	□	□	□	□	□
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
□	□	□	□	□	□	□
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15

4. Altering the Lay-out of Rooms within the Prison

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in altering the lay-out of rooms within the prison? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
□	□	□	□	□
1	2	3	4	5

16

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
□	□	□	□	□	□	□
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
□	□	□	□	□	□	□
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18

5. Granting a Radio to Short-term Prisoner

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in granting a radio to short-term prisoners? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
1	2	3	4	5

19

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

20

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21

6. Allowing Extra Visits to Prisoners

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in allowing extra visits to prisoners? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
1	2	3	4	5

22

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

23

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

24

'. Granting of Parole to Prisoner

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in granting parole to a prisoner? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

25

(b) What level of staff member <u>finally</u> makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

26

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion <u>should</u> make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

27

'. Changing duty Roster for Officer

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in changing duty roster for officer? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

28

(b) What level of staff member <u>finally</u> makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

29

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion <u>should</u> make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

30

9. Allocation of Prisoners to different Jobs in the Prison

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in allocating prisoners to different jobs? (please tick one box only)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
→	1	2	3	4	5

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. Allowing extra Letters to Prisoners

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in allowing extra letters to prisoners? (please tick one box only)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
→	1	2	3	4	5

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

II. Allowing Prisoner to see the Governor

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
(a) Do you consider that you have a say in allowing a prisoner see the Governor? (please tick one box only) →	1	2	3	4	5

37

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)	Officer 1	ACO 2	CO 3	Governor 4	Welfare Section 5	Doctor 6	Dept.of Justice 7

38

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)	Officer 1	ACO 2	CO 3	Governor 4	Welfare Section 5	Doctor 6	Dept.of Justice 7

39

12. Censoring of Letters to/from a Prisoner

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
(a) Do you consider that you have a say in censoring of letters to/from a prisoner (please tick one box only) →	1	2	3	4	5

40

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)	Officer 1	ACO 2	CO 3	Governor 4	Welfare Section 5	Doctor 6	Dept.of Justice 7

41

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)	Officer 1	ACO 2	CO 3	Governor 4	Welfare Section 5	Doctor 6	Dept.of Justice 7

42

13. Allocation of Incoming Prisoners to Class

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in allocation of Incoming prisoners to class? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

43

(b) What level of staff member <u>finally</u> makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

44

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion <u>should</u> make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

45

14. Allowing Prisoner to visit Wife in Hospital

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in allowing a prisoner to visit his wife in hospital? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5

46

(b) What level of staff member <u>finally</u> makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

47

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion <u>should</u> make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7

48

15. Sending Prisoner to see Psychiatrist

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in sending a prisoner to see a psychiatrist? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1	2	3	4	5

49

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

50

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision finally? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

51

16. Sending Prisoners to Outside Hospital for Treatment

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in sending prisoners to an outside hospital for treatment? (please tick one box only) →

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1	2	3	4	5

52

(b) What level of staff member finally makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

53

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion should make this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept.of Justice
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

54

17. <u>Organising Entertainment for Prisoners</u>

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in organising entertainment for prisoners? → (please tick one box only)

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
	□ 1	□ 2	□ 3	□ 4	□ 5

55

(b) What level of staff member <u>finally</u> makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
□ 1	□ 2	□ 3	□ 4	□ 5	□ 6	□ 7

56

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion <u>should</u> make this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
□ 1	□ 2	□ 3	□ 4	□ 5	□ 6	□ 7

57

18. <u>Introducing Different Forms of Work into Prisons</u>

(a) Do you consider that you have a say in introducing different forms of work into prisons? (please tick one box only) →

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
	□ 1	□ 2	□ 3	□ 4	□ 5

58

(b) What level of staff member <u>finally</u> makes this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
□ 1	□ 2	□ 3	□ 4	□ 5	□ 6	□ 7

59

(c) What level of staff member in your opinion <u>should</u> make this decision? (please tick one box only)

Officer	ACO	CO	Governor	Welfare Section	Doctor	Dept. of Justice
□ 1	□ 2	□ 3	□ 4	□ 5	□ 6	□ 7

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The following questions relate to breaches of rules and regulations by prisoners. You are asked to indicate what <u>usually</u> happens when a rule or regulation is broken and you are present. There are four possible answers in each case and these are:-

(a)   I Deal With It Myself: that is when you handle the situation yourself without seeking help from colleagues or superiors.

