

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL CLIMATE

OF A PRISON

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OF A PRISON

by

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ABSTRACT

Ninety male prisoners and five females in a maximum security gaol in Risdon, Tasmania, together with 13 males in an associated medium security unit were tested using the Correctional Institutions Environment Scale (CIES). The sample (N=108) constituted 58% of the total number of inmates and results showed the major dimensions of the CIES to be substantially independent of background variables such as prisoner's age, intelligence, length of stay in the prisoner's unit at the time of testing and the total length of stay a prisoner had spent in all forms of institutions including special remand centres, boys' homes, etc. The CIES proved effective in characterising the psycho-social climate of internal sub-units and of the prison as a whole and comparisons were drawn with Moos' (1975) typology of juvenile correctional institutions. The simplest representation of the Tasmanian maximum security psycho-social climate proved to have a close fit to norms provided by Moos and drawn from 51 American institutions for adult males. A profile similarity measure, r_p , (Cattell, 1969) allowed deviancy measures to be made of individuals, which took count not only of the deviance of any prisoner from the group of which he was a part, but of that group's mean closeness of fit to group norms established by Moos.

The significance of the study for prison administrators and for the improved understanding of inmates prison experience is discussed and suggestions are made for future research.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

PRESENT RESEARCH

It is evident that man's environment influences his behaviour; hilarity is not well-expressed in a cathedral nor spontaneity in a court room. The relative contribution of various situations (cathedral or court room) to behaviour can be viewed from many different perspectives. In the past, investigators have tended to emphasize either person variables as in the case of the personality theorists (Cattell 1946), environmental variables as in the case of the behaviourists (Watson 1925) or their interactive effects (Hunt 1965).

The recent work of Moos (1973a) and his colleagues in the Social Ecology Laboratory at Stanford University has introduced a further conceptualisation of the mechanisms involved in modifying behaviour across situations. Moos (1974a) has formulated the notion of a psycho-social climate, which he construes as the 'personality' of an environment and which he portrays in terms of three major dimensions pertaining to personal relationships, personal development and system maintenance.

Moos (1973a) describes how environmental influences are implicit in an individual's perception of the extent to which he must conform to, or may expect support from

the environment. For example, the social environment may emphasize prompt obedience, rebellion, punctuality or freedom of individual initiative, etc. The characteristics of particular environments such as families, psychiatric institutions or military groups are uniquely different and impose dissimilar demands on behaviour. In particular, the unique quality of the prison organisation is that its members, the prisoners, are held against their will in conditions calculated to deprive them of liberty and with consequences which are against their best interests and, in fact, degrading. Moos (1975) has specifically investigated many types of prison environment and has provided descriptions of and a typology of such institutions based on the Correctional Institutions Environment Scale (CIES).

The present research is designed to apply the CIES to the measurement of the psycho-social environment of a maximum security prison in Hobart, Tasmania. Particular units or yards within that prison will be assessed to determine whether they differ between themselves and with respect to the overall prison environment. Specifically, it will be asked whether significant differences exist in psycho-social climate between the maximum security prison overall, the medium security prison and the women's prison. Differences between the five sub-units of the maximum security prison will also

be identified. This study will also designate 'deviant' individuals, that is to say, individuals who conform least to the psycho-social climate of which they are a part and will enquire into the possibility that such individuals may be more appropriately held in a sub-unit, whose psycho-social environment approximates more closely that of the 'deviant'.

The potential value of this research is considerable. If, indeed, each sub-unit inside this gaol possesses a unique psycho-social climate then interesting questions arise for future investigation. For instance, it may be asked whether such differences in climate exist over extended periods of time or whether they persist in the face of changes of inmates and/or staff.

In addition, the body of knowledge gained from the research will serve as a basis for discussion with members of the prison administration at all levels. The original design of this work called for prison officers to respond to the CIES and for their perceptions to be related to those of the inmates. Unfortunately, however, the writer's appeal for support, to the Prison Officers Association, was made without avail - a significant comment on the willingness of key members to participate in basic psychological research into the functioning of a prison, as well as on the social and political pressures to which prison

officers are subjected. Nevertheless the opportunity will be taken to provide feedback to staff members as the writer continues to address in-service training schools. Indeed, the information derived from this study should perhaps be regarded as a data base, against which future changes in administrative policy may be assessed. Within two years there will be constructed, within prison boundaries, a 30-bed psychiatric hospital unit, whose aim will be to provide treatment facilities to inmates with gross behaviour disorders. It will therefore be of significant value to re-administer the CIES following the inception of this facility.

CHAPTER II.

PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE ENVIRONMENT

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Psychologists have paid scant formal attention to the concept of environment until comparatively recently and even in a recent introductory text (Munn 1962, p. 503) appears a definition so broad as to be of limited value: '....(Environment is).... everything which surrounds the units of inheritance.'

Failure to incorporate the environment into a theoretical framework does not mean however that psychologists have been unaware of its implications. Rather, it seems that theorists have accepted the environment as a 'given', implicit in their particular understanding of perception. For instance, the pioneer associationist John Locke attributed primary qualities such as the solidity, form and motion of objects, to the external environment but claimed that secondary qualities of objects such as colour, sound and taste did not belong to external objects, but inhered in the mind itself. This attitude was presumably a reflection of the 'Zeitgeist' and contemporary attitudes towards scientific study, i.e., those attributes of matter which could be expressed in physical terms were of proper concern for science whereas certain intangibles were not. Precisely because they were intangible in physical terms they were relegated to the consideration of philosophers.

Titchener and the structuralists held that the primary data of psychology were obtainable by introspection under strictly controlled laboratory conditions. The possibility that introspection would, by its very nature, change the subjective experience did nothing to perpetuate the school nor did the realisation that certain data were not available for introspection. Certainly, the wider environment was not of great significance to the introspectionist view of consciousness.

By contrast Watson (1925) said: 'Conscious processes, if indeed they exist at all, cannot be scientifically studied.....' and ultimately placed his greatest emphasis on the role of the environment in the moulding of human behaviour. Watson recognised that predictions about the behaviour of the organism could be made from knowledge of relations between the organism and its environment.

Taking another view of perceptual experience, 'Gestalt' psychologists reacted against the structuralist search for psychological elements and against Watson's behaviourist rejection of introspection. Kohler (1929, p. 23) stressed that experience had a bipolar structure, consisting of the self and the environment, behaviour being directly regulated by both components. This point of view found relevant expression in the Gestalt

explanation of the 'phi' phenomenon of apparent movement. Two stationary slits of light, illuminated successively at particular intervals of time created in an observer the impression of movement. The explanation could only be found in the acceptance of the 'overall' situation and was not reducible to simpler sensations independent of the environment.

Yet another consideration of the person in his or her environment was taken by Lewin (1936). To read Lewin's expression $B=f(P.E.)$ is to anticipate that proper emphasis has been given to the environment, however closer examination reveals that Lewin's environment was a psychological environment - an abstraction which failed to take count of the non-psychological environment. For Lewin it was impossible to derive effects on behaviour from the ecological environment because such considerations were incommensurable with the concepts of an autonomous psychology. Barker (1976, p. 13) reports that Lewin was aware of this dilemma, that he understood perfectly 'the profound importance for people of non-psychological events; but despite their saliency for him personally, he could not incorporate them into a science of psychology, as he understood science.' Irreverent though it may seem, this viewpoint seems reminiscent of the drunk, who searched for his lost keys not where he dropped them but beneath a lamp where the light was better.

