



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

University of Alberta

Pluralistic Ignorance in a Prison Community

by

Jana Marie Grekul



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall, 1995



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Voire référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA TO REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA DE REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-06345-3

Canada

University of Alberta

Library Release Form

Name of Author: Jana Marie Grekul

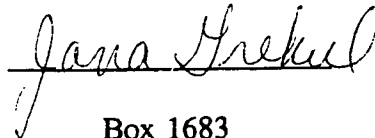
Title of Thesis: Pluralistic Ignorance in a Prison Community

Degree: Master of Arts

Year this Degree Granted: 1995

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly, or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.



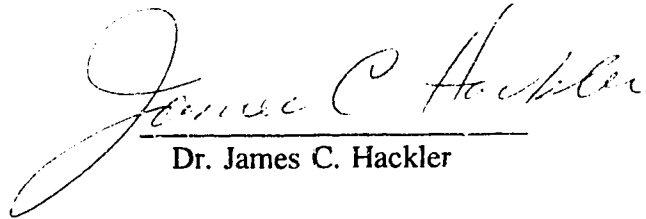
Box 1683
St. Paul, Alberta
T0A 3A0

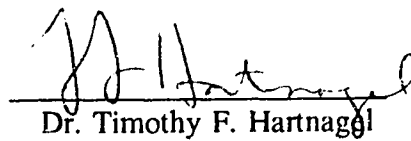
June 22, 1995

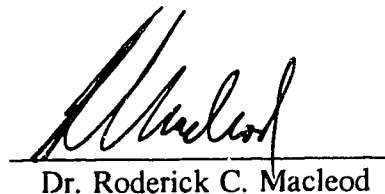
University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled *Pluralistic Ignorance in a Prison Community* submitted by Jana Marie Grekul in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.


Dr. James C. Hackler


Dr. Timothy F. Hartnagel


Dr. Roderick C. Macleod

Abstract

Pluralistic ignorance refers to the shared cognitive error of a group: members of a group often make the same errors in perceptions resulting in a group attitude that is inaccurate. If the group is influenced by one or more vocal, visible leaders, the attitudes or opinions espoused by these leaders becomes the publicly acknowledged 'group attitude'. It may be however, that individual group members privately disagree with this public attitude but are unwilling to express their true, private attitudes.

In an effort to test whether pluralistic ignorance exists among inmates and correctional officers in a maximum security prison, private attitudes and perceptions of those attitudes were measured. Members of the inmate group and the officer group were asked to indicate their private responses to hypothetical situations and were asked to estimate the group attitude of their respective group and the other group. The results support the findings of research in this area: pluralistic ignorance appears to exist among and between inmates and correctional officers in a correctional facility. A similar study conducted in the United States found that inmates were more inaccurate and negative in their misperception of attitudes. The present study, however, is different in that correctional officers in this study were in general more inaccurate and negative in their misperceptions of both inmate and staff attitudes.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the inmates and officers who put a great deal on the line by participating in this study; it is they who made the study possible. The impact they and their situations have made on me will remain forever vivid. This study would not have been possible without my supervisor, Dr. Jim Hackler, who suggested the project, and provided invaluable advice and support, and never-ending encouragement. I believe he went beyond the call of duty to help me throughout the program, and to provide me with opportunities and experiences which I could not have gained otherwise. I would like to acknowledge the support of Dr. Tim Hartnagel and Dr. Rod Macleod, the members of my committee. Thank-you to Jennifer Bell and Jo Lamba for always understanding. To my parents, Marshall and Gloria Grekul, thank-you for all you are and all you do, thank-you for instilling in me the value and appreciation for life-long learning, and for your unconditional love. To Lisa and Chad, you are the best ones. To Marcel, thank-you for your love, your support, your understanding, and your endless giving.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: WHAT IS PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE?

What is pluralistic ignorance?	1
The influence of vocal group leaders	2
The spiral of silence	2
Looking-glass perception	3
The Fear of isolation	3
Incentives to expression.	4
The importance of inhibition in the expression of attitudes	4
Research on pluralistic ignorance, the spiral of silence and vocal group leaders	5
The contribution of pluralistic ignorance to subculture production	6
Interaction of subcultures.	6

CHAPTER TWO: THE PRISON: AN INSTITUTION RIPE FOR PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PRISON

The prison as a total institution	8
<i>Entrance</i>	8
<i>Initiation</i>	9
The prison community	10
Subculture creation	11
The inmate subculture	12
The functional or indigenous influence model	14
The importation model	15
Integrating the two models.	16
The inmate code.	16
Argot roles.	17
Inmate leaders.	18
The formal organization versus the informal organization.	19
The correctional officer subculture.	20

CHAPTER THREE: PRISON SUBCULTURES: A CRITIQUE

Prison subcultures may not be exactly as they seem	23
The significance of inmate role types for the inmate subculture	25
Length of time and prisonization	26
Pluralistic ignorance and the 'inmate subculture'	27
Pluralistic ignorance and the 'guard subculture'	28

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Measuring the Concepts	31
----------------------------------	----

Personal Attitudes.	31
Perception of attitudes	32
Prescriptions	33
Expectations	34
Sampling.	34
Data Collection	35
Procedure.	35
<i>Initial meetings</i>	35
<i>The Poster</i>	35
<i>The Interviews</i>	36
<i>Administration of the Questionnaire</i>	36
<i>Inmates</i>	36
<i>Correctional Staff</i>	36
<i>Re-administration of the questionnaire</i>	37
<i>Climate of the Institution</i>	38
<i>Second stage</i>	39
<i>Third stage</i>	39
<i>Inaccuracies of the data</i>	40

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS FOR THE 'ANGER MANAGEMENT' and 'LESS CHALLENGING JOB' SCENARIOS

Approval of Inmate Actions	41
Bias in the Perception of Inmate Approval	42
Inmate and CO Prescriptions and Expectations Regarding Inmate Actions	43
Bias in the Perception of Correctional Staff Approval	44
Results for the 'Less Challenging Job' scenario	48
Approval of Inmate Actions	48
Bias in the Perception of Inmate Approval	49
Inmate and Correctional Officer Prescriptions and Expectations Regarding Inmate Actions	50
Bias in the Perception of Correctional Staff Approval	51
Inmate responses to the two scenarios	52

CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS FOR THE REMAINING FOUR SCENARIOS

Approval of Inmate Actions (Escape)	54
Bias in the Perception of Inmate Approval	54
Inmate and CO Prescriptions and Expectations Regarding Inmate Actions.	56
Bias in the Perception of Correctional Staff Approval	57
Approval of Inmate Actions (Drugs)	59
Bias in the Perception of Inmate Approval	59
Inmate and CO Prescriptions and Expectations Regarding Inmate Actions.	60
Bias in the Perception of Correctional Staff Approval	61
Inmate and Staff Responses to the Scenarios	66

CHAPTER SEVEN: RESULTS FOR THE CORRECTIONAL OFFICER SCENARIOS

Approval of Correctional Staff Member's Actions ('Charge') 69
Bias in the Perception of Correctional Staff Approval 69
Inmate and CO Prescriptions and Expectations Regarding
Officer Actions. 70
Bias in the Perception of Inmate Approval 71
Responses to the scenarios 76

CHAPTER EIGHT: PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE AMONG INMATES

The inmate subculture: implications for the existence
of pluralistic ignorance. 80
The inmate subculture as a facade. 80

CHAPTER NINE: PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE AMONG CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

Why are the misperceptions of the staff at Edmonton
Institution as negative and exaggerated as they appear
to be?. 86

CHAPTER TEN: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Inmates. 88
Correctional Staff. 89

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 92

APPENDICES. 100

LIST OF TABLES

Table 6.1: Perceived Inmate Approval and Direction of Pluralistic Ignorance	63
Table 6.2: Wheeler's Results for Perceived Inmate Approval and Direction of Pluralistic Ignorance	64
Table 6.3: Gaps Between Prescriptions and Expectations and the Direction of Difference for Inmates and Staff	65
Table 6.4: Perceived Staff Approval and Degree and Direction of Pluralistic Ignorance	66
Table 7.1: Perceived Staff Approval and Degree and Direction of Pluralistic Ignorance	73
Table 7.2: Wheeler's Results for Perceived Staff Approval and Direction of Pluralistic Ignorance	74
Table 7.3: Gaps Between Prescriptions and Expectations for Inmates and Correctional Staff	75
Table 7.4: Perceived Inmate Approval and Direction of Pluralistic Ignorance	75

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 5.1: Orientation of Inmates and Staff to Anger Management Program and Perceived Inmate Approval	42
Figure 5.2: Inmate and Correctional Officer Prescriptions and Expectations for Inmate Joining the Anger Management Program	44
Figure 5.3: Perceived Inmate and <u>Staff</u> Approval for Inmate's Decision to Join Anger Management Program	46
Figure 5.4: An Example of Wheeler's Results - The Rule Infraction Scenario	47
Figure 5.5: Orientation of Inmates and Staff to Inmate Taking the Less Challenging Job and Perceived Inmate Approval	49
Figure 5.6: Inmate and Correctional Officer Prescriptions and Expectations for Inmate Taking the Less Challenging Job	51
Figure 5.7: Perceived Inmate and <u>Staff</u> Approval for Inmate's Decision to Take the Less Challenging Job	52
Figure 6.1: Orientation of Inmates and Staff to Inmate's Refusal to Participate in the Escape and Perceived Inmate Approval for the Action	55
Figure 6.2: Inmate and Correctional Officer Prescriptions and Expectations for Inmate Behaviour	57
Figure 6.3: Perceived Inmate and <u>Staff</u> Approval for Inmate's Decision to Refuse to Participate in the Escape	58
Figure 6.4: Orientation of Inmates and Staff to Inmate's Decision to Hide the Drugs and Perceived Inmate Approval of the Action	60
Figure 6.5: Inmate and Correctional Officer Prescriptions and Expectations for Inmate Behaviour	61
Figure 6.6: Perceived Inmate and <u>Staff</u> Approval for Inmate's Decision to Hide the Drugs.	62
Figure 7.1: Orientation of Inmates and Staff to Officer's Decision to Charge Inmate for Abusive Language	70
Figure 7.2: Inmate and Correctional Officer Prescriptions and Expectations for Officer Behaviour	71
Figure 7.3: Perceived Staff and Inmate Approval for Officer's Decision to Charge Inmate for Abusive Language	72

CHAPTER 1: WHAT IS PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE?

As part of group interaction, people often try to anticipate the attitudes and opinions of others. However, they sometimes misperceive those attitudes and opinions. If they are sensitive to, or influenced by the views of others, particularly those with power or influence, individuals may be hesitant to express their true feelings. They may remain silent or express views that they believe will be acceptable to others. As a result, group interaction can lead to heightened misperceptions or pluralistic ignorance. While this process is a factor in all social settings, it may have important ramifications for prison situations. In prisons, both the environment and antisocial inmate leaders might influence or intimidate inmates and cause them to repress their attitudes and opinions. Simultaneously, as these private attitudes are repressed, certain 'group attitudes' are promoted. These group attitudes, espousing antisocial, anti-staff values and behaviours, are likely to contribute to the hostile climate and tense atmosphere characteristic of many prison communities.

What is pluralistic ignorance? Merton defines pluralistic ignorance as *any uncertainty about the distribution of opinion in a reference group* (Merton, 1968; Taylor, 1982: 312). More specifically, pluralistic ignorance refers to the powerful influence of social projection within groups (O'Gorman, 1986: 337). It comprises the shared false ideas individuals have about the sentiments, thoughts, and behaviour of others. The actual opinions of people do not always influence others directly. Direct communication or interaction may not be possible (Taylor, 1982: 313); groups may be too large, or communication and interaction awkward. In an effort to make sense of their social environment (ie. the group of which they are a part), individuals may make inferences about the attitudes and beliefs of people around them. They often make erroneous inferences. When errors occur systematically, in predictable directions, and involve a group of people, the result is pluralistic ignorance (Fields and Schuman, 1976: 427).

Pluralistic ignorance refers to "socially accepted but false propositions about the social world" (O'Gorman, 1986: 333). It refers to the shared cognitive error of a group; the members of a group make the same errors in perceptions resulting in a group attitude that is inaccurate. Pluralistic ignorance is a "necessary condition/cognitive element in stereotypes, ethnocentrism, false consciousness, self-fulfilling prophecies, and ideologies" (O'Gorman, 1986: 333). Essentially, there is a difference between the ways **individuals** process information, and the way this information is processed by the **group**.

Individuals can be misled by the perception they have of a group. The group, especially if influenced by vocal, visible leaders, can lead its members into submitting to imaginary group standards. Because of an attitude of social conformity, the belief that individuals must conform to the expectations of others, individuals often distort their personal beliefs and judgments in an attempt to defer to imagined group

standards (O'Gorman, 1986: 337).

These imagined group standards may differ considerably from the private attitudes of the group members. In situations where pluralistic ignorance exists, the attitudes individuals hold privately, or their true feelings, are ignored in favour of supporting the apparent group leader, who seemingly represents the beliefs of the entire group. Individual group members do not consider the possibility that many more of them share their 'true' feelings than share those expressed by prominent group leaders. For example, Schanck, an early researcher in this area, in conducting a study among religious groups, found that "group members, unaware of the private attitudes of other members, falsely concluded that their own private views were not widely shared" (cited in O'Gorman, 1986: 341). Individuals were unwilling to express their true feelings, which contradicted the dictates of the church. They did not realize that fellow churchgoing members felt the same way they did about church dogma, and were also publicly supporting the rules while privately rejecting them.

The influence of vocal group leaders. In these types of situations, the attitudes with visible and highly vocal adherents appear to be more widely held than they actually are. Glynn and McLeod, in their study on public opinion, found there existed a group of "hardcore" opinion leaders who were not prepared to conform, to change their opinions, or even to be silent in the face of public opinion (1984: 732). Similarly, Toch and Klofas refer to "Subculture Custodians" who "can disproportionately influence because they are most consistent in their views, care more deeply about their beliefs, feel more certain of support and are themselves immune to influence" (1984: 153). It is not hard to see how such vocal, persistent, and influential leaders can persuade a group of people that the attitudes they themselves are expressing are representative of the group. The resulting appearance of support, in effect, turns into a self-fulfilling prophecy; those who believe they are in the majority become louder and stronger in their convictions. They see themselves as representing the group, so less vocal group members do not reveal their own beliefs. The cycle continues, until the most vocal attitudes become acknowledged as, or are assumed to be, truly representative of the attitudes of all group members (Taylor, 1982: 311). Essentially, pluralistic ignorance involves a "situation when a minority position in public opinion is incorrectly perceived to be the majority position and vice versa" (Taylor, 1982: 312).

The spiral of silence. In situations where pluralistic ignorance exists, several processes may contribute to its occurrence. Noelle-Neumann refers to the spiral of silence as the process in attitude formation by which "the losing side falls increasingly silent and the winning side is therefore overrated" (1977: 143). This may explain how one perspective or attitude can appear to be dominant in group or public opinion. If an individual discovers that s/he agrees with the view of a vocal group leader, it boosts the individual's self-confidence and enables self-expression without the danger of social isolation (Taylor, 1982: 314). The effect is a spiralling process that establishes one view as the prevailing one: adherents to the opinion that appears to be gaining support will speak louder and more confidently. They will also be more willing and

likely to discuss their point of view with others (Glynn and McLeod, 1984: 731). Adherents to the view that seems to be losing ground will adopt a more reserved attitude when expressing their opinions in public. The result is that

(a)n opinion that is being reinforced in this way appears stronger than it really is, while an opinion suppressed as described will seem to be weaker than it is in reality (Noelle-Neumann, 1977: 144)

This spiralling process contributes to misperception and often unintentional deception among members of a group or social environment. As Fields and Schuman found in their study, the level of pluralistic ignorance is highest for certain controversial issues where the liberal majority is uncertain and lacks confidence in the prevalence of its views (1976).

Looking-glass perception. The concept referred to as the **looking-glass perception** describes the tendency to believe others' opinions are the same as one's own (Fields and Schuman, 1976: 427). As the pluralistic ignorance becomes prevalent, the looking-glass perception further strengthens the position of these vocal individuals (ie. group leaders) by enabling them to look out into the group and (falsely) see their own opinion reflected back. This provides further "support" for their ideas and strengthens their apparent leadership. These leaders are usually conservative in their views and it is the 'liberal' (more progressive) majority who remain silent. It is precisely these liberals who show less tendency to perceive others in agreement with themselves (Fields and Schuman, 1976: 445). Thus, the looking-glass perception appears to be more characteristic of the vocal leaders in the group. This process is a contributing factor to the maintenance of pluralistic ignorance, a situation, according to Fields and Schuman, "where people appear to operate within a 'false' social world or at least one quite different from that observed by the presumably objective social scientist" (1976: 427).

Fear of isolation. It is through social interaction that people influence the willingness of others to express opinions. Because people like to be popular and respected, they will try to discover which opinions and modes of behaviour are prevalent. They will express themselves and exhibit behaviour accordingly in public (Noelle-Neumann, 1977: 144). When individuals see their own opinion spreading they voice it more frequently. Individuals who disagree personally may support the 'popular' opinion publicly to gain approval and support from their social environment. The threat of isolation for holding an attitude contrary to popular opinion is exhibited in Noelle-Neumann's study. She found support for the hypothesis that smokers who uphold the right to smoke in the presence of nonsmokers are more likely to keep silent when the majority of people around them are nonsmokers (Noelle-Neumann, 1977: 155).

Incentives to expression. Taylor claims that rather than social isolation being the motivating force in self-expression, it is more the incentives and expected benefits arising from self-expression under certain circumstances that are the determining factors in the expression of attitudes, whether personal attitudes or public attitudes (Taylor, 1982: 333). For example, those who think they are in the minority have an extra incentive to remain silent or in other instances it may be beneficial to publicly claim support for the 'majority' position, even if they privately do not agree. Taylor specifically looked at these "incentives" to expression in the arena of politics.

The importance of inhibition in the expression of attitudes. The numerous assumptions about how others feel, which are the backbone of pluralistic ignorance, are self-perpetuating precisely because they discourage the expression of opinions that one falsely regards as unsupported (Taylor, 1982; Toch, 1984). As Toch and Klofas write, "pluralistic ignorance inhibits conduct,... it squelches the private preferences and sound inclinations of a majority-in-ignorance" (Toch, 1984: 130). Katz and Allport conducted one of the earlier pluralistic ignorance studies with students at Syracuse University. They discovered that although 55% of students had no personal objection to social contact with several different "types" of people, these same students admitted that they would publicly discriminate against twenty-six of the thirty types because association with them, they felt, would lower the reputation of their fraternity (Toch, 1984: 129). A similar study was done among delinquents; their personal feelings indicated less approval of antisocial behaviour than did the public attitudes and perceptions they held (Toch, 1984:135). For delinquents

pluralistic ignorance acquires survival-related overtones. One knows oneself to be - or suspects oneself of being - tender-minded, naive, vulnerable, and pro-social. One evolves a "tough" facade to avoid being ridiculed (Toch, 1984: 136).

According to the theory of pluralistic ignorance, a clear minority of one's delinquent peers are truly tough; the others, like the person himself are "facade-tough" (Toch, 1984: 136).