(b)   Some Colleagues And Myself Deal With It: that is when colleagues go to your assistance but superiors are not informed.

(c)   Superiors Deal With It: that is when superiors are informed and they deal with it.

(d)   Other: that is if something other than the above happens.

<u>Breaches of Rules/Regulations by Prisoners</u>

(Please tick one box only in each line)

	I deal with it on my own	Colleagues and myself deal with it	Superiors deal with it	Other	
1. Two prisoners fighting in a toilet	☐	☐	☐	☐	
2. A prisoner refusing to work	☐	☐	☐	☐	8
3. A prisoner answering back a prison officer	☐	☐	☐	☐	9
4. A prisoner having a dirty cell	☐	☐	☐	☐	10
5. A prisoner not 'falling-in' when told	☐	☐	☐	☐	11
6. A prisoner striking an officer	☐	☐	☐	☐	12
7. A prisoner intimidating other prisoners	☐	☐	☐	☐	13
8. A prisoner stealing items from other prisoners	☐	☐	☐	☐	14

C28

The questions below refer to letters, reports, verbal interaction, etc., regarding prison officers' dealings with prisoners, superiors and others.

(Please tick one box only on each line)

1. How many letters (if any) have you written for prisoners in the last month?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more

15

2. How many prisoners (if any) have mentioned a personal problem to you in the last month?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more

16

3. How many disciplinary reports (if any) have you completed on prisoners in the last month?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more

17

4. Apart from reports, how many times have you had occasion to warn a prisoner (without making out a report) in the last month?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more

18

5. How many disciplinary half sneets (if any) have been completed on you by superiors in the last month?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more

19

6. How many times (if any) in the last month have you been asked by your superior how a particular prisoner was getting on?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more

20

7. How many times (if any) in the last month have you been asked by a welfare officer how a particular prisoner was getting on?

0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 or more

21

8. Do you think you will remain in the prison service until retirement?

Definitely Not (1) | Probably Not (2) | Not Sure (3) | Probably Yes (4) | Definitely Yes (5)

22

9. Do you think you will remain in the prison service for at least 2 or more years?

Definitely Not (1) | Probably Not (2) | Not Sure (3) | Probably Yes (4) | Definitely Yes (5)

23

10. Which of the following (a,b,c, or d) is most likely to happen for breaches of rules/regulations by prisoners?

(Please tick one box)

(a) Long-term prisoners are dealt with
more leniently than short-term ones..................☐ 1

(b) Short-term prisoners are dealt with
more leniently than long-term ones...................☐ 2

(c) It depends on the prisoner and not
on the length of the sentence.......................☐ 3

(d) Everybody is dealt with in a similar
way...☐ 4

11. The kinds of prisoners I like most to deal with are:

12. The kinds of prisoners I like least to deal with are:

In the following two pages there is a list of activities a prison officer might do in the course of his job. You are asked to rate for each activity how important in your opinion it is that officers in the prison you are working in carry out these activities.

For example, if you think a given activity is <u>Very Important</u>, you would mark the scale like this:-

EXAMPLE:

<u>HOW IMPORTANT IS IT IN YOUR PRISON THAT A PRISON OFFICER SHOULD</u>

Get on well with Very   Very
fellow officers   Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___: X :Important

If, on the other hand, you feel that a given activity is <u>Very Unimportant</u>, you should mark the scale like this:-

            Very   Very
            Unimportant: X :___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

If you feel that it is <u>Quite Important</u>, you should place your "X" as follows:-

            Very   .   Very
            Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___: X :___:Important

If you feel that it is <u>Slightly Important</u>, you should place your "X" as follows:-

            Very   Very
            Unimportant:___:___:___:___: X :___:___:Important

If you think that it is <u>Rarely Important</u>, you should place your "X" like this:-

            Very   Very
            Unimportant:___: X :___:___:___:___:___:Important

If you think that it is <u>Slightly Unimportant</u>, you should place your "X" like this:

            Very   Very
            Unimportant:___:___: X :___:___:___:___:Important

If you feel that you cannot make a decision on whether a particular activity is or is not important, then place your "X" in the centre of the scale as follows:-