The dichotomy between the person and his environment was referred to by Wundt (1912, p. 197) who wrote 'for every piece of knowledge 2 factors are necessary - the subject who knows and the object known, independent of this subject' whilst over 40 years later Bridgman (1954, p. 37) opined: '.... it is in fact meaningless to try to separate observer and observed, or to speak of an object independent of an observer, or, for that matter, of an observer in the absence of objects of observation.' This point of view is shared by Ittelson (1976, p. 56) who spoke of '.... the inseparability of man and environment' and later '.... neither man nor environment is ever encountered, nor can either be defined independent of the other'.

Brunswick (1957, p. 5) wrote: '.... much as psychology must be concerned with the texture of the organism or of its nervous processes and must investigate them in depth, it also must be concerned with the texture of the environment as it extends in depth away from the common boundary.' More recent work which has attempted to analyze 'the texture of the environment' will be discussed in the following section of this introduction.

CHAPTER III.

ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

RECENT RESEARCH

Craik (1973, p. 403) in an initial review entitled 'Environmental Psychology' in the Annual Review of Psychology said: 'Scientific study of the interplay between human behaviour and its environmental settings has gathered considerable momentum during the last decade....'. Whereas the 'non-laboratory' environment was once regarded as 'noise' in relation to the observed 'signal' under observation and experimentalists attempted to minimize its effects, the necessity to generalise experimental results into the wider ecological environment has brought a new emphasis to research.

Exponents of many disciplines have contributed to a wealth of new research. Engineers, geographers, architects and many others have pointed up influences arising out of their specialist fields of study and many original contributions to the understanding of behaviour have been made. Some of these are discussed briefly below.

Altman (1973) differentiated between practitioner and researcher approaches to environmental research, i.e., whereas the practitioner focusses on places - the city, the hospital, the prison, the behavioural scientist examines process, e.g., privacy, territoriality.

Just as organisational psychology was once characterized by an examination of organisations with reference to particular models of man, i.e., the 'Economic Man' of Taylor (1911), 'Social Man' of Mayo (1945) or 'Complex Man' of Schein (1965), so environmental psychologists have taken a mechanistic model (McCormick 1964), a cognitive model (Stea-Downs 1972), a behavioural model (Barker 1963) and a social systems model (Altman, Nelson & Lett 1972) to account for man's behaviour in his environment.

To consider each of these, the mechanistic model was the model of ergonomics, of fitting the environment to the man. The concept of the 'man-machine system' required equipment to be designed around the sensory and physical limits of man. This was the age of the time and motion study, the analysis of factory environments, the planning of production systems, etc., etc. Whilst clearly beneficial in terms of engineering output, this was a sterile approach in human terms. Man was an extension of his machines and the business leader was exhorted to look after his personnel as lovingly as he maintained his capital equipment. The model effectively drew attention to many previous shortcomings in man's environmental relations and deserves acknowledgement but probably has little further to contribute.

The cognitive model of Stea & Downs (1972) did much to correct the mechanistic emphasis and directed attention to man's cognitions, perceptions and motivations. In line with psychologists' historical interest in the 'internal' states of man, the model included consideration of subjective emotions, attitudes and belief systems, inter-personal influences towards conformity, etc. 'Cognitive maps' were drawn of environments as they were subjectively viewed and the approach echoed aspects of the historical experimental approach to perception through introspection. Given the improved acceptance of, and nature of the tools available to enquire into attitudes, etc., today, this approach remains useful.

Barker's behavioural model emphasizes overt behavioural analyses. Barker (1963, p. 17) listed such behavioural episodes in respect of a young girl as 'Going close to the big girls ... Admiring bracelet on Alice ... Poking Alice ...' etc. Conceptualising these as molar units of natural behaviour, Barker distinguished such units from arbitrarily imposed divisions of the behaviour continuum and enquired as to the nature of the units of the ecological environments which encompassed such behaviour episodes. He then placed each episode in a space-time locus which he called a behaviour setting and demonstrated how particular behaviour settings elicited constant behaviour among changing

sets of people, i.e., a university, and how similar physical environments, with the same people could constitute different behaviour settings, e.g., a church during a routine church service and during a wedding. The utility of this approach whilst demonstrating the 'demand' qualities of particular environments would however appear to have limited application.

Altman, Nelson and Letts' (1972) social systems model had as its central theme, the notion that human inter-personal behaviour was part of a complex eco system in which it is not sufficient to say simply that environment affects behaviour but rather that the appropriate unit of study is the organism-environment unit. Altman et al spoke of the duality of the man-environment interaction and utilizing concepts such as privacy, territoriality and personal space, demonstrated how each implied an active, coping use of the environment by people, rather than a simple reactive response to environment stimuli.

Developing the model, Altman et al in an eclectic approach looked for a simultaneous integration of verbal and non-verbal behaviour with environmentally oriented behaviours such as furniture placements and stressed the inadequacy of considering behaviours at single 'levels' (e.g., subjective internal, overt verbal or environmentally directed). They offered this model as

a bridge between disciplines and stressed its flexibility in handling contributions from many sources.

The nature of the individual's perceptual responses to the environment has been examined by Ittelson (1973) in terms of five inter-related levels. Ittelson describes these levels as relating to affect, orientation, categorization, relationships and activity.

The first level of involvement is concerned with the emotional reactivity of the individual, with particular regard for the heightened effects of novelty. This is said to govern the further quality and nature of reaction to the environment and sets limits to the individuals expectations. Increasing familiarity dulls the emotional response.

Secondly, the individual is said to concern himself with physical orientation, most primitively in seeking out escape routes and avoiding environments with negative affect. The individual's comprehension of both positive and negative features provides a base for more detailed exploration.

The process of categorization, within the third level, proceeds unceasingly as concepts are formed, utilized, possibly discarded as they become redundant. It is stressed that at this level, the opportunity is

maximised for the individual to give full expression to his idiosyncratic needs, motivations, expectations, etc.

Fourthly, the individual proceeds to the examination of relationships. Sequential events are identified, causation is predicted and verified and a certain 'order' is set upon the environment yielding a constancy which continues in the face of changing events.

In all the preceding levels, the individual is never passive, but plays an active role both within and as part of the environment and integrates his actions with his perception of events to achieve his goals.

Each involvement of the person within each level adds to the inseparability of the individual and the environment and in fact Ittelson concludes his approach by speaking of the environment as 'an artifact, created in man's own image'.

This is remote from earlier attempts to dichotomize the man-environment entities or even to speak of their inter-relation. Rather than see either entity affecting the other in apparently causal ways, Ittelson points up the totality of the situation and the many ways in which an observer may attempt analysis. So, in fact, what is

seen as environment by one observer, may not be by another. The 'environment' becomes an open system, a process, having stable patterns of action which resist change, yet possessing a dynamic disequilibrium responsive to alterations in the mode of participation of its elements. Neither man nor his environment can ever be encountered independently of the other and a 'transactional' situation exists in which all parts of a situation enter into it as active participants, owing their very existence to the encounter.