Similarly, there exists a teacher subculture which espouses strictness and firmness with students. Yet it has been found that teachers perceive this strict, aloof control ideology of their colleagues to be more removed from students than their own personal beliefs indicate (Toch, 1984: 136).

In all of these examples,

As a result of the feeling that this projected attitude is universal among the group members, the individual may then desire to conform to the

group standard and adopt the projected attitude himself (Toch, 1984; 130).

Pluralistic ignorance contributes to a situation where an entire group may maintain a public position completely different from the private attitudes of the group members. The illusion that results is fuelled by acts of omission and commission. The omission is that a silent, often progressive (supportive of reforms), *majority* is too intimidated and misled to voice their beliefs. The commission is the perpetuation of falsely supported attitudes by a self-appointed, often conservative (interested in maintaining the status quo), minority of spokespersons who pretend to be representative of the views of the majority (Toch, 1984: 139).

Research on pluralistic ignorance, the spiral of silence and vocal group leaders.

Many studies focusing on these processes and concepts have been conducted (Toch and Klofas, 1984; Noelle-Neumann, 1977; Singer and Singer, 1985; Glynn and McLeod, 1984; Ross et al., 1977; Taylor, 1982; O'Gorman, 1986; Fields and Schuman, 1976; Schanck, 1932; Wallen, 1943; Glynn, 1989; Korte, 1972). Glynn and McLeod found support for the "relative independence of perception of opinion judgments from own preferences" (Glynn and McLeod, 1984: 731). In studying the attitudes and behaviour of people regarding politics, they discovered that individuals who see their own political opinions spreading will voice these opinions self-confidently in public. Similarly, respondents were more likely to say they would enter into a political discussion with someone whose attitude is congruent with their own. They also found that individuals who see a candidate as winning an election are more likely to express a preference for that candidate. Group opinion is subject to different processes of perception and is often not an accurate representation of the individual opinions of its members. Glynn and McLeod conclude that perception of the opinions of others may have a very powerful influence on the expression of one's own opinion and on one's actual behaviour (Glynn and McLeod, 1984: 740). These findings all indicate support for the pluralistic-ignorance producing processes discussed earlier.

Korte studied pluralistic ignorance about student radicalism (1972). He found that in his sample of college students there existed a "radical bias" in the estimation of other students' opinions. Essentially the students overestimated the extent to which other students in their community would endorse the "radical position" on several issues. Furthermore, the students thought themselves personally to be more conservative and traditional relative to the peer group norm than they actually were. Korte explains the over-estimation of radical support by claiming that "the side of an issue representing a cultural (or subcultural) value is more prominent, and is more frequently and loudly advocated by adherents", simply because it is more extreme and visible (1972: 586). If the position becomes regarded as dominant, those who support it will be vocal and those opposed will remain silent. The result is an exaggerated impression of the aggregate group attitude. The result is pluralistic ignorance.

In a similar vein, Taylor measured private and public attitudes regarding air pollution, water pollution, and nuclear energy and found evidence of high pluralistic

ignorance: less than 50% of respondents accurately perceived the majority position regarding each area (Taylor, 1982: 319). On each issue those respondents whose private attitudes represented a minority position believed they were actually in the majority and the majority perceived they were a minority (Taylor, 1982: 330).

The contribution of pluralistic ignorance to subculture production. Pluralistic ignorance often results in the formation of clearly defined, although falsely based, presumed majority opinions and beliefs. The resulting group can become subcultural in nature, characterized by attitudes and behaviours unique to the group that are clearly different from the larger group or society of which it is a part. Often these groups develop in reaction to certain aspects of the larger society; for example, as described above, subcultures contrary to majority thinking form in response to pluralistic ignorance based processes. In one situation, juveniles, in an effort to avoid ridicule by peers, conceal their private pro-social attitudes and follow the lead of anti-social delinquent 'leaders'. The result is a group known for their anti-social attitudes and behaviour: a delinquent subculture. In the second example, teachers, who privately may be more pro-student, succumb to the stricter attitudes of their visible, vocal peers. The result: a teacher subculture evolves characterized by its custodial beliefs, despite the private beliefs of its members.

Interaction of subcultures. The case for pluralistic ignorance becomes particularly interesting and significant when two pluralistic ignorance-influenced subcultures interact. Prisons provide one example of the intersection of two such subcultures influenced by pluralistic ignorance: inmates on the one hand and prison guards on the other. While inmates and prison guards will normally be at odds because of the prison situation, if each group develops a subculture emphasizing extreme negative views of the other reinforced by pluralistic ignorance, the normal potential for conflict can be heightened considerably. The prison situation may be characterized by a dialectic of pluralistic ignorance in which the inmate group "play-acts 'resistant' clients", and the prison guards "play-act custodially oriented staff"; the end-product may be pressure toward conflict (Toch, 1984: 140). Members of both groups are 'play-acting' because these 'roles' are based on inaccurate perceptions. Inmates learn to follow 'rules' which prescribe behaviour that is recalcitrant and distrustful of staff members. Staff develop impressions of inmates as lazy, sly, and unworthy of their trust or help. The 'actors' get caught up in the hype created by the few visible 'subculture custodians' who thrive on this conflict; they are unable to see through the stereotypes and misperceptions. The oppositional nature of these roles and stereotypes contributes to a spiralling process of misunderstandings and antagonistic feelings and beliefs. This stereotyping results in divisions and hostilities between the groups operating under these misconceptions. Such systematic inaccuracy in estimates of group opinion by members of a group lead to perhaps unnecessary problems and conflicts within society in general and in institutions within the society. Correctional institutions and prisons are characterized by much conflict that may be influenced in part by the types of processes described above.

This study will attempt to measure pluralistic ignorance in a Canadian maximum security prison and see if it can be used to attempt to describe processes surrounding the poor morale and unrest that characterized the institution in 1993 and 1994. Before turning to the study itself, Chapter 2 notes some of the characteristics of prisons and why they are particularly susceptible to the stresses arising out of pluralistic ignorance.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRISON: AN INSTITUTION RIPE FOR PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PRISON

The prison is an institution that lends itself well to conflict and confrontation between the populations of which it is composed. From the processes and procedures surrounding entrance and initiation to the prison, to the day-to-day running of the institution, to the way the prison is organized, miscommunication, conflict, and violence seem to flow naturally from the set of circumstances which both inmates and staff members find themselves in. This chapter aims to outline some of the processes, procedures, and situations within the prison environment that contribute to the misunderstandings, misperceptions, and miscommunications that may eventually lead to violent situations. This chapter, in other words, attempts to explain how and why prison communities may experience pluralistic ignorance and the problems that may result from pluralistic ignorance-producing processes.

The prison as a total institution

Goffman has described the characteristics of total institutions and the effects these places have on their clients. Within total institutions, "all aspects of life are conducted in the same place, under the same single authority, in the immediate company of a large number of others" (Goffman, 1961). Everyone is generally treated alike; they participate in the same activities and are subject to an enforced schedule. Essentially, total institutions are responsible for the "handling of many human needs by the bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people". The prison is an example of a total institution (Goffman, 1961: 18).

Entrance. One of the most significant aspects of a total institution is the process surrounding entrance into the institution. As Goffman states, "upon entrance, the inmate is stripped of support and the conception of self from the home world" (Goffman, 1961: 23). A mortification process occurs during admittance to the institution and during the initial phases of institutional life. For example, role dispossession occurs; the inmate experiences a deep break with the roles he participated in in the past. The admission procedures themselves are mortifying; the inmate is reshaped and transformed into the submissive, obedient subject the administration believes is desirable. The "obedience test" and "will-breaking contest" are both methods of singling out defiant inmates and punishing them visibly and immediately to set an example for others in the institution (Goffman, 1961: 23). The implications of processes such as these for pluralistic ignorance are that as a result of the entrance procedures, the inmate becomes essentially a blank slate. He is ready to be shaped into the type of person desired by the institution. However, in the process of doing this, he becomes easily susceptible to the influence of vocal and visible inmates who have already established themselves as leaders in the general population. It is easier for him to identify with others who are in the same position as he finds himself than it is to identify with the staff and administrators who are essentially

'those guys' who have put him in the institution. Eager to search for and find a new identity for their new lives, inmates turn to these influential inmates, who appear to have adjusted to life as an inmate, as role models after which to model their own behaviour in order to survive. Essentially, because of these initial intimidating and will-breaking procedures, the inmate makes a break with society and more easily succumbs to the leaders and processes within the inmate population that contribute to the production and maintenance of pluralistic ignorance.

Initiation. Once admitted to the institutional population, the inmate undergoes an "initiation": he is the lowest in status among the inmates (a "fish"), he has no property, and he is subject to searches and other physical indignations and humiliations. Inmates in total institutions are forced to take on a disidentifying role. They must now participate in a daily routine of life that is alien to them. Inmates are also forced to experience what Goffman calls contaminative exposure. Facts about an inmate's past experiences, behaviours, and statuses are collected and recorded in a file that is available to staff, who are encouraged to read and acquire this information. Furthermore, the inmate's life is devoid of privacy. He cannot prevent other inmates and visitors especially, from seeing him in humiliating circumstances. He is forced into interpersonal relations and social contact with other inmates about whom he knows nothing. He is forced into group confessions with new audiences when he participates in therapy programs. His life is now open to everyone, staff and inmates alike. His business becomes everyone's business (Goffman, 1961: 31). In terms of pluralistic ignorance, these bureaucratic and 'therapeutic' procedures carried out by staff members contribute to the creation of an inmate population vulnerable to the influence of vocal, visible, extreme leader inmates. The inmate is essentially at the mercy of staff members and other inmates, who suddenly know everything about him, and who know how alone and vulnerable he is feeling in his new role as an inmate. Again, the new inmate, in searching for some sort of model for survival, might turn to the already established inmates, who may appear to be more than willing to 'help' a fellow inmate. In turning to their new-found inmate 'friends' who seem to 'know the ropes' and have the system figured out, these rookie inmates are taking the first step in what will become pluralistic ignorance producing processes.

Also important in the creation of a submissive inmate population is the removal of individual autonomy. Activities are subject to regulations and judgment by the staff. Inmates are required to request permission or supplies for minor activities that are executed independently on the outside, for example smoking, shaving, and mailing letters. As Goffman puts it, the "autonomy of the act itself is violated" (Goffman, 1961: 41). The inmate becomes dependent on others, who control these activities for him. Initially, the new inmate is dependent on both staff and established inmates. Eventually, the inmate may become more independent of other inmates, but he remains dependent on staff throughout his sentence. Essentially, an adult is forced into an "unnatural" submissive role (Goffman, 1961: 41). To exacerbate this childlike treatment of adults, it is also common for inmates to be ignored or spoken to like children. As well, any staff member has the right to discipline any inmate. This increases the probability of sanctions being levelled against inmates. All of these factors contribute to the tendency for inmates and staff to conceive of each other in terms of narrow, hostile stereotypes. Often the result is

the development of two distinct factions within the institution: the formal, administrative organization, and the informal inmate organization that develops alongside and in response to the official organization. Both are influential and crucial to the functioning of the institution, and each depends on the other for its existence and character.

The prison community

The prison is a service organization for maintaining order. Within the prison there is a ruling caste and a subordinate caste, but neither assumes any moral obligation to the other. Inmates are not morally obligated to obey administrative demands; staff are not morally obligated to treat inmates with respect. (Grosser, 1960: 130; Sykes, 1958). As 'keeper' and 'kept' each group owes nothing to the other by the very nature of their relationship. Thus the potential for misunderstandings and conflict. Because the prison is noncompetitive with other institutions in society (no other organization directly challenges the prison by offering services comparable to it), it doesn't need to maintain competitive standards, adapt technologically, or respond to market fluctuations. In this sense, prison management is free, to a certain extent, from public scrutiny.

Clemmer, in his classic work The Prison Community (1940), describes the prison as a social microcosm. The prison has a culture, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1940: 85). As Clemmer points out, prison culture is "not distinct or even greatly different from the culture in free society" (1940: 85). In fact, the inmates' culture previous to incarceration has an important influence on the culture behind the prison walls. These "culture antecedents" provide a link with free society, making the prison culture merely a modification of the culture of free society (1940: 6).

Weinberg, in discussing aspects of the prison's social structure, claims that the attitudes expressed in prison are continuations of cultural conflicts antecedent to incarceration (1942: 717). For example, on the outside the individuals who are now in prison were in conflict with the police and other law-enforcing agencies. Inside prison, the conflicts that occur continue to be between these individuals, now inmates, and a law-enforcing agency, the correctional officers and administration. As on the outside, both groups conceive of the other in hostile and collective stereotypes: "staff depict inmates in negative anti-thesis to themselves; inmates contradict and nullify the ideology of the officials" (Weinberg, 1942: 717). The conflict is a continuation from a similar one on the outside.

According to Weinberg, the guard group uses "contrast-conception" which defines the inmate group in negative polarity to itself. Many of the officials see inmates as "criminals after all", "people who can't and shouldn't be trusted", "degenerates who must be put in their place at all times", who cannot be rehabilitated, and are unintelligent, lazy, outcasts of society (1942: 721). Naturally, most of the inmates perceive the situation differently. They see themselves as being no different from any man on the street. "They consider officials as 'economic failures' who couldn't get a job on the outside" (Weinberg, 1942: 722). In their view, society is responsible for crime; they themselves are "victims of society". The "real crooks" are the financiers, the white collar criminals, who are almost never arrested (Weinberg, 1942: 722).

Weinberg's point is that "conflict between criminals and law-enforcing groups persists in prison despite the formal administrative set-up" (Weinberg, 1942: 725). Although some inmates have neutral or even friendly attitudes toward certain officials, and some officials pick favourite inmates, the stereotypes held by the two groups are beyond the power of individuals to control or modify. Furthermore, individuals who do not conform to group representations are considered variants and subject to the controls and pressures of their respective stratum (ie. officers or inmates) (Weinberg, 1942: 726). Inmate-friendly officers and officer-friendly inmates often run the risk of being ostracized from their own respective groups. Pressure is great to conform to the prevailing view of the group of which one is a member.

Subculture creation

Subcultures often form in response to some problem faced by a group (Becker and Geer, 1960: 305). The subculture provides a solution to the problem and then may develop into a more general response to a situation. The creation of a subculture may initially be a response to an issue. Eventually it becomes useful in addressing more and more issues, until finally it becomes an established world view. The subculture thus provides a recipe or interpretation of the world for its members.

A subculture may be formed on the basis of feelings of anger, frustration, and bitterness toward the dominant society. Criminals, inmates, and delinquents live according to the dictates of their respective subcultures. Yet, these 'deviants' never completely repudiate the norms of conventional society. The conventional standards for behaviour in fact linger on, repressed but still a threat to one's commitment to the subculture (Cohen, 1955: 132). According to Cohen,

there is much evidence from clinical psychology that moral norms, once effectively internalized, are not lightly thrust aside or extinguished. If a new moral order is evolved which offers a more satisfactory solution to one's life problems, the old order usually continues to press for recognition...(1955: 133).

This constant threat to the individual's 'new-found' beliefs is addressed through reaction-formation (Cohen, 1955: 133). Reaction-formation refers to an exaggerated response to a stimulus. The purpose of this 'over-reaction' is to reassure the individual "against an *inner* threat to his defenses as well as the function of meeting an external situation on its own terms" (Cohen, 1955: 133). So, in an effort to successfully reject dominant society, the 'deviant' overcompensates the tendency to revert back to the norms of conventional society by responding in an exaggerated way to that society and its norms. In the case of Cohen's delinquents, reaction-formation takes "the form of an 'irrational', 'malicious', 'unaccountable' hostility to the enemy...the norms of the respectable middle-class society" (Cohen, 1955: 133). For inmates, the inmate social system represents their own form of reaction-formation to the guards and administrators, and to conventional society. Inmates

and delinquents are able to reject their rejectors while simultaneously turning to their own new group for status, respect and recognition.

Much has been written on the inmate subculture, its formation and maintenance, and its role in prison conflicts (Atchley and McCabe, 1968; Bowker, 1980; Clemmer, 1938; Ellis, 1974; Gaes, 1985; O'Gorman, 1986; Scharf, 1983; Sykes, 1958; Sylvester, 1977; Toch, 1984; Toch, 1989; Wheeler, 1961; Wheeler, 1961). Many variables have been studied as possible influences on prison conflict. For example crowding, age, institutional experience, time incarcerated, coping skills, facilities provided and classification procedures have all been suggested as possible influences on prison violence (Ellis, 1974; Gaes, 1985; Porporino, 1986; Scharf, 1983; Zamble, 1990). Underlying many of these potential influences however, is the existence of an inmate subculture in conflict with a correctional officer subculture (Duffee, 1974; Cheatwood, 1974; Kauffman, 1981; Klofas, 1982; Toch, 1982; Wheeler, 1961).

Within correctional institutions, subcultural groups in conflict can be particularly dangerous. Prisons are the homes of often violent individuals lacking in effective coping and communication skills (Porporino, 1986; Zamble, 1990). More importantly, these individuals do not want to be in prison. Incarceration is involuntary. As a result, the potential exists for uncooperative, recalcitrant, and antagonistic behaviour toward staff and each other: a population being kept against its will is likely to be rebellious. In prison, a subculture exists that is the result of incarceration and the deprivations and limitations on freedom that are part of it. Certain patterns of behaviour, methods of gaining influence, and roles develop in response to the frustrations experienced by inmates. The total of these behaviours, roles, and rules forms the inmate subculture (Irwin and Cressey, 1962; 147).

The inmate subculture

The following discussion is based on what has been written on the inmate subculture. However, if pluralistic ignorance does in fact exist within the inmate population, the implications for subcultural theory may be significant. If inmates are only paying public lip service to the inmate subculture, while privately maintaining their pro-social beliefs, what does this say about the subculture? The subculture itself may essentially be composed of illusory beliefs, people saying one thing publicly, while believing the opposite. The inmate subculture may be composed of false beliefs - public beliefs that inaccurately represent the actual private attitudes of its members. So it may not be a subculture at all. Or more accurately, it may be a "pretend" subculture.

Sykes and Messinger (1960) point to the deprivations and frustrations experienced by inmates as a result of their confinement as the major cause of subculture formation. Being isolated from the free community, rejected by society, and living under the extensive social control of custodians, all contribute to psychological pain - not the least of which is an attack on the inmate's self-image, sense of worth, and self-esteem. The presence of other individuals experiencing the same enforced dependence and loss of autonomy results in a feeling of solidarity. (This is compounded by the fact that they are all imprisoned criminals: self-protection becomes another issue that must be addressed.) All of these conditions together form a harsh social reality that must be dealt with if

inmates are to survive physically and emotionally.

A cohesive inmate society provides the prisoner with a meaningful social group with which he can identify himself and which will support him in his struggles against his condemners (Sykes and Messinger, 1960: 16).

According to Sykes and Messinger, imprisoned inmates adapt to the situation by developing and adhering to the rules of the *inmate code*, which is the backbone of the inmate subculture. Inmate solidarity helps solve the problem of personal security and relieves to some extent the pains, frustrations, and deprivations of imprisonment.