            Very   Very
            Unimportant:___:___:___: X :___:___:___:Important

HOW IMPORTANT IS IT IN YOUR PRISON THAT A PRISON OFFICER SHOULD

1. Call prisoners by their first names

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

2. Look smart and alert on duty

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

3. Examine doors, windows, etc. for possible escape attempts

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

4. Iron out problems with prisoners rather than report them

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

5. Quickly establish authority over prisoners

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

6. Report accurately to superiors what went on in visits, courts,etc.

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

7. Be of big build

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

8. Discuss prisoners' problems privately with them

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___::Important Very

9. Know exactly where prisoners under their control are

   Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

10. Be able to 'use' himself if the need arises

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

11. Allow prisoners have extra tobacco, letters, etc., when they consider them deserved

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

12. Leave the handling of difficult prisoners to superiors

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

13. Quickly see when a prisoner is upset

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

14. Be consistent in dealing with prisoners

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

15. Be punctual and regular in attendance

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important Very

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C32

HOW IMPORTANT IS IT IN YOUR PRISON THAT A PRISON OFFICER SHOULD

16. Take verbal abuse from
prisoners

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

17. Prevent incidents from
getting out of hand

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

18. Show respect for superiors

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

19. Refer prisoners to welfare
or medical staff

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

20. Stay on his post until
he is relieved.

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

21. Try not to become involved
in difficult situations

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

22. Keep promises to prisoners

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

23. Know prisoners who will
tell him if trouble is
brewing

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

24. Be interested in his job
rather than in just
passing the time

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

25. Report a prisoner
immediately for disobeying
an order

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

26. Help prisoners with
writing and reading

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

27. Ignore regulations that
appear out of date

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

28. Stand well apart from
prisoners in a work
group

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

29. Help prisoners to get
jobs outside

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

30. Bring out-of-date
regulations to the notice
of superiors

Very
Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

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This section of the questionnaire relates to biographical Information. As with all the other Information given, the answers to these questions will be treated as completely confidential and will be used for statistical purposes only.

1. What prison are you presently working in? _____

2. Are you married or single?
   (please tick one box)

   Married [ ] 1

   Single [ ] 2

3. What age were you on your last birthday? _____ years

4. How tall are you (without shoes)? ____ ft. ____ ins.

5. How much do you weigh? ____ st. ____ lbs.

6. Are you small, medium or large build?
   (please tick one box)

   Small   Medium   Large
   [ ]   [ ]   [ ]
   1   2   3

7. What part of the country were you reared in?
   (please tick one box)

   Dublin City (and suburbs) .... [ ] 9

   Cork City (and suburbs) .... [ ] 8

   Limerick City (and suburbs) ...... [ ] 7

   Galway City (and suburbs) .... [ ] 6

   Waterford City (and suburbs) .... [ ] 5

   Other town with pop. over 10,000. [ ] 4

   Town with pop. 3,000 to 10,000... [ ] 3

   Town with pop. 500 to 3,000 ..... [ ] 2

   Village or open country .... [ ] 1

   If you grew up outside Ireland,
   please indicate where

Card 5

Col. 1
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Col. 2

Col. 3

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Col. 6

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C34

8. How long have you been
   in the prison service? _____years _____months

9. How long have you
   worked in this prison? _____years _____months

10. Are you still on probation?
    (please tick one box)..................................... No [ ] 1   Yes [ ] 2

11. What is the highest level of education you reached?
    (please tick one box)

    Primary School .... [ ] 1
    Some Technical School.............. [ ] 2
    Some Secondary School.............. [ ] 3
    Group Certificate .... [ ] 4
    Intermediate Certificate.......... [ ] 5
    Leaving Certificate............... [ ] 6
    Some University................... [ ] 7
    University Graduate............... [ ] 8

12. Have you served a trade apprenticeship? .... No [ ] 1   Partly [ ] 2   Yes [ ] 3

13. If you have (even partly),
    please state which trade. _____

14. Please state what your last job was
    before joining the prison service. _____

15. Were you unemployed for any time
    in the two years prior to joining
    the prison service?
    (please tick one box).............................. No [ ] 1   Yes [ ] 2

16. If yes, for how long were you unemployed?
    (please tick one box)

    Not at all......................... [ ] 1
    Less than 2 weeks .... [ ] 2
    2 - 4 weeks........................ [ ] 3
    1 - 2 months....................... [ ] 4
    3 - 6 months....................... [ ] 5
    7 - 12 months .... [ ] 6
    More than 1 year................... [ ] 7

C35

17. Do you have a particular job in the prison
(that you do most of your working time
apart from general security duties)?