A LINK WITH MISCHEL'S THEORY OF PERSONALITY

Ittelson's above conceptualisation of the man/environment continuum bears a significant likeness to Mischel's (1973) social learning approach to the concept of personality. In summary of that approach Mischel proffered three perspectives on the study of persons. Firstly he suggested an 'environmental conditions' approach to explain changes in individual performances across situations. Secondly he noted the effects of 'person variables' in mediating the effects of those conditions on the individual and finally drew attention to the 'phenomenological impact' of events on persons in terms of their subjective emotions, thoughts, feelings, wishes, etc.

Mischel emphasized that any ultimate concept of personality would have to take count of such perspectives

and felt that his social learning approach was indeed a step in that direction. Mischel's well known thrust is, of course, that behaviour is not substantively accounted for simply by reference to hypothesized underlying variables such as personality traits and attention must be paid to man's impressive ability to discriminate between situations in which behaviour occurs. Whilst not rejecting entirely the utility of broad dispositions or traits to predict behaviour across similar situations Mischel cautions against retaining the trait simply as a label and applying it in a predictive fashion across discrepant situations. Stressing the contribution of moderator variables to prediction, Mischel warns that to omit such moderators and therefore to omit their contribution to situational specificity, is to risk a loss of predictive ability.

Mischel (1973) hypothesized five person variables to account for how individuals uniquely interpret their environment and themselves generate complex behaviour patterns. These cognitive variables accounted for individual competency to construct diverse behaviours, individual encoding and categorisation of events, the individual's set of expectations concerning outcomes, the subjective values of those outcomes and the individual's self regulatory systems and plans. He saw the relation between behaviour and its environmental setting then as one in which the environment provided

the individual with psychological information which influenced and was influenced by the above person variables to yield a specific behaviour. Mischel recognized that in some circumstances, particular situations would exert powerful effects, whilst in others, person variables would be dominant. A 'powerful' situation would be one in which many persons are led to see the same event in the same way, to construct similar interpretations or transformations of stimuli, to induce similar expectancies in people, together with similar subjective values and to elicit similar behaviour. By contrast a 'weak' situation would lead to individual encoding patterns, dissimilar subjective values and varying behaviour. This type of hypothesized explanation accounts nicely for behavioural constancy of the type discussed by Barker (1963) and referred to above.

Mischel's work, together with that of Moos, has probably brought to an end the earlier apparently unceasing speculation about the relative contribution to behaviour of person variables and environmental variables.

Moos (1969) convincingly demonstrated the importance of interactive effects between persons and situations and later abandoned interaction studies because he considered the point well-made that

behavioural variance was primarily attributable to neither persons nor situations. In the words of Hunt (1965) the issue had become a 'pseudo question'. Moos went on instead to consider alternative conceptualisations of human environments with particular interest in their behavioural implications. He suggested six major groupings:-

1. Ecological dimensions.
2. Dimensions of organisation structure.
3. Personal characteristics of an environment's members.
4. Behaviour settings (refer Barker 1963, above).
5. Functional or reinforcement properties of environments.
6. Psycho-social characteristics.

Ecological dimensions are relatively gross and take count of climatic and geographical variables as each has modified human behaviour, e.g., it has been suggested that such environmental characteristics as harsh, mountainous terrain or arid desert may induce the development of such personality characteristics as stoicism or bravery while gentle sunny climes may give rise to indolence.

Organisation structure influences behaviour through such dimensions as size, span of control, number of levels in a hierarchy, etc., etc.

The sum of individual characteristics of persons within an environment is seen partly to define the influence of that environment and is passed on by cultural 'transmitters'. Astin (1968) developed the Inventory of College Activities (ICA) to gain information about average personal and behavioural characteristics of colleges by investigating the hours spent each week by students in following particular activities such as studying, attending lectures, playing sports, etc., etc. Differences between institutions on these measures suggested differential influences on students, e.g., some institutions demand high academic standards which implicitly demand relevant behaviour from individuals. Astin's work is associated with that of Holland (1966), who has enquired into the congruence of the individual's personality and the environment in which he works. Using six basic concepts (realistic, intellectual, social, conventional, enterprising and artistic) he classified people and environments in the same terms and has linked degree of congruence with vocational satisfaction, stability and achievement.

Functional or reinforcement properties of the environment are identified for individuals contingent upon certain behaviours. Schoggen (1963) defined Environmental Force Units (EFU's) as actions arising out of the environment and directed towards a child in

such a way that the child was influenced towards a recognizable 'end-state'. Schoggen measured the frequency of EFU emission by mothers and fathers, identified conflict EFU's in which the initiator and the child had different goals, etc., etc.

Wolf (1966) examined the potential within environments for the development of achievement motivation, verbal development, etc. and established a correlation of 0.69 between measured general intelligence of children and the degree of environmental intellectual 'press'.

In the context of correctional institutions, Cressey (1961, p. 1034) cautions against explanations of why prisoners and guards behave the way they do, couched in terms of personality traits and says: 'This kind of explanation diverts attention from study of the reciprocal relations between employees' activities and the activities of other persons, including offenders.' He later stresses that behavioural traits exhibited by staff members may be the properties of the organisation, not of the individual.

Emery (1970, p. 3) acknowledges environmental forces in much the same way ... 'The study of the common psychological characteristics of prison inmates is thus, in the first instance, a study of those forces impelling

the inmates towards greater control over their own affairs at the expense of staff control.'

Emery went on to list inmates perceptions of the prison experience as:-

1. Perceptions of deprivation, i.e., lack of access to alcohol, sex, personal possessions, freedom of association.
2. Perceptions of degradation, i.e., their status is one of social and moral inferiority, heightened at times by degradation ceremonies imposed by staff.
3. Perceptions of emotional tension induced by the seemingly unjust and unwarranted nature of the above deprivations and degradations.

The power of the environment to induce uncharacteristic behaviour in individuals has been well-emphasized by Zimbardo (1973) whose simulated prison experiment at Stanford University had to be abandoned after six days because both supposed guards and supposed prisoners had proved incapable of resisting environmental pressures to conform to role-expectations.

Moos' work on psycho-social aspects of the environment is also based on the notion of environmental 'press' and derives initially from the work of Murray (1938) who first formulated this concept in relation to the individual's personal 'needs'.

ENVIRONMENTAL 'PRESS' AND THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL CLIMATE

Murray (1938, p. 123) listed 20 needs, from abasement and achievement to the need for succorance and the need for understanding. To Murray, a need was ... 'a construct which stands for a force ... in the brain region; a force which organizes perception ... and action in such a way as to transform in a certain direction an existing, unsatisfying situation ... a need is ... provoked ... by the occurrence of one of a few commonly effective press'.

A 'press' was a quality of the environment which facilitated or impeded the individual in his progress towards a goal. Murray concluded ... 'One can profitably analyze an environment, a social group or an institution from the point of view of what press it applies or offers to the individuals that live within or belong to it ... furthermore human beings in general or in particular can be studied from the standpoint of what beneficial press are available to them and what harmful press they customarily encounter' (Murray 1938, p. 120).