According to Clemmer, the unwritten code of prisoners "results from an attitudinal configuration that a minority group to exist must have cohesiveness and be secure within itself" (Clemmer, 1940: 152). This is essentially a form of reaction formation. A minority group or subculture must have a strong *raison d'être* and must adequately address the issues faced by its members. The inmate code prescribes appropriate behaviour for its members so that one knows what is expected of him. In this way the inmate code provides cohesiveness to the inmate group. Part of the strength of the inmate code comes from its being formed in response to prison staff. It is able to keep inmates united by pitting them against their 'common enemy' and uniting them in their hatred for the guards. If there wasn't an inmate subculture with mores and norms prescribing appropriate behaviour and attitudes, inmates would be disorganized and constantly in conflict (Clemmer, 1940: 153).

Goffman refers to a fraternization process that occurs among inmates, whereby their sense of common injustice and bitterness against the outside world tends to develop (Goffman, 1961: 54). The inmate social system that results enables the inmate to reject his rejectors rather than himself. As Sykes says, "somehow the imprisoned criminal must find a device for rejecting his rejectors, if he is to endure psychologically" (Sykes, 1958: 67). The inmate social system fills this need.

The inmate social system and code for behaviour provide a form of informal social control and a means of social typing for inmates. The system is hierarchical and has a strict "code of ethics" which dictates the behaviour and attitudes of its members. The system has developed in response to a need. After all, as one inmate was quoted as saying, "the worst thing about prison is you have to live with other prisoners" (Sykes, 1958: 77). Not only does the inmate social system address the loss of security felt by inmates but it also serves as a means of restoring status to its members. The inmate culture is "a system of social relationships governed by norms that are largely at odds with those espoused by the officials and the conventional society" (Cloward, 1960: 21). Not only can an inmate reject his rejectors, but he can also seek and gain prestige within the inmate system.

The functional or indigenous influence model

The functional, or the indigenous influence model, as it is sometimes referred to, is based on this view of inmate society. The inmate social system is functional for inmates - it helps them to adapt to and survive in prison. Clemmer refers to the prisonization process, whereby inmates in a prison take on in greater or less degree the folkways, mores, customs, and general culture of the institution (1940: 299). He likens the process to assimilation. It is the situational factors of imprisonment that result in the development of the inmate subculture. The inmate subculture is an organized and collective response to the problems characteristic of imprisonment. In fact, the inmate social organization is viewed as a functional adaptation to the prison situation that gives inmates a mechanism for controlling their environment, meeting their needs, and maintaining their self-dignity (Sykes and Messinger, 1960; Wheeler, 1961; Tittle and Tittle, 1964; Akers et al, 1976; Akers et al, 1977). The implications of the functional model for pluralistic ignorance are that the structural features of prisons may be so bad that certain behaviours result among inmates. It may be the structural features of prison life that encourage or force inmates to turn to vocal and visible inmate leaders as a response to the conditions of prison life, thus denying their true personal beliefs in order to survive.

Tittle and Tittle conducted a study designed to show whether the prison code helps inmates to overcome their deprivations. They also tested whether inmate ties to the outside community and inmate expectations of possible rehabilitation affect the solidarity of the inmate group (Tittle and Tittle, 1964: 216). Their results indicate support for the functional model: the prison code is a product of institutional life and not merely a reflection of a general value system associated with criminal activity. They also found "strong unqualified support" for the hypothesis that the pains of imprisonment will decrease with greater integration into the inmate social organization. However, the theory of pluralistic ignorance implies that inmates are not truly integrated into the inmate social organization, rather they still hold onto their pro-social values and beliefs. Tittle and Tittle found that for inmates who desire the friendship of peers but who also want to conform to staff expectations (ie. favour rehabilitation), the deciding factor is their attachment to friends and relatives on the outside. This, in turn, weakens the solidarity of inmate social organization (Tittle and Tittle, 1964: 221).

Wheeler's study "Socialization in Correctional Communities" traces changes in inmates over the duration of their sentence (Wheeler, 1961). Wheeler confirmed Clemmer's finding that the first few months of incarceration are particularly important in the socialization/prisonization process. As the length of time inmates are exposed to prisonization increases (i.e. the longer they are incarcerated), there is a reduction in the proportion of inmates who conform to staff expectations: with time, inmates become more prisonized. The mortification processes described by Goffman take their toll on the new inmates. The inmates' isolation and rejection from society, and the alien, dehumanizing procedures they experience during this phase, make the inmate subculture look inviting.

The study found some general support for the functional model, concluding that imprisonment impacts on an offender's self-conception by encouraging the inmate to reject

society and accept a conception of himself as being a criminal. In fact, Wheeler claims that the crucial condition giving rise to the inmate value system is the fact that it helps restore the inmate's self-esteem: he can reject his rejectors, rather than himself (Wheeler, 1961: 710). In terms of pluralistic ignorance, it may be that the inmate turns to vocal extreme inmate leaders to help restore his self-image even if it means denying his true, private, pro-social feelings and beliefs.

The importation model

Proponents of the importation model, or cultural drift model, claim that too much emphasis has been placed on situational factors in the prison, and not enough emphasis has been placed on the individual background characteristics inmates bring to the prison. Any variation in prisoner perspectives between institutions or between groups within institutions is based more on the degree of criminality of the particular inmate population found in those institutions than on the differences in structure between them (Schwartz, 1971: 532). The importation model claims that the "inmate system is reflective primarily of the criminal roles played and values acquired by inmates on the outside and brought into the institution with them" (Akers et al., 1974: 410). In other words, individuals who were criminal on the outside share this criminal identity on the inside. This 'imported' criminal culture influences the development of the inmate culture within prison. Inmates may experience group misperceptions on the outside, in the countless other groups which they belong to. This may make them more readily succumb to the group processes within the prison. Combined with the prison environment, which lends itself to a lack of communication, the likelihood is high for both pluralistic ignorance to exist and for it to cause increased problems for members of the prison community.

Thomas and Foster conducted an empirical test of the importation model (1973). In their analysis they look at such extraprison variables as social class, preprison involvement in crime, frequency of contacts with individuals in free society and the quality of inmate perceptions of post-prison life chances. It is their argument that the mere presence of common problems does not provide a logical explanation for the development of an inmate subculture. As with other importation theorists, they too claim that the identity-stripping processes Goffman refers to do not and cannot completely strip an individual of all pre-prison experiences and characteristics. These factors remain and continue to influence the inmate's life in prison.

Thomas and Foster claim that because of the similarity between the lower class subculture and the criminal subculture, these two subcultures may serve as latent cultural identities for inmates (Miller, 1987; Thomas and Foster, 1973). In other words, "because of latent cultural and social roles, inmates are viewed as arriving at prison with a high degree of receptivity to the expectations of particular social roles" (Thomas and Foster, 1973: 230). This tendency may be similar to that of delinquents in their delinquent subculture. Although they know they privately are more pro-social, they put on a facade of being tough and anti-social to impress fellow delinquents. Individuals who become inmates have likely experienced similar processes in their own delinquent or criminal groups. Essentially, their pre-prison experiences direct them to predictable social roles and therefore to predictable adaptations to imprisonment. These predictable adaptations are

a modification of the criminal code in the form of the inmate code.

In their research on prison inmate roles in five countries, Akers, Gruninger, and Hayner found that the extent of an inmate's prior criminality makes little difference for the roles inmates take on in a treatment institution. It does make a larger difference however, in custodial institutions, with the novice (first time incarcerated) taking on a pro-social role and a highly criminalized individual more likely to take on an anti-social role (Akers et al., 1976: 376). In other words, prior criminality affects the adaptation of an inmate to life in prison.

If this is in fact true, then it makes sense that pluralistic ignorance exists. Individuals do not completely shed their pre-prison identities. Pro-social beliefs and attitudes remain resulting in little change in basic beliefs. Even though individuals appear to support the vocal and visible members of their respective groups (inmate and correctional officer), their private belief system is little changed by the processes and procedures they experience. Similarly, they are susceptible to the same processes inside prison as they experienced on the outside. So instances of pluralistic ignorance such as the ones referred to by Schanck, Allport, and Noelle-Neumann more than likely were experienced by inmates when they were free citizens. If Thomas and Foster are correct in claiming that the "identity-stripping" processes experienced by inmates do not necessarily strip them of all prior experiences and beliefs, then it may also be correct to assume that in prison they are susceptible to the same processes they were susceptible to outside of prison. It may make more sense to combine the functional and importation approaches when attempting to explain pluralistic ignorance within the prison community. For example, while the prison environment produces a situation where inmates may be driven to follow visible, extreme leaders in their anti-social beliefs, it may also be that inmates are accustomed to similar processes occurring on the outside and thus more readily deny their own private beliefs in favour of publicly supporting the apparent group leader.

Integrating the two models. Some researchers have suggested that combining the functional and importation models will provide a more accurate understanding of the inmate subculture (Thomas, 1970; Akers et al., 1974). Combining them may also provide a clearer understanding of why pluralistic ignorance exists among inmates and guards and how it contributes to prison violence. Even Clemmer, though stressing the importance of structure and function in his prison analysis, recognized that cultural antecedents are important; the culture from which an inmate comes is a very important influence on his behaviour in prison (Clemmer, 1940: 6). Thomas points to isolation and shared deprivations in prison as a "fertile context for a contraculture to develop" (Thomas, 1970: 257). However, he attributes the content of this contraculture to the attitudes and values acquired in pre-prison socialization (Thomas, 1970: 257; Akers et al., 1974: 411).

The inmate code. The backbone of the inmate subculture is the inmate code - the unwritten rules guiding inmate behaviour in prison. This unwritten code results from the belief that for the inmate group to exist, it must have cohesiveness and be secure within itself. It must present a united front to the officials; it must be organized and have its own

guidelines for behaviour in order to survive. Becoming prisonized, and surviving in prison means learning and following this code for behaviour (Clemmer, 1940: 171).

In terms of pluralistic ignorance, the inmate code may actually be a mechanism set up by the inmate elite to help 'enforce' their beliefs in two ways. First of all, it is another way for them to spread their gospel and to attempt to convince the general population of inmates that their way of living behind bars is the only way to survive. Secondly, it contributes to the dichotomization of the inmate and guard groups and reduces any likelihood of guards and inmates actually communicating. This lack of communication increases the amount and degree of pluralistic ignorance and in turn facilitates conflict and violence between the groups. This in turn provides proof to the general inmate population that the leader inmates are correct in their representation of group opinion. And the cycle continues.

There are five major groups of tenets in the inmate code. They include the following:

1. Don't interfere with inmate interests - "Never rat on a con; be loyal to your class - the cons".
2. Don't lose your head - "play it cool"; "do your own time".
3. Don't exploit inmates - "inmates should share, not sell".
4. Don't weaken - inmates have dignity; a prisoner should be able to "take it"; and an inmate should show courage and "be a man".
5. Don't be a sucker - guards are hacks or screws and are to be treated with constant suspicion and distrust.

(Sykes and Messinger, 1960: 8)

In addition to these general "rules", inmates should not allow themselves to become committed to the values of hard work and submission to authority (Sykes and Messinger, 1960: 8). Essentially, these rules help to enforce inmate and guard misperceptions which increase the gap between inmates and guards. This helps maintain pluralistic ignorance.

Argot roles. Conformity or deviation from the inmate code is the primary basis for classifying and describing the relationships between and among inmates (Sykes and Messinger, 1960: 9). Social classes exist among inmates. An inmate's position in the prison hierarchy is determined primarily by the role he fills in the inmate culture. This is determined by degree of integration into the inmate hierarchy. Some inmates become fully integrated into the culture, some do not, and some remain on the border (Clemmer, 1940: 109). Reducing pluralistic ignorance might be achieved by focusing on certain inmate "types". Clarence Schrag has developed a typology describing the available positions within the inmate culture and the requirements these positions demand. There are four major inmate role types (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989: 404; Garabedian,

1964: 339; Schrag, 1961). The square John is pro-social in attitude and behaviour, is positive toward staff and administration, and is not involved in the inmate subculture. The right guy, who is anti-social, is deeply involved in the inmate subculture and is opposed to staff and administration. The con politician manipulates both staff and inmates to improve his own situation. His pseudo-social nature implies that he is neither allied with the anti-social right guy nor the pro-social square John. Rather, he drifts between the two types at his convenience. The outlaw is asocial and uses violence to victimize both staff and inmates. These role conceptualizations are assigned to a given inmate through a process of mutual agreement among the members of the prison population. The right guy, although anti-social, might be one inmate type that is amenable to change. His commitment and loyalty to the inmate subculture and to following the code implies that he acknowledges certain standards for appropriate behaviour. By targeting this group and by bringing them over to the pro-social side, we could be guaranteed to have a loyal, committed group of inmates. The pseudo-social inmates could also be targeted for change. They are committed to both the anti-social and the pro-social role type. By increasing the benefits of pro-social behaviour and by building on this commitment, we could attempt to reduce their anti-social behaviours.

The inmates may use labels different from these among themselves, but the behaviour described is the same. These classifications, and the prison argot that defines them, reflect the organization of the inmate social system. Through the use of the argot, interrelationships between the various inmate roles are defined. "The prisoner society, then, is conceptualized in terms of spontaneously emerging networks of social relationships structured around important institutional problems" (Garabedian, 1964: 340; Sykes, 1958: 85). Furthermore, a social role regulates behaviour within the institution, so that incumbents of a specific role type can be expected to act in the same way. As Garabedian concludes in his article, "...the role is a mechanism regulating conduct, contact, and communication within the inmate social system" (Garabedian, 1964: 347).

Inmate leaders. According to Clemmer, "leaders...are not isolated but exist only as the function of group life" (1940: 134). However, he also interpreted leadership among inmates as being vague, uncertain, indefinite, and not comparable with leadership in the free community (Clemmer, 1940: 145). Researchers since Clemmer's time have found the opposite to be true among inmates in correctional institutions (Cloward, 1960; McCleery, 1960; Grosser, 1960).

Cloward credits penal stability to the accommodative relationship that exists between the official system and the inmate system, represented by inmate leaders (1960). As he states, "stability depends on reciprocal adjustments between formal and inmate systems" (1960: 35). The official system unintentionally creates an illegitimate opportunity structure that aids the formation of inmate elites (Cloward, 1960; McCleery, 1960). The formation of inmate elites contributes to the production and maintenance of pluralistic ignorance-producing processes. It is impossible for the formal organization to meet all the needs of all the inmates, so an informal organization develops that fills this gap. For example, a place is created for the merchant role, an example of the pseudo-social role type mentioned earlier. The merchant seeks access to and control over the

distribution of goods and services; a kitchen worker or doctor's appointment-maker is able to influence the delivery of material goods or in the case of the latter, medical service. The politician, also an example of a pseudo-social inmate, participates in both the formal and informal organizations because of his manipulative role, is given access to information and custodial personnel which puts him in a position of power among other inmates. He is able to use this power to his advantage in the informal system. Finally, the right guy, in his loyalty to the inmate code and the honour and esteem he displays, gains the respect of inmates and officials alike. The officials may not agree with his views, but they may nonetheless respect him for the control he has over other inmates. Officials often use this influence to their own advantage, to maintain social control (Cloward, 1960: 33). The behaviour of right guy is predictable. Officers know how they will react in a given situation. This makes the right guy a good candidate for change. Unlike the asocial, unpredictable inmate, the right guy knows how to follow rules and standards for behaviour. His problem is he chooses to follow the anti-social code for behaviour.

In his research on inmate leaders and their followers, Clarence Schrag discovered that there is a significant tendency for inmates in all offense categories to select leaders committed for crimes of violence. The results indicate that leaders have served more years in prison, have longer sentences remaining to be served, more often have been incarcerated for crimes of violence, are repeat offenders, have a significantly greater number of serious rule infractions, and are more likely to be officially diagnosed as homosexual, psychoneurotic or psychopathic (Schrag, 1954: 40). In other words, the major proponents of the inmate subculture, its leaders, tend to be the least improvable inmates. It is probably safe to place such inmates on one end of the "right guy" continuum. As proponents of the subculture, these inmates will tend to encourage rebellion, non-conformity, and anti-social values. They keep other inmates 'in line' by making sure they follow the 'code'. This ensures that although they don't completely rebel and destroy the institutional balance, they do rebel 'enough' to keep the guard/inmate distinction clear and obvious. The implications of this tendency for pluralistic ignorance are significant. The worst (most violent, longest sentence) inmates are most influential and claim to be most representative of inmates in general. The inmate population appears to be blindly following these leader inmates.

The formal organization versus the informal organization. According to Grusky, all informal leaders derive influence from their ability to solve instrumental and expressive problems. Instrumental leaders acquire influence through their skill in accomplishing group goals. Expressive leaders possess skill in maintaining harmonious social relations (Grusky, 1959: 61). Moreover, he found that the orientation of an inmate leader varies with type of institution (custodial vs. treatment).

Grusky's study is based on an experimental prison camp. It was found that the camp goals of treatment and social control were related to the highly cooperative adaptation of the unofficial inmate leaders (1959: 60). By encouraging officials to be friendly and supportive rather than strictly custodial, it was hypothesized that social control would become dependent more on affection and less on strict physical discipline. This, in turn might promote and establish an accommodation between officials and inmate

leaders (1959: 60).

Indeed, with increased length of time in the camp, the proportion of inmate leaders with favourable attitudes increased. From the results of Grusky's study, it seems that certain segments of the prison population, namely the inmate leaders, may be informally coopted so as to further the acceptance of the treatment goal. In other words, "there may be important latent and unanticipated consequences and goals of quasi-milieu treatment for critical segments of the prison's organization" (Grusky, 1959: 67). In small prisons, where treatment is the dominant goal, it may be possible to establish cooperation between inmate leaders and staff, which will further the treatment goal (Grusky, 1959: 67; Berk, 1966). In establishing cooperation between inmates and staff, it may also be possible to reduce the amount and degree of pluralistic ignorance occurring between and among the two groups (inmates and staff).

Berk found that different inmate organizations form in response to either custodially oriented or treatment oriented formal organizations. These institutions may also be characterized by different levels of pluralistic ignorance. In custodial institutions, the formal and informal organizations are oriented toward the maintenance of internal order. Informal inmate leaders in such organizations rely on coercion and control toward this end (more pluralistic ignorance). In contrast, treatment-oriented institutions attempt to meet inmate needs. Leadership among inmates is based on consensus and cooperation and the number of inmates who occupy leadership positions is greater than in custodial institutions (Berk, 1966: 533). More leaders may mean more accurate representation of the beliefs and attitudes of the inmate population in general (less pluralistic ignorance). These findings have considerable implications for subcultural theory. But before we further analyze the inmate subculture, we must mention the correctional officer subculture and its place in the prison.

The correctional officer subculture. Zimbardo created an experimental prison with students playing the roles of inmates and correctional staff (1972). The study did not reach its intended duration - many participants became too emotionally and psychologically affected and were unable to complete the project. The study provides an interesting look at the prison organization itself and the effect such an organization can have on its members. Particularly interesting is the manner in which randomly chosen students, given the label of "guard" and placed with other students so labelled, spontaneously developed their own subculture, with unwritten rules and codes for behaviour. One-third of the "student guards" became tyrannical in their arbitrary use of power on fellow "student-inmates" (Zimbardo, 1972: 6). No "good guard" (the other two-thirds of the guard group) ever interfered with a command made by any of the bad guards. Essentially,

the good guards perpetuated the prison more than the other guards because their own needs to be liked prevented them from disobeying or violating the implicit guards' code (Zimbardo, 1972: 6).