No   Yes

□   □
1   2

If you do, which of the following jobs is
it?

Class Officer........................ □ 1

Gate Officer......................... □ 2

Reception............................ □ 3

Visits............................... □ 4

Laundry.............................. □ 5

School............................... □ 6

Workshop............................. □ 7

Woodyard............................. □ 8

Garden............................... □ 9

Kitchen.............................. □ 10

Hospital............................. □ 11

Detail............................... □ 12

Other (please specify) □ 13

3

_____

_____

Below is a list of possible reasons for joining the prison service. You are asked to rate for each reason how important that reason was in deciding you to join the prison service. Please place your "X" on the scale in the same manner as you did previously.

MY REASONS FOR JOINING THE PRISON SERVICE WERE BECAUSE

1. I liked the idea of wearing a uniform

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    32

2. A member of my family was already in the job

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    33

3. I was interested in the kind of work I might be doing

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    34

4. I wanted a job near home

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    35

5. I had been accustomed to working in 'uniform' jobs

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    36

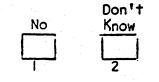6. The pay was better than I had previously

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    37

7. I was interested in helping people

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    38

8. Work elsewhere was slack

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    39

9. I needed a secure job for house purchase

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    40

0. There was a threat of redundancy in my previous job

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    41

1. There was a good pension with the job

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    42

2. My family encouraged me

    Very Unimportant:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:Important

    43

1. Are there any changes in working conditions
    of prison officers that you would like to see
    come about? What is in mind here is any
    aspect whatsoever of your job.

    If <u>Yes</u>, please outline what these changes
    might be.

    No   Don't Know   Yes

    1   2   3

2. Are there any changes in the training
    procedures for prison staff that you would
    like to see come about?

    If <u>Yes</u>, please outline what these changes
    might be.

    No   Don't Know   Yes

    1   2   3

3. Are there any changes in the way prisoners
    are dealt with in prison that you would
    like to see come about?

    If <u>Yes</u>, please outline what these changes
    might be.

    No   Don't Know   Yes

    1   2   3

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Col. 2

Col. 3=
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Col. 6

4   Are there any changes in security
arrangements in your prison that
you would like to see come about?

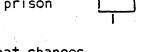| No	Don't Know	Yes
1	2	3

If Yes, please outline what these
changes might be.

5.   Is the right kind of person being
recruited for the job of prison
officer?

No	Don't Know	Yes
1	2	3

If you think not, then what changes
should come about in the areas
of recruitment and selection?

6. Are you satisfied with the present system
   of promotion for prison officers?

No	Don't Know.	Yes
1	2	3

   If Not, what changes in the promotion
   system would you like to see come about?

7. Are you satisfied with the present transfer
   .and dismissal policies for prison officers?

No	Don't Know	Yes
1	2	3

   If Not, what changes in transfer and
   dismissal policies would you like to see
   come about?

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Below are two questions relating to work as a prison officer. You are asked to state what you like and dislike about working as an officer. Please be as frank as possible in your answers.

1. The things I like <u>most</u> about working as a prison officer are:-

| 42 |
| 43 |
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| 48 |
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| 50 |

2. The things I dislike <u>most</u> about working as a prison officer are:-

| 51 |
| 52 |
| 53 |
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| 59 |

Below are two questions relating to prisoners while in prison. You are asked for your opinion as to (a) the <u>most beneficial</u> aspects of prison to prisoners, (b) the <u>most harmful</u> aspects of prison to prisoners. Please be as frank as possible in stating your views. What is in mind is any aspect whatsoever of prison which might, in your opinion, be of some benefit or some harm to prisoners.

1. In my opinion, the <u>most beneficial</u> aspects of prison to prisoners are:-

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	66
	67

2. In my opinion, the <u>most harmful</u> aspects of prison to prisoners are:-

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