Murray's list of press included categories such as Rejection, Unconcern and Scorn, Dominance, Coercion or Prohibition, Friendship or Affiliation and his model for behaviour was concerned with the interaction between personality needs and environmental press.

Pace and Stern (1958) developed the College Characteristics Index (CCI) which consisted of a number of true/false items related to college rules, emphasis on scholarship, cohesiveness, etc. and suggested that the concensus of students descriptive of their college environment actually constituted a measure of environmental climate which influenced their behaviour.

Stern (1970) extended the concept of press to institutions and spoke of 'inferred continuity and consistency in otherwise discrete events' i.e., the occurrence of discrete events in a university such as the maintenance of attendance records, the stipulation of deadlines for work, the requirement of neatness in presentation of work, or of tidiness in dress, may all add up to an environmental press for 'orderly responses' in most institutions.

Most recently in this area Moos (1973a) reports the development of the Institute Functioning Inventory by Peterson, Centra, Hartnett & Linn (1970) which yields 11 scales, representative of dimensions which

serve to differentiate between colleges and/or universities. Examples of the scales are:- human diversity, concern for undergraduate learning, concern for innovation, institutional spirit, etc., etc.

Moos and his colleagues have completed work in nine different social environments:-

1. hospital based psychiatric programmes;
2. community based psychiatric programmes;
3. correctional institutions for adult and juvenile offenders;
4. military basic training companies;
5. university student living groups;
6. junior high and high school classrooms;
7. social, task oriented and psychotherapeutic groups;
8. industrial or work milieus; and,
9. families.

Each environment has involved the development of Social Climate scales which are grouped into three broad categories of sub-scales, namely:-

1. Relationship dimensions which identify the nature and intensity of personal relationships in the environment.

2. Personal Development or Programme dimensions which assess particular directions along which personal

growth may occur for any class of environment, e.g., towards autonomy, personal status, academic achievement or recreational emphasis.

3. System Maintenance and System Change dimensions, similar for all nine classes of environment so far explored and of the type:- Order and organisation, programme clarity, degree of staff control, etc.

The nature and impact of research carried out using these social environment scales has been impressive as is demonstrated by the following:-

1. The Ward Atmosphere Scale (WAS) has been used to assess the treatment milieus of hospital based psychiatric treatment programmes (Moos, Shelton and Petty) 1973. Perceived ward climate was found to be related to treatment outcome. Wards that were most successful in keeping patients out of the hospital emphasized autonomy and independence combined with an orientation towards solving personal problems and tolerance towards the open expression of emotions.

2. The Community-Oriented Programs Environment Scale (COPES), (Moos 1972) has been used to assess the psycho-social environments of transitional community-oriented psychiatric treatment programmes and may have relevance for the ultimate selection of patients to suit programmes with particular characteristics, or for staff selection.

3. The Military Company Environment Inventory (MCEI) has looked at the different perceptions of officers and enlisted men, has drawn contrasts between different companies and has investigated the effects of stress on men (Moos 1973^b)

4. The Family Environment Scale (FES) (Moos 1974^a) has been developed to describe interpersonal relations within the family, personal growth patterns of members and the basic organisational structure of the family and has led to descriptions of families in such terms as 'High relationship and Low control', 'achievement oriented' and 'high conflict family'. The FES has highlighted parent-child discrepancies in perceptions of family members, has shown that there are no consistent sex-differences in perceptions of family social environments and has indicated lower conflict scores for three member families than for larger families.

The present research has utilized the Correctional Institutions Environments Scale (CIES) (Moos 1974^b) to investigate the psycho-social environments of several 'yards' inside a single maximum security prison and inside a medium security sub-unit of that prison.

CHAPTER IV.

METHOD

THE PRISON

Risdon Maximum Security Gaol was completed in 1961. Built entirely of reinforced concrete, it is completely surrounded by a 30 ft wall and is guarded by two towers, one 40 ft high and the other 70 ft high, diagonally placed to command a complete view of prison yards and walls. The towers can be entered only from outside the prison and each houses an officer armed with a rifle. Prison officers with rifles keep watch on the prison yards from strategically placed galleries above the prison workshops.

The prison is divided internally into seven yards each of 48 cells. Access between yards is limited and only short sections of gangways are opened by prison officers at any time. Each individual cell has its own lavatory, cold water supply, bed, desk, chair and cupboard. Radio is 'piped' in and prisoners are locked in their cells from 5.00p.m. until 7.00a.m. During each day many prisoners are occupied in carpentry, painting, tinsmiths or tailoring workshops. A bakehouse and laundry manned by prisoners provide supplies to Government institutions throughout Hobart.

During the testing period there were 185 prisoners held excluding those held in the remand yard awaiting sentence and those in solitary confinement. This meant that A yard was vacant and was being redecorated.

TABLE 1.

Percentages of Prisoners Tested - Risdon - All units.

Yard	Tested	Total Inmates	Approx. %
B	24	26	92
C	19	26	73
D	15	30	50
E	21	29	72
H	11	37	30
Med	13	32	41
Women	5	5	100
Totals	108	185	58

SUBJECTS

One hundred and eight prisoners were tested on the Correctional Institutions Environments Scale (CIES). Of these, five were female and held separately in the women's prison adjacent to the male maximum security gaol.

Of the 112 prisoners initially interviewed, six males were unable to read and were invited to attend a special test administration session at which the questions would be dictated. One man failed to attend

this session and two answer sheets were discarded because of (a) lack of understanding (on the Ravens 1938 Progressive Matrices he scored 16, equivalent IQ approximately 60-65) and (b) a 'patterned' response sheet. One additional response sheet was discarded because subject omitted name and other data.

Age Distribution

The age distribution of inmates is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2.

Age Distribution of Inmates.

Yard	19 & Under	20- 24	25- 29	30- 34	35- 39	40- 44	45- 49	50 & Over	n	Mean Age
B	5	12	1	4	1	-	-	1	24	25.1
C	7	6	3	-	-	2	-	1	19	25.2
D	3	5	4	1	1	-	1	-	15	25.9
E	8	4	5	3	-	1	-	-	21	23.9
H	-	2	2	3	4	-	-	-	11	30.6
Med	5	4	1	1	1	1	-	-	13	24.2
Women	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	5	27.0
Totals	31	33	17	12	7	4	1	3	108	25.5

Intelligence

Data was available from the Prison Education Officer on the measured intelligence of some (48.1%) prisoners. On the Raven's 1938 Progressive Matrices, raw scores ranged from 16 to 48 corresponding to IQ ranges of from 65-70, to 110-117. Details are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3.

Frequency Distribution of 1938 Ravens Progressive Matrices Raw Scores among Inmates.

Yard	Raw Score Range				n	N in Yard	% of Yard N
	15-20	21-30	31-40	41-50			
B	2	3	3	4	12	24	50
C	-	2	6	2	10	19	52.6
D	2	1	3	2	8	15	53.3
E	-	1	4	7	12	21	57.1
H	-	-	3	-	3	11	27.2
Med	-	2	4	1	7	13	53.8
Women	Data	not	available				
Totals	4	9	23	16	52	103	50.4

The obtained data were accepted as representative of the total population. There was no reason to suppose an uneven distribution of high or low scores among those prisoners for whom data were not available.