In a prison situation individual behaviour is largely under the control of social forces and environmental contingencies as opposed to personality traits, character, and will power (Zimbardo, 1972: 6). The organization of the prison, its social arrangements, and the nature of the role arrangement provides an environment conducive to the creation of a correctional officer subculture charged with the same hostility, frustration, and emotion as that of the inmates.

Some studies have described the correctional officer as the person "caught in the middle" (Duffee, 1974; Cheatwood, 1974). S/he is caught between the administrative subculture and the inmate subculture. A subculture develops when a situation becomes problematic for its members. According to Duffee, the problems for correctional officers began after the fundamental shift in the perceived humanity of inmates occurred. "The correctional officer subculture is born out of the frustrating belief that inmates deserve better treatment than officers are capable of giving under present circumstances" (Duffee, 1974: 156). As a result, many of the rewards and ideas of what makes a good guard are still based on the traditional system of paramilitary virtues of aloofness and distance, strict adherence to rules and unquestioned loyalty to the Warden.

Duffee looked at the effects of correctional policy, managerial behaviour, and social climate on the correctional officer group (1974: 157). He found that the policy most desired by the administration, one focussing on reintegration and rehabilitation of inmates, was not reaching the officer and inmate levels. Rather, officers have a completely different set of values which stresses change through compliance and restraint of inmates. As far as the social climate variable is concerned, it appears that positive dimensions of the social climate scale steadily decrease from the Warden down to the inmates and negative dimensions increase (Duffee, 1974: 161). As for managerial behaviour, the managers perceive the organization to be run very democratically, while officers see it as being autocratic. The data provide support for the existence of a correctional officer subculture, the values of which are antagonistic to the successful implementation of managerially desired correctional policy (Duffee, 1974: 168). The data also suggest that although officers like democratic superiors, they feel uncomfortable about behaving democratically when dealing with inmates.

Cheatwood conducted a study among correctional officers and similarly found that theirs is a subculture "caught" between two others (1974: 175). He specifically looked at attitudes and behaviours exhibited toward boys in a correctional facility, by three subcultures: the administrative subculture, the correctional officer subculture, and the inmate subculture (1974). Within the institution studied, the administration differentiated between "restricted boys", who are perceived to be dangerous, and all other boys. The boys themselves did not discriminate between the two labelled groups. Although the correctional staff saw no differences between the boys, they nonetheless indicated that they saw the labels as valid, thereby agreeing with the administration. The end result, according to Cheatwood, is the creation of a set of values and norms unique to the correctional staff. As he states,

the staff create a set of values and
criteria which is related both to the

administration and the inmate culture but which cannot be evaluated or understood solely in terms of either one (Cheatwood, 1974: 149).

The creation of this set of beliefs derives from the social situation of lower correctional staff who interact with both the administration and with the inmate culture and therefore feel some sort of allegiance to both.

It seems obvious that a correctional officer subculture develops in correctional institutions. Every work day of their lives these men and women are faced with inmates convicted of crimes. It makes sense that they should feel a sense of union and a bond in the face of the potential danger they face. In prisons, where often violent inmates reside, the explosiveness of the situation necessitates that correctional officers may have to come to the aid of fellow officers in life or death situations. However, even the everyday routine experiences and duties within a correctional facility evoke the feelings of hostility, frustration, and emotions that seem to require the formation of a united front. It may be that the subculture of correctional officers provides them with the support (physical and emotional), sense of loyalty, and code for behaviour that helps them perform their duties adequately and cope with the stresses and frustrations that are a part of their job.

CHAPTER 3

PRISON SUBCULTURES: A CRITIQUE

In the futile moments of anxiety
 there lies a force within me.
 Dormant only because of its inability
 to accept freedomlessness. Impulsive
 by nature, but forced to contain its
 whims beyond its natural capacity, to
 bond into conformity, and to adhere
 to the code.
 -An inmate from Edmonton Institution

Prison subcultures, inmate roles and the inmate code may not be as strong or as anti-social as they seem. Research points to the existence of confusion among inmate and staff ranks, which has considerable implications for pluralistic ignorance, attempts to reduce it, and the conflict and violence that result from it. This chapter presents evidence that inmate and staff subcultures are conceptualized incorrectly, and that as a result, so are the stereotypes and conflicts based on such subcultures.

Prison subcultures may not be exactly as they seem

Several researchers have raised doubts about the validity of the 'prison subculture' as an entity (Berk, 1966; Grusky, 1959; Garabedian, 1964; Moos, 1968; Toch and Klofas, 1982; Akers et al, 1976; Whitehead and Lindquist, 1989; Chang and Zastrow, 1976; Philliber, 1987; Lombardo, 1985; Brown et al., 1971). For example, Grusky discovered that when officials are encouraged to be friendly and supportive toward inmates, social control becomes dependent more on affect and less on physical discipline. It was found that this type of relationship promotes an accommodation between officials and inmate leaders. Berk similarly found that the type of formal organization of an institution will directly affect the informal (inmate) organization within the institution. The types and techniques of inmate leadership, and the goals of the inmate organization form in response to the specific deprivations experienced by the inmates, the gaps in services provided by the formal organization, and the policies informing the formal organization. Furthermore, differences in institutional goals influence staff perceptions about inmates, staff-inmate authority relations, and the patterns of social relations and leadership that emerge among inmates (Street et al., 1965). All of these factors have important implications for the production of pluralistic ignorance and for its reduction.

The assessment of the social climate of correctional institutions may prove more beneficial than continuing to focus on individuals within institutions (Moos, 1968). Social climate includes not only the officer and inmate subcultures but also the state of relations between these groups and the administration. It is affected by recent incidents, new rules, different movement orders and anything else that affects the level of tension within the institution. Moos used a social climate index to assess correctional institutions on this

dimension. He discovered that "certain types of social climates may be more likely than others to produce behavioural effects in the majority of individuals exposed to them" (1968: 187). So, certain climates may be more likely to facilitate pluralistic ignorance produced misperceptions. This, combined with the results of Grusky's and Berk's studies, indicates that the inmate "subculture" may not be as static or as well-defined an entity as many people have assumed. These findings imply that the importation model discussed earlier does not take into account the significant effect the institutional organization has on the inmate group. Particularly interesting in this respect is Moos' finding that social climate differences between units in the same institution may be as great or greater than differences between units at different institutions. This finding implies that groups of inmates and staff members may behave differently toward each other, thus creating different social climates within the same institution. If this is in fact the case, the idea of an inmate population unified in beliefs and actions becomes less realistic. Furthermore, this also implies that different units in the same institution may also have differing levels and degrees of pluralistic ignorance. Following this line of thought, it also seems likely then that different units, with different levels of pluralistic ignorance also have different levels of conflict and violence.

Garabedian's (1964) study on an inmate-sponsored therapy group similarly shows that the "inmate subculture" may not be as alienated and isolated from law-abiding society and pro-social behaviour as is often thought. Garabedian points to external pressures toward conformity as the reason why the inmates he studied adopted legitimate means in an effort to achieve staff-sponsored goals. The inmates in his study started their own therapy group. It was their way of conforming to staff goals while still maintaining a sense of autonomy as inmates. This supports the proposition that individual members of the inmate "subculture" may not be as hostile to pro-social values as they are assumed to be. Similarly, Sykes and Matza propose that rather than forming a culture in marked conflict with society, juvenile delinquency represents "not a radical opposition to law-abiding society, but an apologetic failure" (1957: 667). Based on Garabedian's research, the inmates who sponsored the therapy group acknowledge the existence of legitimate goals and procedures, while maintaining their status as inmates. It may be that some inmates, like delinquents, are not rejecting societal standards; they respect and abide by the majority of society's rules and accepted standards for behaviour.

Sykes found that inmates tended to not identify themselves with other inmates in some sort of alliance with a criminal world or subculture (Sykes, 1957). Rather, inmates formed an alienated, insecure, involuntary union of men who could not feel safe with each other or with officials (Roebuck, 1963; Sykes, 1957). This finding fails to support the importational hypothesis that inmates share a latent criminal subculture in the free world and bring it with them to prison. It also discredits any notion of inmates being united in the face of common deprivations and frustrations (functional model). Rather, inmate relations are characterized by exploitation, fraud, and force. There was "little cohesiveness of prisoners and no inmate priesthood which functioned as the custodian of a 'criminal-subculture' value system" (Roebuck, 1963: 197; Sykes, 1957). Although many inmates may adhere verbally to the inmate code, they may surreptitiously avoid acting according to its dictates. This is essentially what is meant by pluralistic ignorance. Only

a few of the inmate elite actually believe in the code's tenets, yet many more inmates pay public allegiance to it. Essentially, "there was certainly no evidence of a nurtured 'criminal subculture'" (Roebuck, 1963: 197; Sykes, 1957).

Clemmer characterized the inmate world as an atomized one, lacking a uniform value system, where exploitation and dishonesty are more important than cooperation.

The prison code was frequently broken. Inmates stole from each other and informed officials about one another. The tenure of inmate leaders was brief and tenuous. Their functions were minor....(1940: 107).

The significance of inmate role types for the inmate subculture. Clarence Schrag's typology of inmate roles has been the basis of several studies on the inmate subculture (Garabedian, 1963; Akers et al., 1976; Garabedian, 1962; Schrag, 1954; Wheeler, 1961). The idea of differing role types with different levels of commitment to the inmate code raises doubt regarding the idea of a united, solidary inmate subculture. The right guys (anti-social) are the most committed to the convict code. They represent the "role model" inmate type. Yet it seems that there exists little cohesiveness of prisoners, and no one group exhibits strong leadership and commitment to the subcultural value system (Clemmer, 1940; Roebuck, 1963: 197; Sykes, 1958). Sykes and Messinger found that inmates give strong verbal support to a system of values that has group cohesion or inmate solidarity as its theme, but actual behaviours range from full adherence to deviance from such a "code" (1960: 11).

Added to this is the finding of Akers, Gruninger, and Hayner in their research on prisons in five countries. The vast majority of prisoners identified themselves as either square johns (pro-social: 42.8%) or right guys (43.1%). The authors conclude that the square john and the right guy role may be equally functional adaptations to prison (1976: 378). The right guy because he rejects his rejectors, thus protecting himself; the square john because he accepts his punishment as part of being a member of society and vows to never re-offend. Garabedian, in his research on the inmate-sponsored therapy group mentioned above, attributes much of the success of the group to the fact that it was endorsed by not only the right guys, who initiated the idea, but also by the square johns. Stability was afforded the innovation because right guy membership appealed to the inmates while square john membership legitimized the group in the eyes of the administration (Garabedian, 1962: 181). This is just one example of the ability of both inmate types to prove functional to inmate survival. If both types are equally functional to functioning well in prison, the idea of the right guy role being necessary to survival loses strength.

How unified and anti-social can the inmate culture truly be when half of its members describe themselves as pro-social (square johns)? This finding raises some doubt regarding the consensus among inmates and the extent of their anti-conformity stance toward staff and society. It provides support, however, to the existence of pluralistic ignorance and the idea that more inmates are pro-social than the inmate 'group' and its

leaders would like to have us believe. This is further complicated by the existence of con politicians and outlaws in the ranks of the inmate group. The con politician is committed to both the staff group and the inmate group; outlaws are 'asocial', committed to neither inmates nor staff. What does this mean for the solidarity of the inmate group? How can the con politician effectively contribute to the strength of the inmate culture when half the time his 'loyalties' lie with staff? How advantageous to the inmate cause are outlaws when their asocial, unpredictable behaviour often makes them the enemy of staff and inmates alike?

It may be that not all inmates become highly prisonized. This means that the adoption of the inmate culture is also not uniform. As a result, "we come to picture the inmate society as being not cohesive, but primarily organized around roles, which are in many respects conflicting" (Wellford, 1967: 202). This leaves room for a lot of role-switching when it is convenient for the inmate, a lot of hypocrisy and backstabbing, and a lot of unpredictable and inconsistent behaviour among inmates. This is not the type of impression the inmate leaders attempt to portray to staff and outsiders. Rather they prefer to portray the 'inmate subculture' as a strong group of inmates unanimous in their support of anti-social, anti-staff beliefs and behaviour.

Length of time and prisonization. Some researchers have looked at the relationship between length of time in prison and degree of commitment to the inmate code (Wheeler, 1961; Garabedian, 1963). Wheeler looked specifically at the phase of an inmate's institutional career and the extent of prisonization. The findings indicate a U-shaped pattern of adaptation. In the early and late phases of an inmate's institutionalization, there is a greater chance of conformity to staff opinion, while in the middle phase there is evidence of adherence to the inmate culture. In other words, the prison culture has its greatest impact on inmates in the middle phase of their sentence, at the point where the inmate is furthest removed from the free community. Yet, the data show that while the middle phase is characterized by higher consensus among inmates in the direction of non-conformity *all inmates do not become right guys* (Garabedian, 1963: 147). The consensus-producing processes experienced in the middle phase are not strong enough to modify the role types significantly. Rather, right guys remain right guys, square johns remain square johns and so on. The role type they fill when they enter the institution does not change throughout their sentence. These shifts in attitude occur without the inmates relinquishing their respective roles (Garabedian, 1963: 147).

Several other researchers have found evidence that does not support Wheeler's findings (Barak-Glantz, 1983; Faine, 1973; Hepburn and Stratton, 1977; Thomas, 1977; Thomas and Zingraff, 1976). For example, Faine found that prisonization is determined by the self-concepts which inmates bring to prison (1973). Contrary to Wheeler's argument, Faine's data indicate that inmates with 'deviant' self-concepts experienced the greatest prisonization. Furthermore, their prisonization increased in a linear direction during successive career phases (Faine, 1973: 576). Inmates on the other end of the continuum, those who felt part of legitimate society, experienced no change in prisonization. Inmates who were tied neither to a deviant nor a legitimate self-image (ie. those who fluctuated between the two ends of the continuum) showed an increase in

prisonization during the middle phase and a decrease during the late phase of their sentences (Faine, 1973: 576). Faine's findings essentially found that Wheeler's U-shaped curve for prisonization does not apply to all inmates and is significantly affected by inmate self-concepts (1973). Thomas similarly found that patterns of inmate adaptation to prison are partly a function of pre-prison and extra-prison factors (1977; Thomas and Zingraff, 1976). It seems that who the inmate was before he entered prison, and the contacts he maintains with people and groups outside of the prison setting have an important influence on the appeal of the inmate subculture and the extent of his prisonization.

Hepburn and Stratton found no support for the prisonization model: they found no relationship between commitment to the inmate social system and self-esteem, even during the middle phase of institutional career, the point in their sentence when inmates should be most committed to the inmate culture according to Wheeler's theory (Hepburn and Stratton, 1977: 237). Barak-Glantz (1983) divided inmates into four groups according to their patterns of misconduct within prison. The different patterns of misconduct represent adaptations to prison. The implication from this study is that in today's correctional institutions, there is no unified inmate body. Rather, because of increased support from individuals and groups outside prison, increased inmate rights and new sources of income and prestige for inmates (ie. drugs), the inmate social system and inmate code no longer are necessary to inmate survival. The breakdown of the traditional inmate social system also implies that prisonization or assimilation to the subculture does not occur in the same way nor to the extent that has traditionally been thought (Barak-Glantz, 1983: 129). The findings from these studies imply that (1) inmates do not necessarily become more prisonized during the middle phase of their institutional career (2) inmates may not find that they need to turn to the inmate social system for survival in prison. In other words, the evidence supports the idea that inmates do retain pro-social beliefs and attitudes, and not all inmates support, whether publicly or privately, the inmate subculture. Implications for the reduction of pluralistic ignorance among inmates are significant.

All of these factors provide substance to Garabedian's conclusion that there is in fact, limited formation of a subculture within the institution (1963: 151). Rather, there may be a few core members of the inmate population who are loud enough to make it appear that an inmate subculture really exists. The point of this discussion is that there are variations in commitment to the 'inmate subculture'. Lack of consistency in opinion, combined with pluralistic ignorance, points to the existence of an inmate subculture less solidary than is thought.

Pluralistic ignorance and the 'inmate subculture'

Several studies have documented pluralistic ignorance among inmates (Clemmer, 1940; Akers et al., 1977; Thomas, 1973; Tittle and Tittle, 1964; Schwartz, 1971; McCleery, 1960; Wheeler, 1961). Regarding the inmate code, "consensus-fostered rigidity of adherence' does not find empirical support when actual behaviours of inmates are observed" (Thomas, 1973: 257). Rigid adherence to the inmate code is improbable. Tittle and Tittle claim that although the expressed values of the inmate social organization tend

to be anti-rehabilitation, they are not necessarily so. In other words, individual members may actually support rehabilitation efforts and programs, even though the "official" inmate organization rejects rehabilitation. This brings the idea of representative "inmate social organization values" into question. This finding leads Tittle and Tittle to speculate that perhaps subscription to the prison code might be a manoeuvre by some inmates to avoid unnecessary conflict with fellow inmates (1964: 221). As Clemmer found among the prison population he studied, the majority of inmates themselves do not share the common impression that consensus within the group is strong behind the prison walls (1940: 123). Essentially, although most inmates recognize the pervasive influence of the inmate culture, *this does not mean they all hold private allegiance to it* (Akers et al., 1977).

In each prison the proportion of inmates reporting themselves in non-conformity with staff norms is much less than the proportion reporting that other inmates hold similar anti-staff attitudes (Akers et al., 1977: 536).

It seems that most inmates overestimate the extent to which others deviate from conventional norms. Pluralistic ignorance occurs all in one direction; few inmates see others as less prisonized than themselves. Inmates in general overestimate the degree to which other inmates adhere to the inmate culture (Akers et al., 1977: 547).

Wheeler (1961), in his study on prison inmates, found that they overperceive conflict in the role expectations of staff and inmates. The inmate feels he is under pressure to conform to the expectations he perceives other inmates to hold. By measuring personal attitudes of inmates and corrections officers, and comparing these attitudes with the perceived attitudes the groups have of each other, Wheeler found that the average corrections officer holds opinions that are closer to those of inmates than these opinions are perceived to be. The largest difference he found is between real and estimated support for rehabilitation between the two groups. Contrary to popular perceptions held by the groups, both inmates and officers privately support rehabilitation, despite the perception that the inmate subculture rejects rehabilitation attempts (Wheeler, 1961; Toch, 1984). These misinformed perceptions may be the result of both the prison environment and group processes.

Pluralistic ignorance and the 'guard subculture'

One of the main problems in prison is that inmates and correctional staff conceive of each other in terms of narrow, hostile stereotypes. As Clemmer says, in reference to the pro-custodial, anti-inmate correctional officer subculture:

While such attitudes seem horrible..., we must realize that they are reflections of the attitudes of society which have become somewhat exaggerated as prison

officials observe the conduct of inmates
year after year (1940: 185).

It may be pluralistic ignorance-producing processes that contribute to this exaggeration of perception and resulting misperceptions. Guards and prisoners are drawn from the same culture and they hold many of the same values and beliefs (Sykes, 1958: 33). It is their roles as "guards" and "inmates", and the processes that influence their perceptions and expectations within these roles that contribute to their often antagonistic relationship within the walls of the prison.