Length of Stay on Unit

All prisoners yielded data concerning the time each had spent in the yard to which they were attached at time of testing. Data are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4.

Frequency Distribution of Inmates' Length of Stay on Unit.

Yard	Length of stay on unit (months)							n
	1-6	7-12	13-18	19-24	25-30	31-36	37-42	
B	13	8	0	1	2	-	-	24
C	15	1	1	-	2	-	-	19
D	10	3	1	1	-	-	-	15
E	16	2	2	-	-	1	-	21
H	6	2	1	1	-	-	1	11
Med	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Women	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Totals	78	16	5	3	4	1	1	108

Total Length of Stay in all Institutions

All prisoners yielded data concerning the total time each had spent in all types of institutions, i.e. boys' homes, remand centres, other prisons. Details are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5.

Frequency Distribution of Inmates' Total Length of Stay in Institutions.

Unit	Total length of stay (months)						n
	0-48	49-96	97-144	145-192	193-240	241-288	
B	9	15	-	-	-	-	24
C	8	6	2	2	-	1	19
D	8	4	2	1	-	-	15
E	18	3	-	-	-	-	21
H	4	4	2	1	-	-	11
Med	10	1	-	-	1	1	13
Women	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
Totals	62	33	6	4	1	2	108

THE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS ENVIRONMENT SCALE (CIES)

Table 6 lists the nine CIES Form R sub-scales and gives brief definitions of each. The Involvement (I), Support (S) and Expressiveness (E) sub-scales are conceptualised as measuring Relationship dimensions. The variables measure the type and intensity of personal relationships among residents, and between residents and staff.

The sub-scales of Autonomy (A), Practical Orientation (PO) and Personal Problem Orientation (PPO) are conceptualised as personal development or Treatment Programme dimensions. Autonomy assesses the extent to which residents are encouraged to be self sufficient, independent, and responsible for their own decisions. The Practical Orientation sub-scale assesses the degree to which practical preparation is made for the prisoner's release in terms of job-training, etc., while Personal Problem Orientation assesses self understanding and insight.

The last three sub-scales of Order and Organisation (OO), Clarity (C) and Staff Control (SC) are System Maintenance dimensions and are all related to keeping the institution functioning in an orderly, clear, organised and coherent manner. The complete Form R of the CIES is to be found in Appendix B.

TABLE 6.

The Correctional Institutions Environment Scale (CIES)

Sub-scale Descriptions:-

<u>Relationship Dimensions</u>	
1. Involvement	measures how active and energetic residents are in the day to day functioning of the programme, i.e., interacting socially with other residents, doing things on their own initiative and developing pride and group spirit in the programme.
2. Support	measures the extent to which residents are encouraged to be helpful and supportive towards other residents, and how supportive the staff is towards residents.
3. Expressiveness	measures the extent to which the programme encourages the open expression of feelings (including angry feelings) by residents and staff.
<u>Programme Dimensions</u>	
4. Autonomy	assesses the extent to which residents are encouraged to take initiative in planning activities and take leadership in the unit.
5. Practical Orientation	assesses the extent to which the resident's environment orients him towards preparing himself for release from the programme. Such things as training for new kinds of jobs, looking to the future, and setting and working towards goals are considered.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 6. Personal
Problem
Orientation | measures the extent to which residents are encouraged to be concerned with their personal problems and feelings and to seek to understand them. |
| <u>System Maintenance Dimensions</u> | |
| 7. Order and
Organisation | measures how important order and organisation is in the programme, in terms of residents (how they look), staff (what they do to encourage order) and the facility itself (how well it is kept). |
| 8. Clarity | measures the extent to which the resident knows what to expect in the day-to-day routine of his programme and how explicit the programme rules and procedures are. |
| 9. Staff Control | assesses the extent to which the staff use measures to keep residents under necessary controls, i.e., in the formulation of rules, the scheduling of activities, and in the relationship between residents and staff. |

TEST ADMINISTRATION

Maximum Security: The CIES was administered on a group basis over 14 testing sessions conducted in a room which formed part of the prison education centre. Prisoners were asked to attend the room by the education officer who sought permission from the officer in charge of their work station.

On arrival in the room, prisoners were given an introductory talk on the need for research into prisons, were assured of confidentiality and their co-operation was sought. A total of four prisoners declined to participate. Two of these were unable to write and refused to attend the special session offered, one was a 'barrack-room lawyer' and the fourth simply unco-operative. Details of numbers of persons tested in each session, their reference numbers and other details are presented in Appendix A.

Separate testing sessions were conducted in the female prison and in the medium security block. The latter session resulted in the highest refusal rate of all sessions. This was undoubtedly due to several factors:-

- (i) The session could only be arranged after 5.00p.m. when all men returned from their work-stations, many of which were outside the prison precincts.
- (ii) The deputy governor chose to accompany the writer and effect introductions.
- (iii) The men were gathered together in their rest-room and in order to conduct the session, the TV was turned off.
- (iv) The group was too large. One or two dissenters were able to 'hold the floor' and spread their unwillingness.

- (v) Because this was a medium security unit and 'outside' work is undertaken by prisoners, the testing episode represented less of a diversion and rather more an imposition on the men.

This high rate of refusal was unfortunate and compares unfavourably with the rate for other units. Had circumstances been different so, it is probable, would have been the rate. Nevertheless the participation rate of 41% is acceptable. (1) This acceptance must be compared with that of H yard where it fell to 30% but for quite different reasons. H yard is sometimes described as a 'privilege' yard because inmates are allowed to stay up late, to watch TV, to remain out of their cells longer than others. The yard houses the 'service' crews of the prison, namely those employed in the cook-house and the bakery. Work is organised on a shift routine and the low attendance at testing sessions was more a reflection of this than a refusal to participate.

- (1) Moos (1975) offers 25% as being a minimal random sample but cautions against the use of volunteers. In the present study with the exception, as pointed out above, of M division, prisoners were detailed to attend the testing sessions by their work supervisors and were not selected, nor were they volunteers.

Following the introductory talk prisoners were informed of certain semantic assumptions inherent in the test. Particular word-usage was explained, e.g.,

residents	=	prisoners
correctional institution	=	prison
correctional unit	=	yard
day-room	=	mess room, dining room
staff	=	prison officers

Questions were permitted from prisoners who had difficulty and particular questions were found to have repetitive ambiguity for different groups, e.g.,

Q.5. 'There is very little emphasis on making plans for getting out of here' generated queries about escape. It was explained in the context of indeterminate sentences and parole applications.

Q.76. 'There is no resident government on this unit'. Prisoners were largely unable to conceptualize government of inmates by a representative group of prisoners.

CHAPTER V.RESULTS

In this section, results will be presented of the correlations of sub-scales with background variables such as age, length of stay on present unit, total length of stay in all institutions and intelligence. The opportunity will be taken to relate some of the findings to earlier investigations conducted by Moos and others. Because of the small number of female inmates ($N = 5$), data on background variables has not been included. Figures are based on Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficient $\rho (r_s)$ for which the general formula is $1 - \frac{6\sum d^2}{n^2(n-1)}$ and significance levels are based on a two-tail assumption of the distribution of scores on sub-scales.

Levels of significance were tested using Kendall's method quoted by Siegel (1956, p.212) employing a t test derived from the expression $t = r_s \sqrt{\frac{N-2}{1-r_s^2}}$

A significance level of $p < .05$ has been adopted throughout this study for the rejection of the null hypothesis.

Results are presented in Table 7 (Age), Table 8 (Length of Stay in Present Unit), Table 9 (Total Length of Stay in Institutions) and Table 10 (Intelligence).

Table 11 displays means and standard deviations of sub-scale scores for all male units together with those for Moos' normative sample.

CORRELATION OF BACKGROUND VARIABLES WITH CIES SCORES

Results of sub-scale correlations with age are summarised in Table 7.

Most noteworthy is that correlation of age with sub-scale SC in H yard. Its high negative value ($p < .01$) suggests a particularly low assessment of staff control by inmates of increasing age. H yard has privilege functions, which are discussed later in this report and residents who are generally older than average (refer Table 2) accept considerable responsibility for the preparation of meals, baking of bread, etc., etc., in which circumstances staff obviously yield control.

Two other correlations (sub-scale I and sub-scale E in B yard) reach significance at the .05 level but no causal basis for this seems apparent.

Certain negative trends are apparent for two sub-scales; PO is negative for all units, suggesting that with increasing age, a more negative view is taken of the practical orientation of the prison environment.

TABLE 7.

Correlation between CIES Form R Sub-scales and Age of Inmates.

Yard	N	CIES Sub-scales								
		I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC
B	24	0.431*	0.044	0.431*	0.013	-0.092	-0.035	0.066	0.117	0.222
C	19	-0.181	-0.097	-0.05	0.415	-0.172	0.371	-0.076	0.017	0.294
D	15	-0.455	-0.026	-0.076	-0.073	-0.033	-0.255	-0.17	-0.317	-0.44
E	21	-0.244	-0.138	-0.056	0.069	-0.235	-0.028	-0.071	-0.011	-0.218
H	11	-0.163	0.387	0.278	0.082	-0.504	0.496	0.305	-0.436	-0.759**
Med	13	-0.381	0.05	0.121	0.415	-0.335	0.033	-0.24	0.102	0.303

** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

Also, with one exception, (B yard), older inmates in all yards appear to perceive less involvement with their peers than do younger members.

These results are consistent with those of Moos (1975) who found only small correlations between age and sub-scale scores.

The correlation of CIES sub-scales and inmates' length of stay in their present unit at the time of testing are displayed in Table 8. Only two correlations achieve significance; sub-scale I in D yard ($p < .02$), and sub-scale E for H yard ($p < .05$). The former is negative, suggesting that the longer the inmate remains in that yard, the less involvement he experiences with his peers. In H yard, longer stay is associated with greater freedom of expression.

Certain trends seem apparent. Again sub-scale PO exhibits a negative trend with respect to length of stay in all units. The inference is that the longer an inmate stays in a particular yard, the more negatively he perceives the practical value of his daily routine in helping him plan for the future. Unhappily also, the longer he stays in one unit, the less his degree of involvement as demonstrated by consistently negative values of rho for sub-scale I.

TABLE 8.

Correlations between CIES Form R Sub-scales and Inmates' Length of Stay in Unit

Yard	N	CIES Sub-scales								
		I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC
B	24	0.183	-0.157	0.183	-0.184	-0.317	0.221	-0.242	0.032	-0.227
C	19	-0.166	-0.091	-0.38	-0.15	-0.419	0.019	-0.358	-0.44	0.345
D	15	-0.639**	-0.073	0.021	0.082	-0.355	0.057	-0.226	-0.208	-0.314
E	21	-0.216	0.26	0.2	0.081	-0.276	-0.138	-0.172	-0.227	-0.178
H	11	-0.563	0.013	0.686*	0.09	-0.277	0.268	-0.368	0.5	-0.41
Med	13	-0.096	-0.178	-0.28	-0.225	-0.401	-0.357	-0.013	0.01	0.208

** $p < .02$ * $p < .05$

Further, all yards show negative correlations with sub-scale OO - the longer an inmate resides in a unit, the greater the tendency to express dissatisfaction with its perceived order and degree of organisation.

The degree to which these three sub-scales PO, I and OO co-vary raises the interesting question of sub-scale intercorrelations. Moos is somewhat reticent on this issue. Pointing out how low are the intercorrelations for his juvenile sample, he makes brief mention in the CIES Handbook of the somewhat higher values for the adult male sample 'indicating a greater lack of differentiation within adult than within juvenile correctional establishments'. (p. 7). This question demands further investigation but the comparatively small sample size in this study renders such study inappropriate.

Correlation between CIES sub-scales and residents' total length of stay in all institutions are displayed in Table 9. The only correlations to achieve significance at the .05 level are for sub-scales S and A within Medium Security. As will be revealed later (Table 17) the average group perception of sub-scale S within M unit is particularly low so it is noteworthy that where such support is experienced within the unit, it is on the part of the residents who have been

TABLE 9.

Correlation between CIES Form R Sub-scales and Inmates' Total Length of Stay in Institutions

Yard	N	CIES Sub-scales								
		I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC
B	24	-0.219	-0.110	-0.065	0.093	-0.096	0.230	0.052	0.068	0.056
C	19	0.25	-0.074	0.307	0.407	-0.004	0.137	0.232	0.044	0.262
D	15	0.317	0.514	0.269	-0.1	-0.446	0.019	0.037	-0.037	-0.487
E	21	-0.283	-0.037	0.057	-0.152	-0.333	0.036	-0.188	-0.133	0.029
H	11	-0.559	0.236	0.109	0.131	0.409	0.063	-0.19	-0.031	0.154
Med	13	0.269	0.631*	0.134	0.568*	0.362	0.36	-0.06	0.164	0.035

* $p < .05$

institutionalized for the longest period. It is possible therefore that M division stands out for those persons as a unit offering considerably more support than do the wider range of institutions to which they have been exposed.

A similar anomaly exists in the case of sub-scale A. The high correlation suggests that whereas the overall perceived feeling of support by residents is not high in M yard (Table 17) such feeling as exists is again largely experienced by residents who have served longest in this and other institutions.

No overall trends seem apparent which suggests that in the main, the immediacy of current environmental press exceeds the effect of institutionalisation in the past.

Correlations between CIES sub-scales and inmates raw scores on Raven's 1938 Progressive Matrices are found in Table 10. Values of rho are not significant with the exception of those for sub-scales A and PO in D yard. In those instances, inmates feelings of autonomy and appreciation of the practical value of their setting is inversely related to intelligence.

The overall frequency of negative correlations would tend to suggest that this relation is widespread.

TABLE 10.

Correlation between CIES Form R Sub-scales and Inmates' Raw Scores on Raven's Progressive Matrices.