The correctional officer subculture has been briefly described in the previous chapter. Research has found that pluralistic ignorance operates among correctional staff as well as inmates (Duffee, 1974; Kauffman, 1981; Klofas, 1982; Wheeler, 1961). Using a pluralistic ignorance index, Toch and Klofas confirmed that the most cynical staff respondents are the most likely to believe that their views are supported, yet are the most inaccurate. They believe strongly in an anti-inmate subculture that does not exist. In the survey that Klofas and Toch distributed to correctional staff members in four New York maximum security prisons, officers consistently overestimated their peers' alienation and underestimated their professional orientation (Klofas and Toch, 1982: 242). The authors fit the sample into officer "types" and found that the smallest group of typed officers are the "Subculture Custodians", "the bell ringers of the mythological subculture" (17% of the total sample). The group next in membership size is the "Lonely Brave" group (26.2% of the total sample) whose members mistakenly feel surrounded by hostile conservatives. However, the largest group of officers do not subscribe to the anti-inmate subculture myths. This "Supported Majority" (44.5% of the total sample) is professionally oriented and accurately estimates the professional orientation of peers (Klofas and Toch, 1982: 247).

These results indicate that the so-called correctional officer subculture, driven by pro-custodial anti-inmate norms, is an exaggeration. As Klofas and Toch say,

The strongest purveyors of "hard-nosed" pro-custodial imagery are those who hold the view most strongly themselves, project it onto their peers, and are immune to the influence of others - the Subculture Custodians...(they) play a disproportionate role in trying to influence others through their unrepresentative, self-appointed role as spokesmen (1982: 251).

The result is that brave and dedicated officers feel lonely: pluralistic ignorance exists. These findings imply that in order to reduce pluralistic ignorance lonely braves must be shown that their views are in keeping with the majority. The subculture custodians must be shown the error of their ways. It is likely that the subculture custodians are the least likely to change: they may be set in their ways. Therefore, the lonely braves should be

the focal point for any efforts at reducing pluralistic ignorance. They, after all, already possess professional attitudes, they just need to be convinced that the majority of their colleagues in fact hold the same attitudes and opinions as they do.

Kauffman's findings also provide support for the existence of pluralistic ignorance among prison officers. Kauffman used a questionnaire comprised of eight hypothetical dilemma situations, followed by questions designed to measure personal attitudes and perceptions of others' attitudes. Officers' private attitudes indicate supportive attitudes toward inmates and treatment. Perceptions of the attitudes of fellow correctional officers indicate an underestimation of the proportion of fellow officers who hold attitudes sympathetic toward inmates and treatment (Kauffman, 1981: 285). In effect, staff members see other staff as being more anti-inmate and anti-treatment than the reality of individual officers' attitudes warrant (Kauffman, 1981; Toch, 1984). Furthermore, as with the officers studied by Klofas and Toch, officers who gave these types of responses (anti-inmate, anti-treatment) were more likely to perceive that they held the dominant view. Those officers giving inmate sympathetic views felt they were an isolated minority and were very different from their colleagues. Perceived attitudes among staff exaggerate staff opposition to inmates and treatment. Kauffman points out that pluralistic ignorance may be most characteristic of groups where members feel solidarity is essential to survival (1981: 291). This may be particularly true of the two groups of people making up the prison community. Whatever the reason, it is clear from the studies mentioned that the two opposing prison subcultures are perceived by the members of each to be at greater odds than the privately held attitudes of their members indicate. Essentially, it appears that staff and inmates are more similar in opinions and beliefs than the "inmate subculture versus guard subculture conflict" would have us believe.

The present study aims to show that guards and inmates are more similar in beliefs and attitudes than the officer/inmate opposition leads us to believe. While public attitudes and perceptions of those attitudes indicate that differences in attitudes are great, it may be that private inmate and officer attitudes are actually more similar than they appear. Or, at least, they may not be as different and as opposed to each other as the subcultural perspective would like us to believe. One hypothesis is that staff and inmates within a correctional institution are more similar in their private attitudes than either group is aware of. In other words, pluralistic ignorance exists and exaggerates the differences between the two groups. The inmate subculture-correctional officer subculture opposition is less than assumed.

A second objective is to attempt to measure the perceptions of the private attitudes for inmates and correctional officers and compare them to see if any trends in misperceptions are actually occurring. It is hypothesized that if the gaps in perceptions between the two groups exaggerate the differences in private attitudes between them, it would seem that pluralistic ignorance does in fact exist.

The third hypothesis is that inmate and staff prescriptions and expectations for behaviour should show trends similar to those for personal approval and perception of approval (prescriptions are similar to approval; expectations to perceptions of approval). The following chapter describes in detail the methodology used in attempting to measure pluralistic ignorance among and between inmates and officers in the present study.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The intent of this thesis project is to measure the degree and extent of bias in group perceptions among inmates and correctional staff in a maximum security correctional institution. The goals of the study are threefold:

- (1) to develop a questionnaire aimed at measuring private attitudes and group perceptions of certain inmate and staff behaviour.
- (2) to administer the questionnaires to all staff and inmates at Edmonton Institution, a federal maximum security institution in Alberta.
- (3) to analyze and present the results from the questionnaires to the participants and to effect some change in attitudes by demonstrating the contributing effect of pluralistic ignorance on prison violence and conflict among members of a prison community.

Measuring the Concepts

Pluralistic ignorance is operationalized in terms of the degree of consensus and/or conflict in the attitudes of each group toward inmates and staff. Specifically, several aspects of an individual's attitude are measured. First, a scenario (see Appendix E for complete questionnaire) is presented involving behaviour which resembles a conflict situation that may hypothetically occur between inmates or between inmates and staff. The respondent states his approval or disapproval of the action taken in the scenario on a Likert-type response choice. Nine scenarios are presented, involving hypothetical inmate or staff members. The following is a modified example of one of the scenarios from Wheeler's study (1961), after which this study is modelled:

An inmate, without thinking, commits a minor rule infraction. He is given a "write-up" by a correctional officer who saw the violation. Later three other inmates are talking to each other about it. Two of them criticize the officer. The third, Sykes disagrees with the other two inmates and supports the officer.

As an example, personal attitudes and perceptions are compared using Wheeler's results for this 'rule infraction' scenario.

Personal attitudes were measured by asking the respondent how he personally feels about the inmate's action. For example, the following question follows this 'rule infraction' scenario:

How do you personally feel about inmate Sykes defending the officer?

- _Strongly approve
- _Approve
- _Disapprove
- _Strongly Disapprove

This item attempts to assess **personal attitudes**. For the 'rule infraction' situation, the percentage for each group's private personal attitudes are as follows: 47% of inmates approve of the inmate's action to defend the officer, and 85% of custody staff approve. In other words, 47% of inmates marked off the "strongly approve" or the "approve" choices on the questionnaire. The percentage difference between the private attitudes of the inmate group and the staff group is 38% (85%-47%). Staff and inmates do disagree in their attitudes regarding proper inmate behaviour, as is expected. Wheeler points out that, depending on the popularity of the officer in question, private attitudes may vary. Regardless of the specific details of the incident, however, there is an obvious rift in opinions between the two opposing groups.

Perception of attitudes of both inmates and staff is measured using the following question and answer format:

How many inmates [or staff] do you think would approve of inmate Sykes' action to defend the officer?

- _Almost all would approve
- _About three-fourths would approve
- _About half would approve
- _About one fourth would approve
- _Almost none would approve

This item attempts to assess the perceptions respondents have about their own subculture and the opposing subculture. This percentage was calculated by averaging the responses of the inmates; it is the mean perception of approval among inmates. In Wheeler's study (1961), perceptions of inmate approval for Sykes' action among staff and inmates indicate even greater differences in attitudes. Inmate perception of inmate approval is 15%: fifteen percent of inmates believe that their fellow inmates will approve of the inmate's action. The difference between their own 47% approval rate of the act and perception of a 15% approval rate by other inmates represents a 32% difference between personal views and the perceived view of the inmate subculture. Thus, they perceive other inmates as more extreme, more anti-social than themselves.

Among custody staff, 22% believe inmates would approve of the inmate's action in the scenario. Compared with the inmate approval rate of 47%, the perception staff have of inmate approval is also inaccurate. There is a 25% difference (47%-22%) between the

personal views of inmates and the perceived view staff have of the inmate subculture.

The results for this particular scenario are representative of Wheeler's findings in general. As with the results for the other scenarios used in Wheeler's study, inmate attitudes are perceived by both staff and inmates to be more opposed to staff norms than is indicated by the private responses of inmates (Wheeler, 1961: 240). Moreover, *the inmates consistently exaggerate the misperceptions more so than the staff. The inmates perceive themselves to be even more anti-social than staff perceive them to be.* In addition to this, the groups are perceiving more conflict in attitudes than actually exists. "Though the differences in actual expectations between inmates and staff are quite large, they are uniformly less than they are perceived to be by inmates and staff alike" (Wheeler, 1961: 240; italics and underlining added).

Kauffman conducted a study similar to Wheeler's on prison officers only (1981). She too found that prison officers perceive their colleagues as being less sympathetic to inmates and treatment than they report themselves to be. Her data, based on officer responses to eight scenarios presenting dilemmas to the officers, strongly support the existence of pluralistic ignorance among officers (Kauffman, 1981: 287).

Essentially, inmate and staff attitudes may not be as different as they are perceived to be. These results indicate that misperceptions are occurring. By looking at perceptions alone, the conclusion that can be drawn is that there are large differences between the attitudes of inmates and staff; an inmate society appears to exist guided by norms contradictory to staff. Yet, when actual, private attitudes are revealed, this difference is reduced in magnitude, lending only partial support to the conflicting subculture image of prison communities. Although differences do exist between the groups, these differences seem to be exaggerated; staff and inmates perceive that more inmates disapprove of the pro-social action than actual private attitudes indicate (Wheeler, 1961). And, inmates exaggerate the misperception more so than staff. The present study expects to find supporting evidence for exaggerated differences in private attitudes and perceptions of attitudes among correctional staff and inmates. In addition to the personal views and perceptions which Wheeler studied (1961), the present study also attempts to measure prescriptions and expectations of staff and inmates.

Prescriptions, measured by the second response format for measuring private attitudes, is a forced choice response:

What should inmate Sykes do?

1. He should not say anything.
2. He should defend the officer.

This item would attempt to assess the prescriptions or true norms informing the respondent's answer. It is hypothesized that the majority of inmates and staff will choose the more pro-social action (ie. He should defend the officer). In other words, most people will acknowledge the fact that pro-social action is more desirable; it is what we, as members of a society, 'should' do when faced with a dilemma.

Expectations will be measured by the following forced choice response item:

What would most inmates do?

1. Most inmates would stay quiet and not say anything.
2. Most inmates would speak up and defend the officer in front of the other two inmates.

This item is intended to assess the expectations respondents have for what most people would actually do if faced with a similar situation as the subject in the scenario. It is predicted that, for the inmates, the majority of expectations will tend to be more anti-social, reflecting the tendency of one to see oneself in a more positive, prosocial light than others. It is predicted that staff expectations of inmate behaviour will also be anti-social: staff expect inmates to be 'anti-custody officer'. However, it is hypothesized that inmates' expectations of inmate behaviour will be more extreme and more anti-social than the expectations staff members have of inmate behaviour.

Sampling

The nature of the study necessitated a purposive sample, specifically, the inmate and staff populations at the Edmonton Institution. Edmonton Institution was chosen because it is the only federal maximum security correctional facility within reasonable travelling distance for the researcher. As well, the Institution has recently experienced several incidents of violence between inmates, including a murder. Within the institution, all inmates (approximately 280) and all correctional staff (approximately 175) were asked to participate. Out of this, 125 inmates participated (45% response rate) and 98 correctional officers responded (56% response rate). Correctional officers appear to be overwhelmed by the number of questionnaires they are asked to complete, thus their less than enthusiastic response rate. Convincing the inmates of the anonymity of the questionnaire and the importance of the study (as well as its relevance to them personally) is the primary reason for the low inmate response rate. It also became evident that in light of more pressing concerns facing the inmate population, this study did not seem important to them. For example, when the researcher approached the segregation unit to participate, all fifty questionnaires were thrown (literally) back into her face. Additional problems encountered with inmates and staff will be discussed in further detail below. Suffice it to say that the results of the study may be based on questionnaires returned by inmates who are more trusting and staff who are more patient and understanding.

An attempt was made to collect personal information on the respondents (age, number of years spent in jail or corrections, length of sentence, time spent in the institution, ethnicity). The majority of respondents either wrote facetious comments, left this section blank, or commented that the small population of inmates and staff made it possible to identify a person on the basis of this information. Again, this was a result of the trust issue mentioned earlier; inmates were afraid that the Administration would have

access to the questionnaires and would use the information against them in their files. Thus, identification became an issue for them. It was an issue for correctional staff for the same reasons.

Data Collection

The method of data collection took the form of a self-administered questionnaire. As was mentioned previously, the questionnaire consisted of scenarios, followed by Likert-type choices, forced choices, and choices involving estimations. Central characters within the scenarios were inmates for some questions, staff for others. The inmates filled out the questionnaires individually, in their cells. All possible attempts were made to ensure anonymity for the respondents while filling out the questionnaire. It is difficult to know how many illiterate inmates were unable to complete the questionnaire because of the procedure used for distribution. The researcher was able to help one such inmate complete his questionnaire, and knows of one other who was excluded from the study for this reason (she was unable to help him because of institutional constraints). Staff were given the questionnaires with their paycheques and were asked to return them to a box at the Main Gate, the place they all have to walk through to get into and out of the institution.

Procedure

At several stages throughout the research project, problems were encountered, many of which could have easily been avoided. These problems led to countless delays and frustrations on the part of the researchers and the participants involved in the project. For these reasons the project did not proceed as well as it could have.

Initial meetings. Initial contacts were made with the inmate "Unit reps" for each of the eight units at Edmonton Institution. Although this step had been slated for late September or early October of 1993, it did not actually occur until late December. Unfortunately this was only the first of many more delays, complications, and cancellations by the prison administration. The researcher was accompanied to each unit and introduced to these individuals, as well as to the staff members on duty. She was able to introduce herself and briefly describe the study. The reason for this step was to "advertise" the study, hopefully gain some support for it among inmates and staff, spread the word about it, and enlist volunteers for the interviewing and questionnaire stages of the project.

The Poster. In an effort to heighten interest and increase the response rate of the volunteer participants, a poster was created. The poster introduced the researcher, explained the purpose of the research, and outlined the format of the study. Unfortunately, what started out to be a one-page cordiality turned into a formal document requiring approval, revisions, more approvals, and more revisions. Initially slated for posting in early October, the poster did not achieve final approval until early January! (Rumour has it the poster never did see institutional walls as none of the inmates spoken to claimed to have seen it.)(see Appendix A)

As well, a short article was placed in the staff "Routine Orders", a newsletter put

out by the institution, with the same purpose in mind. This step did not cause any significant problems for the administration and therefore did not experience any delays. (see Appendix B)

The Interviews. Face-to-face interviews with inmates and correctional staff members were required in order to create realistic scenarios for the questionnaire. These interviews also served as a means of pre-test for the developing questionnaire. Initially scheduled for November, these interviews did not occur until late February as a result of administrative miscommunication, and the promotion of the researcher's primary contact at the institution to a new position that precluded any further involvement in the study. To the researcher's dismay, the new contact was not as appreciative of prison research as the former contact, and did not see the importance of further interviews. As a result, only ten interviews were conducted instead of the original twenty that were desired.

Five inmates and five correctional staff members, who had volunteered to participate, were interviewed individually. They were asked questions about life in prison, conflicts in prison, and communication between and among inmates and staff. They were also asked to review a sample questionnaire and to comment on the scenarios and questions. This served as a pre-test and from the comments, changes were made to the questionnaire. (see Appendix C)

Administration of the Questionnaire. Inmates. Administration of the questionnaire to inmates did not proceed as planned. Two days before the actual administration was to occur, the researcher sent a letter to each inmate (distributed by the contact person at the institution) advising him of the project, the questionnaire that he would be receiving in two days, and procedure that would take place for completing the questionnaire (See Appendix D). Administration of the questionnaires involved passing the questionnaire under each inmate's cell door. Any questions or concerns of the inmates regarding the study were answered at this time. Needless to say the inmates did not appreciate this invasion of privacy nor the obvious rudeness of the whole ordeal. The original plan was to collect the questionnaire at the end of the lock-up during which they were handed out. However, it became obvious that many of the respondents didn't have enough time to complete the questionnaire. Any completed questionnaires were collected, but it was decided that the remainder would be picked up at a later date. Two days later the researcher returned to collect the questionnaires, only to find the institution "locked down". Two days later the researcher returned to collect the questionnaires, by knocking on each cell door, asking for the questionnaire. For obvious reasons, the response rate was not very high. Part of the problem was that the researcher was permitted to go from cell to cell only during the inmates' lock-up before lunch. Approximately ninety percent of the inmates were asleep during this time and no amount of knocking on their cell doors would wake them up.

Administration of the Questionnaire. Correctional Staff. Correctional staff members received their questionnaire with their March paycheque. Also enclosed with the questionnaire was a letter from the Warden, endorsing the study and encouraging staff members to participate. In an effort to increase the response rate for staff respondents, a \$1 coin (a loonie) was enclosed with each questionnaire. The strategy is designed to create cognitive dissonance which can only be resolved by completing the questionnaire.

This technique has worked particularly well in increasing survey returns to over 90% (Hackler and Bourgette, 1973). Staff were asked to return their completed questionnaires by dropping them into a box at the Main Gate, the place they sign in at when entering the institution. The response rate for the officers was 56% (See Appendix F for covering letter to questionnaire for staff and inmates). Although a similar tactic was attempted for inmates - the Administration was approached about allowing the researcher to deposit one dollar into each inmate's financial account - the request was denied.

Re-administration of the questionnaire. In an effort to increase the inmate response rate, Dr. Hackler arranged for the two of us to meet with the Warden of the Institution, the Deputy Warden, and the Assistant Warden, Management Services. The outcome of the meeting was very positive and encouraging. These members of the Administration became convinced of the importance of the research project, and were helpful in suggesting ways to improve the inmate response rate. As a result of this meeting, a meeting was arranged between the researcher and the Inmate Unit Representatives. The goal of a meeting with the inmate representatives was to convince these influential inmates of the importance of the study and to encourage them to speak to other inmates about it.

The meeting was arranged for May 4, 1994. Upon arriving at Edmonton Institution, the researcher was turned away because the institution was locked down. The meeting was rescheduled for May 12. Immediately prior to the meeting the Assistant Warden informed the researcher that the inmates did not want to meet with her and did not want to have anything to do with the project. However, he told them that they should at least inform her in person about how they felt and why they felt this way. The researcher managed to convince the inmate representatives that the study was worthwhile, and they agreed to do their best to help her in her efforts to increase the inmate response rate. They suggested several avenues to reach this end. After the meeting it was agreed that one of the inmate representatives would accompany the researcher from unit to unit, helping to re-administer the questionnaire.

Re-administration of the questionnaire eventually took place. Unfortunately, the Inmate Representative who was to accompany the researcher did not materialize. (Although I had informed the administration which inmate had volunteered to help me, and had set a date for this to occur, when the date came, no one knew anything about the arrangements.) Rather, the researcher was sent on her merry way into the institution, alone, with no idea of where to go to find any inmates (up until this day I had always been accompanied by someone from the Administration building whenever I entered the institution). The researcher managed to find the school classroom. The teachers here and the inmates were very cooperative and filled out the questionnaire with little problem (one inmate required my help because he could not read well). There were approximately twenty inmates here.

Next, the researcher wandered into the industrial shops area, where the response to the questionnaire was less than welcoming. One inmate out of six completed the questionnaire. Next came the kitchen area. Here the researcher experienced the most difficulty in convincing the inmates to fill out the questionnaire. Because of a few vocal inmates in the group, word eventually spread among the kitchen workers that the questionnaire was part of a study set up by the administration to get information for

inmate files and to spy on the inmates. Although several inmates accepted the questionnaires to fill out, within seconds they returned them uncompleted.

At this point it was decided by the administration that the researcher might be more successful in the reception units. These are the units where inmates are sent to after leaving the Remand Centre and before being placed in another institution. Essentially, it is where they go through their initial evaluations and their 'training' on how to be an inmate. These two units are not part of the general population and do not mix with general population inmates at all. These inmates were more than cooperative in filling out the questionnaire. Uncontaminated by the rumour regarding the study that had spread within the general population, and familiar with all sorts of tests and evaluations, these inmates were almost eager to fill out the questionnaire (they were also probably happy to leave their cells which they are confined to for twenty-three hours a day, even if it was only for twenty minutes). About thirty questionnaires were completed by these reception inmates. However, because of the assurance of anonymity as a condition for filling out the questionnaires, no record was made of which questionnaires were completed by reception inmates and which were filled out by inmates in the general population. As it now stands, the inmate response rate is approximately 45%.

Climate of the Institution. The atmosphere of the institution at this time is not well suited to the type of research being conducted. Relationships between staff and inmates have been poor. The fact that a guard was stabbed recently highlights the tensions at the institution. Shortly before the research project began, the Inmate Committee was eliminated. Double bunking was being implemented as the questionnaires were being distributed. The inmates and staff clearly have concerns that are more pressing than those of the research project. The hope that this research could lead to an easing of tensions, and potentially a reduction of violence, was not recognized by the inmates. Trust was lacking among the inmates, and many did not believe the questionnaires would be anonymous and confidential (ie. the administration and correctional officers would not have access to them). Therefore, many did not fill them out. The following are examples of the types of comments inmates wrote on their questionnaires before returning them. It is likely that the following comments reflect the general feeling among the inmates who did not return their questionnaires.

If you would like to get some real feedback,
I feel that one on one talk would be better!!
I've got over 18 years in, and I know alot of
guys in here would not give feedback on this
questionnaire! But that's just what I think!!

Your study is biased by portraying inmates in
negative manner. I disagree with your questions
and your perceptions of inmates as a whole.

Questions like these get us in trouble so don't
bother us with this bullshit. (written beside each

Why are the misperceptions of the staff at Edmonton Institution as negative and exaggerated as they appear to be?

As mentioned above, Brown et al. (1971) found support for the contention that custodial staff at custodial institutions have more negative perceptions of inmates. This seems logical since a custodial institution and especially a maximum security one, is concerned primarily with protecting society from convicted criminals. Thus, by the very nature of its purpose, we would expect Edmonton Institution and its correctional staff members to place a high priority on custody. Furthermore, we expect these staff members to hold more negative perceptions of inmates than for example, the staff at Bowden Institution, a correctional facility known for its focus on treatment and rehabilitation.

Research on corrections officers' attitudes toward inmates has focussed on the influence that characteristics of individual officers play and on the role that institutional goals and characteristics play in affecting officer attitudes (Smith and Hepburn, 1979; Hepburn, 1987; Jurik, 1985; Whitehead and Lindquist, 1989; McDermott and King, 1988). Several of these studies point to role conflict as contributing to increased punitiveness toward inmates (Hepburn and Albonetti, 1980; Poole and Regoli, 1980; Philliber, 1987). As Cheatwood points out, correctional officers are caught between two groups, the administrators and the inmates (1974). According to research, a high level of role conflict is associated with low work motivation, low support for treatment, and high support for custody ideology (Hepburn and Albonetti, 1980; Poole and Regoli, 1980). It may be that the subculture custodians are influencing the correctional group into perceiving that more role conflict exists than actually does. The result is a perception of high support for custody.

Similarly, the subculture custodians at Edmonton Institution may be experiencing role stress. This may be a result of "the ambiguous and often contradictory nature of the operational directives of superiors, coupled with the weakening of their position vis-a-vis the inmates" (Poole and Regoli, 1980: 217). To attempt to resolve this role stress, the subculture custodians increase their commitment to their custodial duties. In other words, to combat their dilemmas, they fall back into the traditional role of guard. Because of their influence within the officer group, they manage to convince the group that everyone is and should be focussing more on the negative, anti-social behaviour of inmates and attempting to control it. Thus the negative, exaggerated perceptions of inmate and staff behaviour held by the correctional officer group at Edmonton Institution.

Another factor that Hepburn found influential on officer attitudes and perceptions is the amount of power and control each group within the prison is perceived to have (1987). Level of control is associated with role conflict, job satisfaction, and alienation. Hepburn found that "prison guards feel besieged by both prisoners and administrators" (1987: 50). They feel that inmates have too many rights, so that guards cannot properly enforce institutional rules, and they feel they don't receive the necessary recognition, support, and cooperation from administrators. In essence, guards in Hepburns' study believed they had significantly less actual control than prisoners and administrators (1987: 53). It may be that influential leaders among

correctional officers at Edmonton Institution similarly believe that correctional officers do not have enough control. Their cynicism and dissatisfaction in this respect may be affecting the group as a whole and contributing to their misperceptions.

Alienation, role conflict, and role stress among the subcultural custodians especially may exacerbate the tendencies already occurring because of pluralistic ignorance. Although individual officers are pro-inmate, they may overestimate to an even greater extent the pro-custodial tendencies of the guard group (Cullen, 1989). Driven to louder and more frequent complaints by the role conflict and stress they feel, the subculture custodians may actually be driving the group as a whole to more negative, anti-inmate, pro-custodial perceptions.

Prison guards do not live in jail, they just work there. They are members of the larger, free society from which they come and to which they return when their shift is over. It is likely that the correctional officers at Edmonton Institution are expressing, in their perceptions of fellow officers and inmates, the opinions held by members of the general public. Society currently holds very negative attitudes toward prisons, the inmates confined within them and by association, the people who work there. It may be that in estimating the opinions of correctional officers and inmates, the officers at Edmonton Institution are merely reflecting the attitudes they have been hearing and reading about in their lives outside of work. What can be done to reduce these misperceptions among inmates and especially staff at Edmonton Institution? The next chapter offers some potential solutions to the problem of pluralistic ignorance at Edmonton Institution.

CHAPTER 10: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

The concept of pluralistic ignorance implies that conflicts arising between inmates and between inmates and staff can potentially be reduced. The fact that correctional staff members appear to be more negatively affected by the existence of pluralistic ignorance suggests that it may be the correctional staff at Edmonton Institution who deserve our attention and who need to change the most.

Because pluralistic ignorance supports the contention that inmate and correctional officer subcultures are illusory or superficial, this should make the task of reducing pluralistic ignorance among both groups somewhat less intimidating. Knowing that the majority of inmates are privately less anti-social and that the majority of correctional officers are privately pro-inmate and professional makes the task of reducing misperceptions less formidable than if the opposite were true.

Inmates

Reducing pluralistic ignorance among inmates at Edmonton Institution may mean attempting to reduce the power of hostile inmate leaders. Grusky claims that all informal leaders derive their influence from their ability to solve problems (1959). He also found that the orientation of inmate leaders varies with the type of institution, treatment or custodial. Changing the orientation of Edmonton Institution from a custodial to a treatment based institution is not an option for obvious reasons. However, if institutional policy could adapt to meet inmate needs that currently are not being met, the inmates may not need to turn to informal leaders for support. In other words, by reformulating some policies to meet inmate needs and desires, staff and administrators at the institution could reduce the chances of inmate leaders voicing their opinions about the lack of cooperation from the administration. For example, by giving the inmates an Inmate Committee, inmate leaders would no longer be able to complain about the administration for not letting them have a democratic body to represent their views. The vocal, hostile leaders would have one less reason to rally support, so their anti-staff, anti-social attitudes might be reduced in frequency and magnitude.

By establishing positive relations between staff members and inmates, it seems likely that communication and understanding would increase while pluralistic ignorance could be reduced. At Grusky's experimental prison camp it was possible to establish cooperation between inmates and staff (Grusky, 1959: 67). Although Edmonton Institution is not a treatment oriented institution, nor an experimental camp, it may be useful and beneficial to adopt some of the steps used in Grusky's camp in an effort to reduce pluralistic ignorance. Rather than stressing custodial, confrontational, suspicious attitudes, perhaps staff should be encouraged to adopt more positive, helpful, cooperative attitudes toward inmates. Training sessions and inservices could be given to staff to present these ideas in a group setting. These new approaches might be established as administrative policy so that the subculture custodians among the correctional officers have less influence and power among their colleagues.

According to research conducted by Berk, the informal inmate organization

attempts to fill the gaps in services provided by the formal organization (1966). In attempting to reduce pluralistic ignorance and the appeal of anti-social inmate leaders, it may be worthwhile for the prison administration in a custodial institution such as Edmonton Institution to try to fill some of the gaps in services that are particularly aggravating to the inmate population (ie. Inmate Committee, double-bunking, poor food, bureaucratic hassles). Again, the goal should be to reduce every opportunity for hostile inmate leaders to complain, and in so doing influence inmate perceptions. Berk found that in treatment oriented institutions, leadership among inmates is based on consensus and cooperation and the number of inmates who occupy leadership positions is greater than in custodial institutions (1966). More leaders means more accurate representation of the beliefs and attitudes of the inmate population; there is less opportunity for a few vocal, hostile inmates to misrepresent and influence group opinions. If Edmonton Institution could take on some of the traits of a treatment oriented institution while still retaining its primarily custodial philosophy, pluralistic ignorance among and between inmates and staff might be reduced to some extent, resulting in increased communication, increased efficiency, and possibly decreased conflict and violence.

In addition to these suggestions however, it might also prove beneficial to inform inmates of the existence of pluralistic ignorance, the misperceptions that form its basis, and the problems that result from these misunderstandings. By informing them of the processes involved, they will be more aware of it themselves and may be more careful in drawing conclusions and making assumptions about other inmates and correctional officers. At any rate, it is important to also effect changes in the way institutions are run in order to reduce pluralistic ignorance.

Correctional Staff

Since "there is little reason to believe that a guard subculture capable of influencing the attitudes and behaviour of individual guards exists under normal prison conditions" (Lombardo, 1985: 87), reducing pluralistic ignorance among correctional officers is a realistic task. Private officer attitudes indicate they are professional, humanistic, relatively pro-inmate individuals who are sympathetic to the inmate situation. Enacting official policy that lends administrative support to the professional attitudes of lonely braves will be easy to enforce: the majority of COs are privately professional anyway. Giving their attitudes official support will give them strength and will show them that the majority of their colleagues do feel the same way they do. Furthermore it will give them more confidence in expressing themselves in the face of the subculture custodians, knowing that official institutional policy supports them (Cullen, 1989: 40).

Empowering correctional officers is another way to reduce pluralistic ignorance among the group. By transferring to guards some of the control exercised by administrators, officers as a group would have more influence over their work environment, and the subculture custodians would have one less issue to use as a basis for influencing others. Hepburn found support for the idea that the greater the perceived disparity in actual influence between guards and administrators, the greater

will be the alienation experienced by guards (1987: 61). By giving guards more control, alienation will decrease, communication will increase, and pluralistic ignorance may decrease. Essentially, "guards' attitudes toward their work will be improved through collaborative or participative management" (Hepburn, 1987: 62; Philliber, 1987: 28). It may be that the correctional staff at Edmonton Institution are particularly dissatisfied with their work and are feeling the pressures of role stress and alienation. By granting the officer group an active and formal role in making policy and procedure decisions that affect their work environment, administrators may help to improve the condition of the officers. And, since research shows that increased role stress is related to increased punitiveness and custodial oriented attitudes, it follows that reducing role stress will result in a reduction in custodial, anti-inmate attitudes and perceptions among officers.

Duffee's research efforts in one correctional institution resulted in some positive changes among correctional officers (1974). By participating in a weekly discussion group with Duffee, the ideological beliefs of six correctional officers gradually changed. This was accomplished partly by instilling in them the belief that they were the effectors of change and were not merely changees. In other words, they were not mere receptacles of new information, rather, they were playing an influential role in the production of information and its dissemination. The correctional officers identified several crucial, short-range problems and took organized steps to solve them. Their changes tended to be more "inmate-friendly" and less in keeping with traditional prison officer subcultural norms.

Porporino (1986) also points to established roles and norms within correctional institutions as contributing to prison violence. Many correctional officers who have crisis relevant skills that inmates could benefit from, are restricted from employing them because of subcultural ideologies as well as staff procedures. He calls for matching between certain inmate groups (ie. high-risk violent groups) and staff members with compatible skills. In essence, he is calling for an alternative to the system we now employ; we need to develop a "collaborative human service delivery system within prisons" (Porporino, 1986: 232).

Toch and Klofas (1984) argue that in an effort to reduce pluralistic ignorance in prison we must mobilize social forces of the same kind that shape pluralistic ignorance to neutralize its impact (Toch, 1984: 155). The logic behind this is that group process must counteract group process. They point to several steps that can be taken in an attempt to accomplish this task. For example, the prime change targets must be the 'lonely braves', those individuals who see themselves as professional, in that they respect the dignity of inmates, inmate rights, and the potential for their growth and development" (Correctional Services Canada, 1991: 7), but see other staff members as non-professional. They need to see that the majority of officers are in fact professional in orientation, like themselves. In using surveys to measure the extent of pluralistic ignorance, it is important to provide feedback from the surveys to the respondents, but to do so in the context of group experiences, to show that the results are, in fact, realistic. Furthermore, the content of the group sessions must focus on the sources of the false impressions leading to pluralistic ignorance, and must isolate the

effects of pluralistic ignorance on the respondents' own behaviour (Toch, 1984: 155). Another point made is that group members must commit themselves to take 'liberated actions', having been enlightened as to the effects of pluralistic ignorance on their lives. This could be done at Edmonton Institution by presenting the results of the present study in a group context, for example, with groups of interested staff members, administrators and inmates present.

The points mentioned above are only a few of those suggested by Toch and Klofas as a way of reducing pluralistic ignorance. From the studies mentioned, it seems likely that steps can be taken in an effort to reduce the degree of pluralistic ignorance at Edmonton Institution. By dispelling the misconceptions and assumptions characteristic of the guard subculture vs. inmate subculture illusion, perhaps prison violence can be reduced, making Edmonton Institution and other correctional institutions more effective and our society as a whole safer and healthier.

By informing correctional officers and inmates of the processes at work between and among guards and inmates, and making them aware of pluralistic ignorance, we can begin to reduce the misperceptions that are occurring. At Edmonton Institution in particular, however, after this first step, it appears that our focus should be primarily on the correctional staff. The fact that they perceive inmates and correctional staff in a more negative, inaccurate and exaggerated light than do the inmates indicates that something must be causing such inaccuracies. It may be that COs here are particularly alienated and feel powerless in the face of increasing prisoner rights and administrative controls. It may be that they are merely reflecting the perceptions they believe the general public holds toward inmates and staff at a maximum security facility. Whatever the reason, several options are available to increase awareness of and accuracy of perceptions of attitudes for these correctional officers.

Edmonton Institution, during the time of the study, initiated a project on prison violence. Six sub-committees composed of correctional officers, managers, caseworkers, and inmates were formed. Each sub-committee was to hold regular meetings to discuss certain issues and come up with recommendations to effectively deal with factors leading to violence at the institution. The project had great potential for dealing with the types of issues mentioned above. Although unintentional, the project would have also coincided very well with the second and third stages of the present study. But for whatever reason, the Edmonton Institution project on prison violence ended shortly after it began. Perhaps the findings from this study, combined with recent incidents of violence at the institution, will provide proof that something should be done at Edmonton Institution - soon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akers, R.L., W. Gruninger, and N.W. Hayner. (1976) "Prison Inmate Roles: Inter-organizational and Cross-cultural Comparisons". *International Journal of Criminology and Penology*. 4, 365-381.
- Akers, Ronald L., Norman S. Hayner, and Werner Gruninger. (1977) "Prisonization in Five Countries". *Criminology*, 14, 4, Feb. 527-554.
- Akers, Ronald L., Norman S. Hayner, and Werner Gruninger. (1974) "Homosexual and Drug Behaviour in Prison: A Test of the Functional and Importation Models of the Inmate System". *Social Problems*. 21, 3: 410-422.
- Atchley, R.C. and M.P. McCabe. (1968) "Socialization in Correctional Communities: A Replication". *American Sociological Review*. 33: 774-785.
- Ajzen, I. and M. Fishbein. (1977) "Attitude-behaviour relations: A theoretical analysis and review of empirical research." *Psychological Bulletin*. 84, 888-918.
- Barak-Glantz, Israel L. (1983) "Patterns of Prisoner Misconduct: Toward a Behavioural Test of Prisonization." *Sociological Focus*. 16, 2, Apr. 129-146.
- Barth, Tom, Walter Watson, and Wayne Blanchard. (1966) "Parent-child Relations in Mass Society." In Jeanette R. Folta and Edith S. Deck (eds.) *A Sociological Framework for Patient Care*. New York: Wiley.
- Becker, H.S. and B. Geer. (1960) "Latent culture: a note on the theory of latent social roles". *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 5 (Sept.): 304-313.
- Bell, Jennifer, Jana Grekul, Navjot Lamba, Christine Minas, and W. Andrew Harrell. (1995) "The Impact of Cost on Student Helping Behaviour." *The Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol. 135, No. 1 49-57.
- Berk, Bernard B. (1966) "Organizational goals and inmate organization". *American Journal of Sociology*. 71(March): 522-534.
- Bowker, Lee H. (1980) *Prison Victimization*. Elsevier North Holland, Inc. New York.
- Brown, Barry, Robert Dupont, Nicholas Kozel, and John Spevacek. (1971) "Staff Conceptions of Inmate Characteristics". *Criminology*. 9 (Aug.-Nov.). 316-329.
- Chang, Dae H. and C.H. Zastrow. (1976) "Inmates' and Security Guards' Perceptions

- of Themselves and Each Other". *International Journal of Criminology and Penology* V. 1. 89-98.
- Cheatwood, A. Derral. (1974) "The Staff in Correctional Settings. An Empirical Investigation of Frying Pans and Fires". *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. July. 173-179.
- Clemmer, D. (1940) *The Prison Community*. Boston: Christopher.
- Cloward, Richard A. (1961) "Social Control in the Prison." in *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change* by Donald Cressey. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc. New York. 20-48.
- Cohen, A. (1955) *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang*. New York. Free Press.
- Correctional Services Canada. (1991) *Basic Facts About Corrections In Canada*. Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- Correctional Services Canada. (1992) *Forum*. Vol.4 No.3.
- Culhane, Claire. (1985) *Still Barred From Prison: Social Injustice in Canada*. Black Rose Books Ltd. Montreal Quebec.
- Cullen, Francis T. (1989) "The correctional orientation of prison guards: Do officers support rehabilitation?" *Federal Probation*. 53 (1) 33-42.
- DeFleur, M.L. and F.R. Westie. (1958) "Verbal attitudes and overt acts: Experiment on the salience of attitudes". *American Sociological Review*, 23, 667-673.
- Duffee, David. (1974) "The Correction Officer Subculture and Organizational Change". *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. July. 155-172.
- Ellis, Desmond, Harold G. Grasmick and Bernard Gilman. (1974) "Violence in Prisons: A Sociological Analysis". *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 80. No. 1. 16-43.
- Esselstyn, T.C. (1966) "The Social System of Correctional Workers". *Crime and Delinquency*. 12, 2: 117-124.
- Faine, John R. (1973) "A Self-Consistency Approach to Prisonization." *Sociological Quarterly*. 14, 4, Aut. 576-588.
- Fields, James M. and Howard Schuman. (1976-77) "Public beliefs about the beliefs of

- the public". *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 40: 427-48.
- Gaes, Gerald G. and William J. McGuire. (1985) "Prison Violence: The Contribution of Crowding versus Other Determinants of Prison Assault Rates". *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. 22. 1, Feb. 41-65.
- Garabedian, Peter G. (1962) "Legitimate and Illegitimate Alternatives in the Prison Community". *Sociological Inquiry*, 32 (Spring): 172-184.
- Garabedian, Peter G. (1963) "Social Roles and Processes of Socialization in the Prison Community". *Social Problems*. 11 (Fall) 139-152.
- Garabedian, Peter G. (1964) "Social Roles in a Correctional Community". *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*. 55 (Sept.) 338-347.
- Glynn, Carroll J. (1989) "Perceptions of Others' Opinions as a Component of Public Opinion" *Social Science Research*. 18, 53-69.
- Glynn, C. and J. McLeod. (1984) "Public opinion du jour: An examination of the spiral of silence". *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 48, 731-740.
- Goffman, Erving. (1961) "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions: The Inmate World." in *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change* by Donald Cressey. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc. New York. 15-67.
- Griffiths, Curt T. and Simon N. Verdun-Jones. (1989) *Canadian Criminal Justice*. Butterworths. Toronto.
- Grosser, George H. (1961) "External Setting and Internal Relations of the Prison." in *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change* by Donald Cressey. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc. New York. 130-144.
- Grusky, O. (1959) "Organization goals and the behaviour of informal leaders". *American Journal of Sociology*, 65 (July) 59-67.
- Hackler, James C. and P. Bourgette. (1973) "Dollars, Dissonance, and Survey Returns". *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 37 (2): 276-281.
- Hepburn, John R. (1984) "The Erosion of Authority and the Perceived Legitimacy of Inmate Social Protest: A Study of Prison Guards". *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 12. 579-590.
- Hepburn, John. (1985) "The exercise of power in coercive organizations: A study of prison guards". *Criminology*. 23. 45-164.