Yard	N	CIES Sub-scales								
		I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC
B	12	-0.272	0.06	-0.47	-0.248	-0.133	-0.15	0.132	-0.115	0.021
C	10	-0.38	0.139	-0.6	-0.478	-0.412	0.26	-0.49	-0.33	-0.03
D	8	-0.59	0.17	0.19	-0.809*	-1.00**	-0.44	-0.32	-0.132	-0.095
E	12	-0.09	-0.19	0.09	-0.017	-0.045	0.486	0.255	-0.08	-0.244
H	11	Insufficient data available.								
Med	13	-0.07	0.089	0	0.18	0.08	-0.232	-0.392	0.142	-0.053

* $p < .02$ ** $p < .01$

In substance then, results confirm Moos' original contention that sub-scale scores on the CIES are relatively independent of such background variables as have been examined above. These results are consistent with earlier findings by Moos (1975) and Wenk and Halatyn (1973).

The means and standard deviations of sub-scale scores for all Risdon units are displayed in Table 11, together with those for Moos' normative sample of 51 units.

There is good agreement between the normative values provided by Moos in the CIES handbook and those obtained from Risdon. In the case of Male inmates all means (see Table 11) are within 0.4 raw score points of Moos' norms with only two exceptions: on sub-scale E the difference is 0.64 raw score units and on sub-scale PO the difference amounts to 1.27 units.

TABLE 11.

Means and Standard Deviations of CIES Form R Sub-scales for Risdon Male Units compared with Moos' norms.

CIES Sub- scale	B Yard		C Yard		D Yard		E Yard		H Yard		Med.Sec.		All units N = 6		Moos N = 51	
	\bar{X}	S.D.	\bar{X}	S.D.	\bar{X}	S.D.	\bar{X}	S.D.	\bar{X}	S.D.	\bar{X}	S.D.	\bar{X}	S.D.	\bar{X}	S.D.
I	5.08	1.63	4.15	1.81	2.6	2.32	4.47	2.4	3.18	1.69	5.84	3.57	4.22	1.09	4.01	1.24
S	2.96	1.21	2.31	1.15	3.46	1.58	4.09	2.4	2.63	1.43	1.92	1.54	2.89	0.72	3.27	1.19
E	3.29	1.47	3.1	1.45	3.4	1.02	3.33	1.83	3.63	2.63	3.76	2.26	3.41	.21	2.77	1.22
A	2.33	1.47	2.68	1.45	3.27	1.77	2.86	1.98	2.18	1.40	2.61	1.82	2.65	.24	2.60	1.45
PO	3.5	1.55	4.57	1.98	4.0	1.86	4.61	2.01	2.90	1.44	4.23	1.88	3.96	0.60	5.23	1.19
PPO	3.08	1.27	2.78	1.67	2.6	1.2	3.86	1.24	3.90	1.23	3.07	1.54	3.21	0.49	3.57	1.23
OO	3.58	1.90	3.42	1.9	3.8	1.72	5.43	2.4	3.36	1.77	5.46	2.2	4.17	0.90	3.77	1.54
C	2.21	1.23	2.42	1.88	3.27	1.56	4.05	1.94	2.18	1.62	3.23	1.57	2.89	0.68	3.22	1.04
SC	5.96	1.62	6.1	1.25	6.13	1.7	6.95	1.58	5.63	2.18	6.61	1.21	6.23	0.43	6.60	1.09

CLINICAL INTERPRETATION OF UNIT PROFILES

The CIES has been designed to make possible the clinical description of any prison environment in terms of nine sub-scales contributing to three major dimensions. Any environment may be represented in graphical terms as has been done for all Risdon male units in Figures 1 - 6 and for combinations of units in Figures 7 and 8. Tables 12 - 17 provide transformations from raw score means to standard scores (1) while Table 18 summarises the relative contribution to variance of each sub-scale for each unit.

Table 12 provides values and Fig. 1 reveals a profile for B yard which deviates quite markedly from the norm. Greatest variation occurs on sub-scale PO, which as Table 18 indicates, contributes most of the variance in B yard.

TABLE 12.

CIES Form R Unit Mean Raw Scores and Standard Scores - Adult Males - Unit B.

	Subscale								
	I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC
\bar{X}	5.08	2.95	3.29	2.33	3.5	3.08	3.58	2.21	5.96
S.S	58	47	54	48	36	46	49	41	44

- (1) Moos (1975) standardised his sub-scales so that the mean value of his normative sample of 51 correctional units was given a standard score value of 50 and 1 standard deviation was made equivalent to 10. His published standard scores do not permit interpolation of raw score means at other than intervals of 0.5 hence all standard scores in this study have been re-calculated to yield values which more closely reflect the information available.

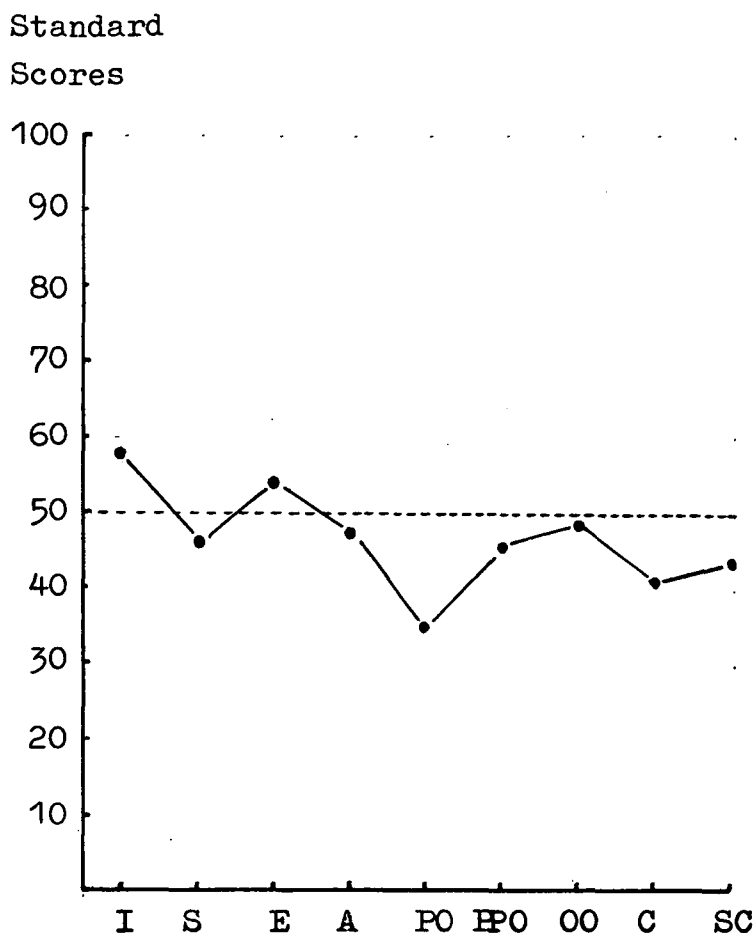


Fig. 1. CIES Form R Profile for Residents on B Yard.