- Hepburn, John. (1987) "The Prison Control Structure and Its Effects on Work Attitudes: The Perceptions and Attitudes of Prison Guards". *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 15. 49-64.
- Hepburn, John R. and John R. Stratton. (1977) "Total Institutions and Inmate Self Esteem: Inmates in a Federal Correction Centre." *British Journal of Criminology*. 17, 3, July. 237-250.
- Hepburn, J. R. and C. Albonetti. (1980) "Role Conflict in Correctional Institutions: An Empirical Examination of the Treatment - Custody Dilemma Among Correctional Staff". *Criminology*. 17 (Feb.) 445-459.
- Irwin, J. (1970) *The Felon*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Irwin, J. and D.R. Cressey. (1962) "Thieves, Convicts, and the Inmate culture". *Social Problems* 10 (Fall): 142-155.
- Jurik, Nancy C. (1985) "Individual and Organizational Determinants of Correctional Officer Attitudes Toward Inmates". *Criminology*. 23 (Aug.) 523-539.
- Kauffman, K. (1981) "Prison Officers' Attitudes and Perceptions of Attitudes: A Case of Pluralistic Ignorance". *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. 18 (2): 272-294.
- Klofas, John and Hans Toch. (1982) "The Guard Subculture Myth". *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. Vol.19, No. 2 238-254.
- Klofas, John. (1984) "Reconsidering Prison Personnel: New Views of the Correctional Officer Subculture". *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 28. 169-175.
- Korte, C. (1972) "Pluralistic Ignorance about Student Radicalism". *Sociometry*. 35, 576-587.
- Lombardo, Lucien X. (1985) "Group Dynamics and the Prison Guard Subculture: Is the Subculture an Impediment to Helping Inmates". *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 29. 79-90.
- Lombardo, Lucien X. (1981) Guards Imprisoned. Correctional Officers at Work. Elsevier North Holland, Inc. New York.
- McCleery, Richard. (1961) "Communication Patterns as Bases of Systems of Authority and Power." in *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change* by Donald Cressey. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc. New York. 49-78.

- McDermott, Kathleen and Roy D. King. (1988) "Mind Games: where the action is in prisons". *British Journal of Criminology*. 28 (3) 357-377.
- Merton, Robert. (1968) *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press. Miller, Dale T. and Cathy McFarland. (1987) "Pluralistic ignorance: When similarity is interpreted as dissimilarity." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Aug. Vol. 53 (2). 298-305.
- Moos, Rudolf H. (1968) "The assessment of the social climates of correctional institutions". *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 5 (July): 174-188.
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1977) "Turbulences in the climate of opinion: Methodological applications of the spiral of silence theory". *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 40, 143-158.
- O'Gorman, Hubert J. (1986) "The Discovery of Pluralistic Ignorance: An Ironic Lesson". *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*. 22, 4, Oct. 333-347.
- (1979) "White and Black Perceptions of Racial Values" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 48-59.
- Philliber, Susan. (1987) "Thy Brother's Keeper: A Review of the Literature on Correctional Officers". *Justice Quarterly*. 4 (March) 9-37.
- Poole, Eric D. and Robert M. Regoli. (1980) "Role Stress, Custody Orientation, and Disciplinary Actions: A Study of Prison Guards". *Criminology*. 18 (Aug.) 215-226.
- Porporino, Frank J. (1986). "Managing Violent Individuals in Correctional Settings". *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. Vol.1 No.2, June. 213-237.
- Porporino, Frank J. (1991) "Differences in Response to Long-Term Imprisonment: Implications For The Management of Long-Term Offenders". *Research and Statistics Branch*. The Correctional Service of Canada. Research Report No. 10.
- Roebuck, Julian. (1963) "A Critique of Thieves, Convicts, and the Inmate Culture". *Social Problems*, 11 (Fall): 193-200.
- Ross, Lee, David Greene, and Pamela House. (1977) "The 'False Consensus Effect': An Egocentric Bias in Social Perception and Attribution Processes". *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*. 13, 279-301.

- Scharf, P. (1983) "Empty bars: Violence and the crisis of meaning in the prison". *The Prison Journal*. 53, 114-124.
- Schrag, Clarence. (1961) "A Preliminary Criminal Typology". *Pacific Sociological Review*. Spring. 11-16.
- Schwartz, Barry. (1971) "Pre-institutional vs. situational influence in a correctional community". *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, Vol. 62 No. 4 : 532-543.
- Schwartz, Barry. (1973). "Peer vs. authority effects in a correctional community". *Criminology*. 11 (August): 233-257.
- Short, James F. Jr., and Fred L. Strodbeck. (1965) *Group Process and Gang Delinquency*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago.
- Singer, Ming S. and Alan E. Singer. (1985) "Self and Other Perceptions of the Police and University Students in New Zealand." *Journal of Social Psychology*. Dec. Vol. 125 (6) 729-733.
- Smith, Carol F.W. and John R. Hepburn. (1979) "Alienation in Prison Organizations". *Criminology*. 17 (Aug.) 251-262.
- Stouffer, Samuel A. (1949) "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms". *American Sociological Review*; 14, 6 (Dec.) 707-717.
- Street, D. and M. Zald. (1965) "The inmate group in custodial and treatment settings". *American Sociological Review*. 30 (Feb.): 40-44.
- Sykes, Gresham M. (1957) "Men, merchants, and toughs: A study of reactions to imprisonment." *Social Problems*. 4 (2) 130-137.
- Sykes, Gresham M. (1958) *The Society of Captives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- and David Matza. (1957) "Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency". *American Sociological Review*, 22: 664-70.
- and Sheldon L. Messinger. (1961) "The Inmate Social System" in *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change* by Donald Cressey. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc. New York. 5-19.
- Taylor, D. Garth. (1982) "Pluralistic Ignorance and the Spiral of Silence: A Formal Analysis". *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 46. 3. Fall. 311-335.

- Thomas, Charles and Samuel C. Foster. (1973) "The importation model perspective of inmate social roles: An empirical test". *The Sociological Quarterly*. 14 (Spring), 226-234.
- Thomas, C.W. (1973) "Toward a more inclusive model of the inmate contraculture". *Criminology*, 8 (November): 251-262.
- Thomas, C.W. and M. T. Zingraff. (1976) "Organizational structure as a determinant of prisonization: an analysis of the consequence of alienation." *Pacific Sociological Review*. 19: 98-116.
- Tittle, C. (1964) "Social Organization of Prisoners". *Social Forces*, 43 (Dec.) 216-221.
- Toch, Hans, Kenneth Adams, and J. Douglas Grant. (1989) *Coping*. Transaction Publishers. New Jersey.
- Toch, H. and J. Klofas. (1984) "Pluralistic Ignorance, Revisited". *Progress in Applied Social Psychology*, Volume 2 Edited by G.M. Stephenson and J. H. Davis. John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Toch, Hans and John Klofas. (1982) "Alienation and Desire for Job Enrichment Among Correction Officers". *Federal Probation Quarterly*. March. 35-44.
- Wallen, R. (1941) "Individual estimates of groups attitudes". *Psychological Bulletin*, 38, 539-540.
- Wallen, R. (1943) "Individuals' estimates of group opinion", *Journal of Social Psychology*, 17, 269-274.
- Weinberg, S. Kirson. (1942) "Aspects of the Prison's Social Structure". *American Journal of Sociology*, 47, 717-726.
- Wellford, Charles. (1967) "Factors associated with adoption of the inmate code: A study of normative socialization". *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*. Vol. 58 No. 2. (April): 197-203.
- Wheeler, Stanton. (1961) "Role Conflict in Correctional Communities" in *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change*. by Donald Cressey. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. New York. 229-259.
- Wheeler, S. (1961) "Socialization in correctional communities". *American Sociological Review*. 26: 697-712.

- Whitehead, John T. and Charles A Lindquist. (1989) "Determinants of Correctional Officers' Professional Orientation". *Justice Quarterly*. 6 (1) 69-87.
- Wilson, Deborah G. and Gennaro F. Vito. (1988) "Long-term Inmates: Special Need and Management Considerations". *Federal Probation*. 52 (3) 21-26.
- Yablonsky, W. (1959) "The Delinquent Gang as a Near-Group". *Social Problems*. 7 108-117.
- Zamble, Edward and Frank Porporino. (1990) "Coping, Imprisonment, and Rehabilitation". *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. Vol.17 No.1, March. 53-70.
- Zimbardo, Philip G. (1972) "Pathology of Imprisonment". *Society*. 9 (6): 4-8.

APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA RESEARCH PROJECT

WHO: My name is Jana Grekul. I am a Graduate student in Sociology at the University of Alberta, working on my Masters degree.

WHAT: As part of my thesis, I am conducting a study on how communication, and attitudes people have toward conflict situations in prison, affect behaviour.

HOW: Basically, I am asking you for your help, time, and advice. I would appreciate your assistance with this project, and am asking you to consider participating. My goal is not to disrupt your schedules and work while I am conducting this study. Here's what's involved:

1. I need at least 5-10 inmate volunteers and 5-10 correctional staff volunteers to discuss some basic issues with me and to advise me as I make up a questionnaire.
2. I need as many people as possible, staff and inmates, to fill out the questionnaire. It should take about 10-15 minutes to fill out, and is anonymous-no one, including me, will know which questionnaire is yours.
3. I would like to discuss the results from the questionnaire with you once I've analyzed them.

WHEN: I hope to begin interviewing volunteers some time in early January. I would like to distribute the questionnaires to everyone at the end of January.

WHY: I think the potential for conflict is a reality for each of you within the prison setting. It is my hope that through your input and contributions to my study, some insight will result. Methods or techniques of communication can then be developed to resolve issues before the possibility of conflict occurs.

THANK-YOU! I look forward to meeting with you and hope you will consider participating in the study in whatever way you can. I promise to minimize the time and effort required on your part. I have a lot to learn here, and hope you'll consider helping me. If you are interested in helping me with my questionnaire: staff members, please advise me by memo to the Staff Training Coordinator; inmates, please inform your unit reps. Once I know you're interested, I will contact you. Thanks again!

APPENDIX B

Attitudes, Communication, and Prison Conflicts

To All Correctional Staff:

I would like to enlist your help in a study I am doing. I am a Masters student in Sociology at the University of Alberta and have obtained permission to complete a research project at the Edmonton Institution.

The study has to do with attitudes and communication among inmates and correctional staff, and the effects these factors have on the potential for conflict. There are several stages to the project, all of which involve correctional staff participation.

I know that many demands are placed on you. To accommodate your situations, I will try to minimize the time and energy required on your part for participation in the study. Here is what the study requires:

1. I will need 5-8 correctional staff members to advise me on certain issues that will be addressed in a questionnaire. This stage will involve one-on-one discussions (approximately 2 such sessions will suffice) which can occur during your shifts or at your convenience.
2. The second stage will involve filling out the questionnaire. It will be included in your January paycheque, and should only take 10-15 minutes to complete. All correctional staff will receive this questionnaire.
3. The results of the questionnaire will be discussed with you once I've analyzed them.

Thank-you for your anticipated cooperation. I look forward to meeting with you. I am very excited about this study because of the potential I believe it has for the reduction of conflicts in prisons. It is my hope that you, too, will find it interesting, since the potential for conflict plays such an important role in your daily lives. If you would like to volunteer for the first stage of the study (advising me on the creation of my questionnaire), please advise me by memo to the Staff Training Coordinator. Thanks!

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

This interview is completely voluntary. If there are any questions you do not want to answer, you do not have to answer them. If for any reason you decide you no longer want to participate in the interview, you are not compelled to do so. This interview is anonymous. I will not be recording your names anywhere.

This section is optional.

1. What is your age?
2. How long have you served in this institution? (worked here)
3. How much time have you served in total? (worked in corrections)

This section deals with communication.

1. DO YOU THINK THAT COMMUNICATION IN CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE? WHY OR WHY NOT?

2. HOW WELL DO YOU THINK INMATES COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER?

Not well
1

Very well at all
10

Why did you answer this way?

3. HOW WELL DO YOU THINK INMATES AND CORRECTIONAL STAFF COMMUNICATE? 1-10 WHY? HOW WELL ARE CORRECTIONAL STAFF AND ADMINISTRATORS ABLE TO COMMUNICATE? WHY? HOW WELL ARE INMATES AND ADMINISTRATORS ABLE TO COMMUNICATE? 1-10

Why did you answer the way you did?

This next section deals with relations between inmates and between inmates and correctional staff.

1. HOW WELL DO YOU THINK INMATES AND CORRECTIONAL STAFF GET ALONG IN GENERAL? 1-10 WHY?

2. HOW WELL DO YOU THINK INMATES GET ALONG WITH EACH OTHER IN GENERAL? 1-10 WHY?

3. WOULD YOU SAY CONFLICT OR VIOLENCE HERE IS HIGH, LOW OR AVERAGE COMPARED TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS?
4. WHAT DO YOU THINK ARE SOME FACTORS LEADING TO CONFLICT OR VIOLENCE IN PRISONS?
5. COULD YOU NAME 3 MAJOR ISSUES THAT YOU THINK COULD RESULT IN MISUNDERSTANDINGS OR CONFLICT OCCURRING BETWEEN INMATES?
6. COULD YOU DESCRIBE 3 MAJOR ISSUES THAT YOU THINK COULD RESULT IN CONFLICT OCCURRING BETWEEN CORRECTIONAL STAFF AND INMATES?
7. I NEED TO CREATE HYPOTHETICAL REALISTIC SITUATIONS WHERE PEOPLE MIGHT DISAGREE. CAN YOU CREATE SUCH A SCENARIO FOR ME THAT WOULD BE REALISTIC?
(This can be from personal experience)

INFORMING ON ANOTHER INMATE:
BEING LOYAL TO ANOTHER INMATE:
BREAKING A RULE:
CLASSIFICATION\THERAPY:
OTHER:

8. IF YOU COULD CHANGE ANYTHING ABOUT LIFE IN PRISON\WORKING IN PRISON, WHAT WOULD IT BE? WHAT ADVICE WOULD YOU GIVE TO PRISON ADMINISTRATORS ABOUT RUNNING A PRISON?

This section deals with advice I need regarding my questionnaire.

1. DO YOU THINK THAT IF I ASKED FOR AGE, LENGTH OF SENTENCE, TIME SERVED (NUMBER OF YEARS SPENT WORKING IN CORRECTIONS)...IT WOULD REDUCE THE CHANCES OF INMATES (STAFF) ANSWERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE?
2. WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO MEET WITH ME AGAIN TO FILL OUT A SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE AND TELL ME HOW YOU THINK IT COULD BE IMPROVED?
3. WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD BE THE BEST WAY TO ADMINISTER THE QUESTIONNAIRE SO THAT AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE MIGHT FILL IT OUT? (for example, should I go cell to cell by myself, should I get a correctional officer to help me hand them out-but not to pick them up, should I get inmates (unit reps) to help me hand them out cell to cell...; How should they be returned? Should I

go cell to cell with a big box for people to throw them into, leave box in unit office, should they be mailed back...?)

4. What were you convicted for?

5. WOULD YOU MIND IF I QUOTED WHAT YOU'VE SAID IN THIS INTERVIEW, IN MY WORK?

Do you have any questions or comments you would like to add?

THANK-YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND ADVICE! I REALLY APPRECIATE IT AND LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING WITH YOU AGAIN.

APPENDIX D

To: All Inmates at Edmonton Institution

From: Jana Grekul

Re: University Research Project on Attitudes and Communication

Hi! I am hoping that most of you are familiar with the study I am doing here. Posters have been put up around the Institution describing the project. Part of the Project involves giving you all a questionnaire to fill out.

This brief note is to let you know that my assistant and I will be coming around during the morning (11:15) and afternoon (4:15) lock-ups on Monday, March 14 and Tuesday, March 15 to distribute the questionnaires to each of you individually.

Because we will be coming to you during the lock-ups, it is likely we will not be able to speak to you directly, or to hand the questionnaire to you directly. Rather, we will probably have to pass you the questionnaire under the door. At the end of the lock-up period, we will be collecting the questionnaires from you. It should only take 15 minutes to half an hour to complete.

I would like to ensure you that only my assistant and myself will handle the questionnaires. (My assistant is Colleen Everitt. Some of you may know her from her involvement with the Lifer's Group.) The questionnaires are completely anonymous - your name or your handwriting does not appear anywhere on the questionnaire and there are no numbers or anything else that can track your questionnaire to you.

I understand your concern that staff members or the administration will see the questionnaires. Please let me assure you that NO ONE will see or touch ANY of the questionnaires. Part of the ethical standards of the University for this study is that your anonymity is guaranteed.

I would like to thank-you all ahead of time for participating in the study by filling out the questionnaire. I will be presenting the results from the questionnaires to you sometime in the future!

Thanks again!!!

Sincerely,
Jana Grekul

APPENDIX E

Please read the following hypothetical situations and answer the questions by putting a circle around your choice.

1. Inmates Smith and Brown are planning an escape. They need a third person to help them by hiding a pair of wirecutters. They ask Inmate Jones who is also in their Unit. Inmate Jones refuses to help, saying he wants nothing to do with their plan because he is scared of getting caught.

a. How do you personally feel about Inmate Jones' decision?

- Strongly approve1
- Approve2
- Disapprove3
- Strongly disapprove4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of his action?

- Almost all would approve1
- About three-fourths would approve2
- About half would approve3
- About one fourth would approve4
- Almost none would approve5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of Jones' action?

- Almost all would approve1
- About three-fourths would approve2
- About half would approve3
- About one fourth would approve4
- Almost none would approve5

d. What should Jones have done?

- He should have refused to help (*he did the right thing*)1
- He should have helped the other two inmates by hiding the wirecutters for them, even though he wouldn't be attempting the escape with them2

e. What would most inmates do?

- Most inmates would refuse to help, just like Jones did1
- Most inmates would help their fellow inmates to escape if they were asked2

2. Inmate Johnson received some drugs during one of his visits. He was able to get the drugs past the correctional officers, but he thinks they are now suspicious of him. He asks Inmate Schwartz to keep the drugs for him until things calm down. Inmate Schwartz agrees to keep the drugs.

a. How do you personally feel about Schwartz's decision to keep the drugs for awhile?

- Strongly approve 1
- Approve 2
- Disapprove 3
- Strongly disapprove 4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of the Schwartz's action?

- Almost all would approve 1
- About three-fourths would approve 2
- About half would approve 3
- About one fourth would approve 4
- Almost none would approve 5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of Schwartz's action?

- Almost all would approve 1
- About three-fourths would approve 2
- About half would approve 3
- About one fourth would approve 4
- Almost none would approve 5

d. What should Schwartz have done?

- He should have kept the drugs (*he did the right thing*) 1
- He should have refused to keep the drugs for Johnson 2

e. What would most inmates do?

- Most inmates would hide the drugs for a fellow inmate 1
- Most inmates would refuse to hide the drugs for another inmate 2

3. Several influential inmates are talking about and spreading the word around about having a riot. Inmate Wagner is afraid of what is happening and doesn't like the idea of a riot occurring. He goes to a correctional officer and tells him about what's been going on.

a. How do you personally feel about Wagner's decision?

Strongly approve	1
Approve	2
Disapprove	3
Strongly disapprove	4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of Wagner's action?

Almost all would approve	1
About three-fourths would approve	2
About half would approve	3
About one fourth would approve	4
Almost none would approve	5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of his action?

Almost all would approve	1
About three-fourths would approve	2
About half would approve	3
About one fourth would approve	4
Almost none would approve	5

d. What should Wagner have done?

Wagner should have informed the correctional officer about the riot plans
(*he did the right thing*) 1

Wagner should have kept the information a
secret 2

e. What would most inmates do?

Most inmates would tell an officer about the riot
plans, just like Wagner did 1

Most inmates would keep the information secret 2

4. An Anger Management Program is being offered to interested inmates. Inmate Park thinks he could benefit from such a program, even though it's not part of his case plan, so he asks a member of the staff if he can get into the program.

a. How do you personally feel about Park's decision to join the Anger Management Program?

Strongly approve	1
Approve	2
Disapprove	3
Strongly disapprove	4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of Park's action?

Almost all would approve	1
About three-fourths would approve	2
About half would approve	3
About one fourth would approve	4
Almost none would approve	5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of Park's action?

Almost all would approve	1
About three-fourths would approve	2
About half would approve	3
About one fourth would approve	4
Almost none would approve	5

d. What should Park have done?

He should ask about joining the program if he thinks it will benefit him (<i>he did the right thing</i>)	1
He should not admit to needing help and shouldn't join the program	2

e. What would most inmates do?

Most inmates would join the program if it meant they could help themselves	1
Most inmates would not join a program like the Anger Management program, even if they think it could help them	2

5. Inmate Smith gets cut in a knife fight with another inmate. Smith is called before a disciplinary committee. The committee asks him to tell them who he was fighting with. He refuses to name the other inmate.

a. How do you personally feel about inmate Smith's action?

- Strongly approve1
- Approve2
- Disapprove3
- Strongly disapprove4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of inmate Smith's action?

- Almost all would approve1
- About three-fourths would approve2
- About half would approve3
- About one fourth would approve4
- Almost none would approve5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of inmate Smith's action?

- Almost all would approve1
- About three-fourths would approve2
- About half would approve3
- About one fourth would approve4
- Almost none would approve5

d. What should inmate Smith have done?

- He should do exactly what he did - refuse to name the other inmate involved1
- He should be cooperative with the committee and name the other inmate2

e. What would most inmates do?

- Most inmates would do what Smith did and refuse to name the other inmate involved1
- Most inmates would be cooperative and name the other inmate involved2

6. *Inmate Scott has put in a request for a job change. He is offered 2 choices for a new job. One position would mean he would have less work to do than he has now. The job would be boring, but it would mean he could work with some of his friends. The other job he is offered is more challenging and it would help prepare him for a good job once he is released from prison. He takes the less challenging job.*

a. How do you personally feel about Inmate Scott's decision to take the less challenging job?

Strongly approve	1
Approve	2
Disapprove	3
Strongly disapprove	4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of Scott's action?

Almost all would approve	1
About three-fourths would approve	2
About half would approve	3
About one-fourth would approve	4
Almost none would approve	5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of Scott's action?

Almost all would approve	1
About three-fourths would approve	2
About half would approve	3
About one-fourth would approve	4
Almost none would approve	5

d. What should Scott have done?

He should have picked the easier job, just as he did	1
He should have picked the more challenging job, since it would improve his chances of getting a good job on the outside	2

e. What would most inmates do?

Most inmates would do the same thing Scott did and choose the easier job	1
Most inmates would choose the more challenging job	2

7. Inmate Anderson and Officer Sharp are having a heated argument. Anderson has refused to do the job he has been asked to do by the Officer because it's his day off, and tells the officer to "fuck-off". Officer Sharp writes up a charge against Inmate Anderson for his abusive language.

a. How do you personally feel about the *correctional officer's* decision to charge Anderson for abusive language?

Strongly approve	1
Approve	2
Disapprove	3
Strongly disapprove	4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of the action?

Almost all would approve	1
About three-fourths would approve	2
About half would approve	3
About one fourth would approve	4
Almost none would approve	5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of the action?

Almost all would approve	1
About three-fourths would approve	2
About half would approve	3
About one fourth would approve	4
Almost none would approve	5

d. What should the officer have done?

The officer should have charged the inmate for his abusive language (*he did the right thing*) 1

The officer should have ignored what the inmate said since they were arguing anyway 2

e. What would most officers do?

Most officers would charge the inmate as did Officer Sharp 1

Most officers would ignore what the inmate said during the argument . . 2

8. An officer and an inmate have had a dispute over whether the inmate's job has been done properly. Later, several of the officers are discussing the bad attitude of the inmate. One of the officers defends the inmate saying that, in that circumstance, he thought the inmate was right.

a. How do you personally feel about the *correctional officer's* decision?

- Strongly approve 1
- Approve 2
- Disapprove 3
- Strongly disapprove 4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of this officer's action?

- Almost all would approve 1
- About three-fourths would approve 2
- About half would approve 3
- About one fourth would approve 4
- Almost none would approve 5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of the officer's action?

- Almost all would approve 1
- About three-fourths would approve 2
- About half would approve 3
- About one fourth would approve 4
- Almost none would approve 5

d. What should the officer have done?

He should have defended the inmate if he felt the inmate was in the right (*he did the right thing*) 1

He should not have defended the inmate in front of the other officers because they might think badly of him 2

e. What would most officers have done?

Most officers would have defended the inmate just as this officer did . 1

Most officers would not have defended an inmate in front of other officers, even if they did think the inmate was right 2

9. *Officer Adams observes a fight between two inmates. The inmates apologize and say it was nothing. Officer Adams knows that both inmates have clean conduct records, that they are due to go before the parole board soon, and that a write-up on their records might mean that they would not make parole. He decides to investigate, and if the fight was nothing serious, to forget about it.*

a. How do you personally feel about the *correctional staff member's* action?

- Strongly approve1
- Approve2
- Disapprove3
- Strongly disapprove4

b. How many *inmates* do you think would approve of the officer's action?

- Almost all would approve1
- About three-fourths would approve2
- About half would approve3
- About one fourth would approve4
- Almost none would approve5

c. How many *staff members* do you think would approve of the officer's action?

- Almost all would approve1
- About three-fourths would approve2
- About half would approve3
- About one fourth would approve4
- Almost none would approve5

d. What should the officer have done?

- He should have done exactly what he did - investigate, and if the fight was nothing serious, forget about it1
- He should have given the inmates a write-up, and let them take the consequences2

e. What would most officers do?

- Most officers would do what this officer did - investigate, and if the fight was nothing serious, forget about it1
- Most officers would have given the inmates a write-up, and let them take the consequences2

For each of the following questions, please respond by circling your response on the 7-point scale. If you think that communication is not good, circle '1'. If you think that communication is 'very good', circle '7'. If you are not sure, or feel that communication is somewhere in between, circle the appropriate number from '2' to '6'.

10. a. How good is communication **between inmates?**

Not good						Very good
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

b. How good is communication **between inmates and correctional staff?**

Not good						Very good
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

c. How good is communication **between correctional staff?**

Not good						Very good
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. a. How well do you think inmates get along with each other in general?

Not well						Very well
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

b. How well do you think **inmates and correctional staff** get along in general?

Not well						Very well
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

c. How well do you think **correctional staff** get along with each other in general?

Not well						Very well
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. a. How would you rate the level of conflict at the Edmonton Institution?

Very low						Very High
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

b. How would you rate the level of conflict at the Edmonton Institution compared to other places?

Very low						Very High
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

FINALLY, WE'D LIKE SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

13. What is your age? (eg. 36) _____

14. Do you consider yourself to be a member of a visible minority?

Yes 1
No 2

15. How would you describe your ethnic identity? (eg. *German, Ukrainian, Japanese etc.*):

16. What is the ethnic identity of your father's side of the family? (eg. *German, Ukrainian, Japanese etc.*):

17. What is the ethnic identity of your mother's side of the family? (eg. *German, Ukrainian, Japanese etc.*):

18. What were you convicted for?

Robbery or Armed robbery 1
Violent crime (assault) 2
Manslaughter 3
Murder 4
Sex offense 5
Other: (please specify) _____ 6

19. How long is your sentence? _____ years

20. How much of your sentence have you completed?

less than 1/3 1
about 1/2 2
about 2/3 3
I will be released within the next 3 months 4

21. What is the total time you have served over your lifetime? _____ years

22. Would you consider yourself to be a career criminal?

Yes 1
No 2

23. a. Would you consider yourself to be a repeat offender?

Definitely
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Not at all

b. Do you see yourself as being a leader among other inmates?

Definitely
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Not at all

c. How influential would you say you are among other inmates?

Very
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Not at all

24. What are your chances of going straight in the future?

Terrible
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Excellent

IF YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS YOU WOULD LIKE TO MAKE, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO DO SO:

Thank-you all for participating in this part of my study.

WE WILL BE PICKING UP YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE AT THE END OF THIS LOCK-UP.

I look forward to meeting with you to discuss the results of the questionnaire some time in the future. Thanks again!!!!!!

APPENDIX F

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA RESEARCH PROJECT

ATTITUDES AND COMMUNICATION IN A CORRECTIONAL SETTING

IF YOU WOULD LIKE HELP WITH ANY OF THESE QUESTIONS, PLEASE LET US KNOW.

Dear Participant:

My name is Jana Grekul. I am a graduate student from the University of Alberta, and I am conducting this study as part of my Masters thesis. The study is about attitudes, communication, and behaviour in a prison - you may have already seen the posters that have been put up throughout the institution.

I would like to thank-you all ahead of time for your cooperation in filling out this questionnaire. It is voluntary, but I would appreciate it if you would participate. I want to ensure you that other inmates, staff, and administration will **NOT** see any of the questionnaires and will not be handling them in any way. Only myself and an assistant will be handing out and collecting the questionnaires. My assistant's name is Colleen Everitt (some of you may know her from her work with the Lifer's Group). **I** am the only one who will look at the completed questionnaires. The questionnaire is **anonymous**; the only marks you need to put on it are circles - your name or handwriting is not necessary when filling out the questionnaire. After the information is gathered, all questionnaires will be **destroyed**.

I will be collecting the completed questionnaires from you at the end of the lock-up during which I have given them to you.

Thanks again for your help and cooperation. It is much appreciated. I encourage you all to fill out your questionnaire. I will be presenting the results from the questionnaires to you at a later date and hope that you will find them very interesting. Thank-you!!!

Yours sincerely,

Jana Grekul

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA RESEARCH PROJECT
ATTITUDES AND COMMUNICATION IN A CORRECTIONAL SETTING

Dear Participant:

My name is Jana Grekul. I am a graduate student from the University of Alberta, and I am conducting this study as part of my Masters thesis. The study is about attitudes, communication, and behaviour in a prison - you may have already seen the posters that have been put up throughout the institution.

I would like to thank-you all ahead of time for your cooperation in filling out this questionnaire. Participation is voluntary, but I would appreciate it if you would participate. The questionnaire is completely confidential and anonymous; I will not know the names of the people filling it out. After the information is gathered, all questionnaires will be destroyed.

With your questionnaire you will find a loonie. Although your time and energy in filling out this questionnaire is worth more to me than a dollar, this is all I can afford. So, it is not meant as payment for your help, but rather as a token of my appreciation.

Once you have completed your questionnaire, please put it in the box at the Main Gate. I would appreciate it if you could complete and return the questionnaire by March 18. If you have any questions or concerns, I can be reached at 475-0828 or by memo to Diane Leitch. Thank-you.

Thanks again for your help and cooperation. It is much appreciated. I will be presenting the results from the questionnaires to you at a later date.

Yours sincerely,

Jana Grekul

APPENDIX G

TABLE 1 How Inmates and Correctional Staff Personally Feel About the Hypothetical Situations

Scenario	Inmates		Correctional Staff		% Difference
	Approve	m	Approve	m	
Anger Mangt.	90%	5%	99%	0%	9%
Job	28%	6%	6%	2%	22%
Escape	61%	4%	97%	0%	36%
Drugs	52%	9%	3%	0%	49%
Riot	22%	4%	100%	0%	78%
Knife Fight	85%	4%	19%	2%	66%

Table 2 Inmate and Correctional Staff Perceptions of Inmate Approval

Scenario	Inmate Perception	Officer Perception	% Difference
Anger Mangt.	71%	55%	16%
Less Chal. job	61%	73%	12%
Escape	42%	33%	9%
Drugs	75%	85%	10%
Riot	16%	24%	8%
Knife fight	91%	94%	3%

TABLE 3A Differences Between Privately Expressed Inmate Attitudes and Inmate Perceptions for each scenario

Scenario	Private Inmate Approval	Inmate Perception of Inmate Approval	Difference Between Private and Perceived Opinions (of inmates)
Anger Mangt.	90%	71%	19%
Less Chal. job	28%	61%	33%
Escape	61%	42%	19%
Drugs	52%	75%	23%
Riot	22%	16%	6%
Knife fight	85%	91%	6%

TABLE 3B Differences Between Privately Expressed Inmate Attitudes and Correctional Officer Perceptions for each scenario

Scenario	Private Inmate Approval	CO Perception of Inmate Approval	Diff's Between Private & Perceived Inmate Opinion
Anger Mangt.	90 %	55 %	35 %
Less Chal. job	28 %	73 %	45 %
Escape	61 %	33 %	28 %
Drugs	52 %	85 %	33 %
Riot	22 %	24 %	2 %
Knife fight	85 %	94 %	9 %

TABLE 4 Inmate and Correctional Staff Perceptions of Correctional Staff Approval

Scenario	Inmate Perception	Officer Perception	% Difference
Anger Mngmt.	83 %	58 %	25 %
Less Chal. job	35 %	20 %	15 %
Escape	75 %	91 %	16 %
Drugs	8 %	8 %	0 %
Riot	80 %	94 %	14 %
Knife fight	23 %	20 %	15 %

TABLE 5A Differences Between Privately Expressed Correctional Officer Attitudes and Correctional Officer Perceptions for each scenario

Scenario	Private CO Approval	CO Perception of CO Approval	Diffs Between Private & Perc. CO Approval
Anger Mngmt.	99%	58%	41%
Less Chal.job	6%	20%	14%
Escape	97%	91%	6%
Drugs	3%	8%	5%
Riot	100%	94%	6%
Knife fight	19%	32%	13%

TABLE 5B Differences Between Privately Expressed Correctional Officer Attitudes and Inmate Perceptions for each scenario

Scenario	Private CO Approval	Inmate Perception of CO Approval	% Difference
Anger Mngmt.	99%	83%	26%
Less Chal. job	6%	35%	29%
Escape	97%	75%	22%
Drugs	3%	8%	5%
Riot	100%	80%	29%
Knife fight	19%	23%	4%

TABLE 6 How Correctional Staff and Inmates Personally Feel About the Hypothetical Situations

Scenario	Inmates		Correctional Staff		% Difference
	Approve	m	Approve	m	
Charge	22%	6%	87%	1%	65%
Defend	82%	6%	56%	3%	26%
No write-up	89%	6%	63%	0%	26%

TABLE 7 Correctional Staff and Inmate Perceptions of Correctional Staff Approval

Scenario	Inmate Perception	Officer Perception	% Difference
Charge	65%	80%	15%
Defend	34%	34%	0%
No write-up	47%	51%	4%

TABLE 8A Differences Between Privately Expressed Correctional Officer Attitudes and Correctional Officer Perceptions for each scenario

Scenario	Private CO Approval	CO Perception of CO Approval	Difference Between Private and Perceived Co Attitudes
Charge	87%	80%	7%
Defend	56%	34%	22%
No write-up	63%	51%	12%

TABLE 8B Differences Between Privately Expressed Correctional Officer Attitudes and Inmate Perceptions for each scenario

Scenario	Private CO Approval	Inmate Perception of CO Approval	Difference Between Private and Perceived CO Attitudes
Charge	87%	65%	22%
Defend	56%	34%	22%
No write-up	63%	47%	16%

TABLE 9 Inmate and Correctional Staff Perceptions of Inmate Approval

Scenario	Inmate Perception	CO Perception	% Difference
Charge	25%	19%	6%
Defend	77%	77%	0%
No write-up	84%	92%	8%

TABLE 10A Differences Between Privately Expressed Inmate Attitudes and Inmate Perceptions of that Approval for each scenario

Scenario	Private Inmate Approval	Inmate Perception of Inmate Approval	% Difference
Charge	22%	25%	3%
Defend	82%	77%	5%
No write-up	89%	84%	5%

TABLE 10B Differences Between Privately Expressed Inmate Attitudes and CO Perceptions of that Approval for each scenario

Scenario	Private Inmate Approval	CO Perception of Inmate Approval	% Difference
Charge	22%	19%	3%
Defend	82%	77%	5%
No write-up	89%	92%	3%