Clearly, the practical orientation (PO) of the prison programme is perceived in a very negative fashion by inmates of this unit, more so in fact than in all other units save one (H Yard) which will be discussed later. Involvement (I) is above the mean as is Expressiveness (E) but these positive features are small by comparison with the negative features expressed in the System Maintenance dimensions where Clarity (C) is at a level indicative of considerable

lack of understanding on the part of residents in terms of what staff expect of them during daily routines.

Unit mean raw scores and standard scores for C Yard are to be found in Table 13.

TABLE 13.

CIES Form R Unit Mean Raw Scores and Standard Scores - Adult Males - Unit C.

	I	S	E	A	Sub-scale		OO	C	SC
					PO	PPO			
\bar{X}	4.15	2.31	3.10	2.68	4.57	2.78	3.42	2.42	6.10
S.S	51	42	53	51	45	44	48	42	45

The profile of this yard (Fig. 2) conforms most closely with that of Moos' norm. Deviations are small and are relatively equal across system maintenance and programme dimensions. Greatest variance (Table 18) occurs on sub-scale S contributing to the relationship dimensions where support is perceived as low. That residents perceive the application of formal rules by staff with uncertainty is suggested by the low value of sub-scale C.

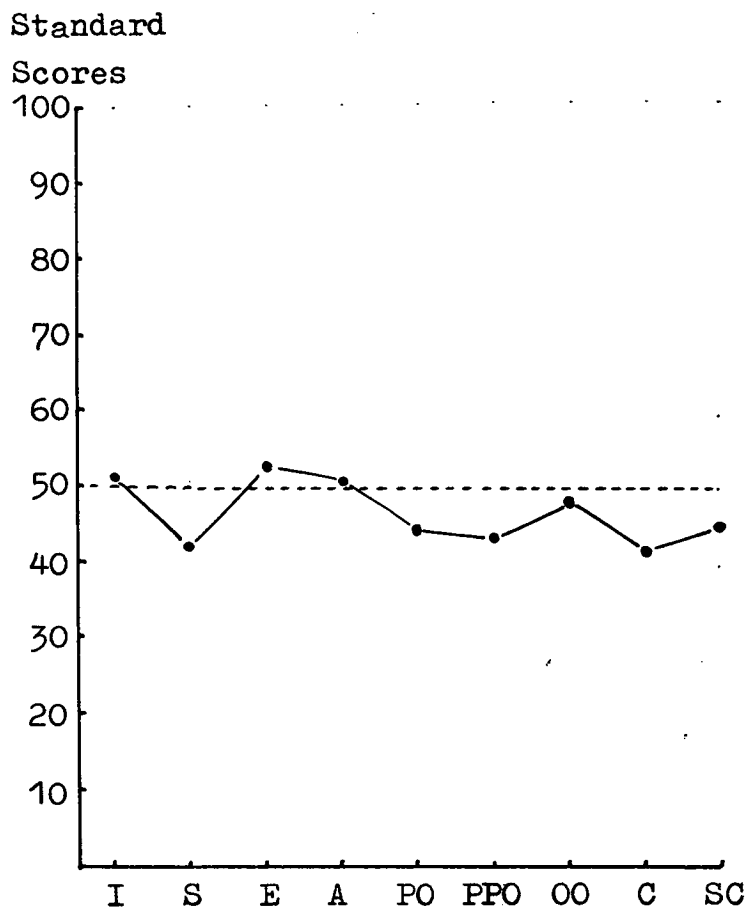


Fig. 2. CIES Form R Profile for Residents on C Yard.

Unit mean raw scores and standard scores for D Yard are to be found in Table 14.

Table 14.

CIES Form R Unit Mean Raw Scores and Standard Scores - Adult Males - Unit D.

	Sub-scales								
	I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC
\bar{X}	2.66	3.46	3.4	3.26	4.0	2.6	3.8	3.26	6.13
S.S	39	52	55	54	40	42	50	50	46

Greatest shifts from the norm occur on programme dimensions (Fig. 3) with particular emphasis again on the low perceived quality of Practical Orientation (PO) while the widest swing from Moos' sample occurs on sub-scale I suggesting low interpersonal involvement in conducting day to day activities.

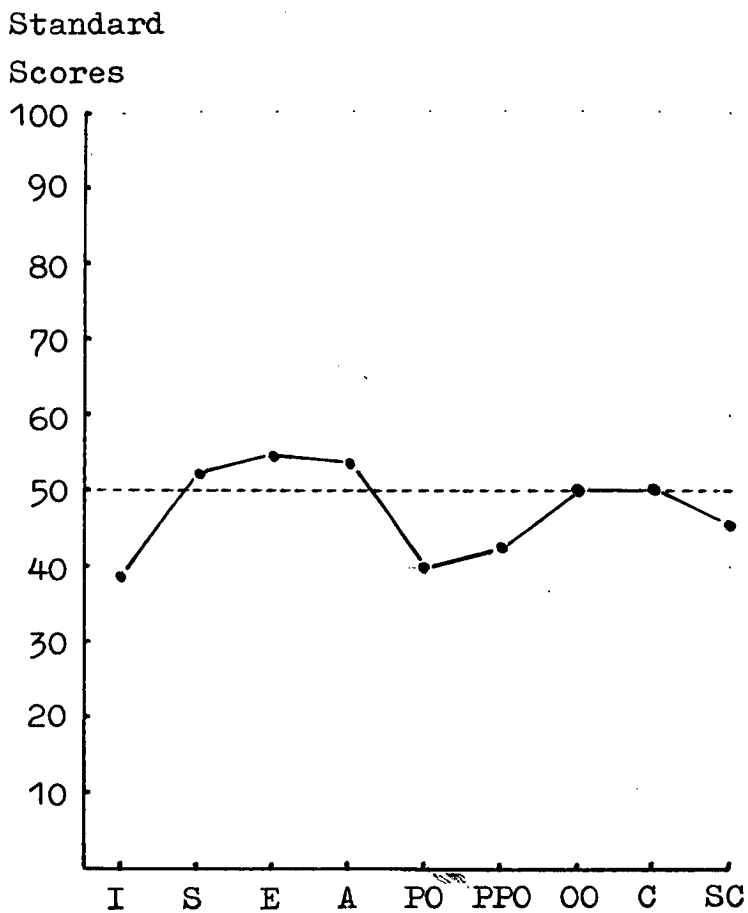


Fig. 3. CIES Form R Profile for Residents on D Yard.

Unit mean raw scores and standard scores for E Yard are to be found in Table 15.

TABLE 15.

CIES Form R Unit Mean Raw Scores to Standard Scores -
Adult Males - Unit E.

	I	S	E	A	Sub-scale		OO	C	SC
					PO	PPO			
\bar{X}	4.47	4.09	3.33	2.86	4.61	3.86	5.43	4.05	6.95
S.S	54	57	55	52	45	52	61	58	53

A profile (Fig. 4) with considerable emphasis on Order and Organisation and above average understanding of Rules and procedures (high C). Only the Practical Orientation sub-scale is scored below the mean and even that constitutes the highest score for any unit on PO. E Yard is in fact used principally to house first offenders and their higher than average perception of staff control and other system maintenance dimensions is probably consistent with a first experience of imprisonment.

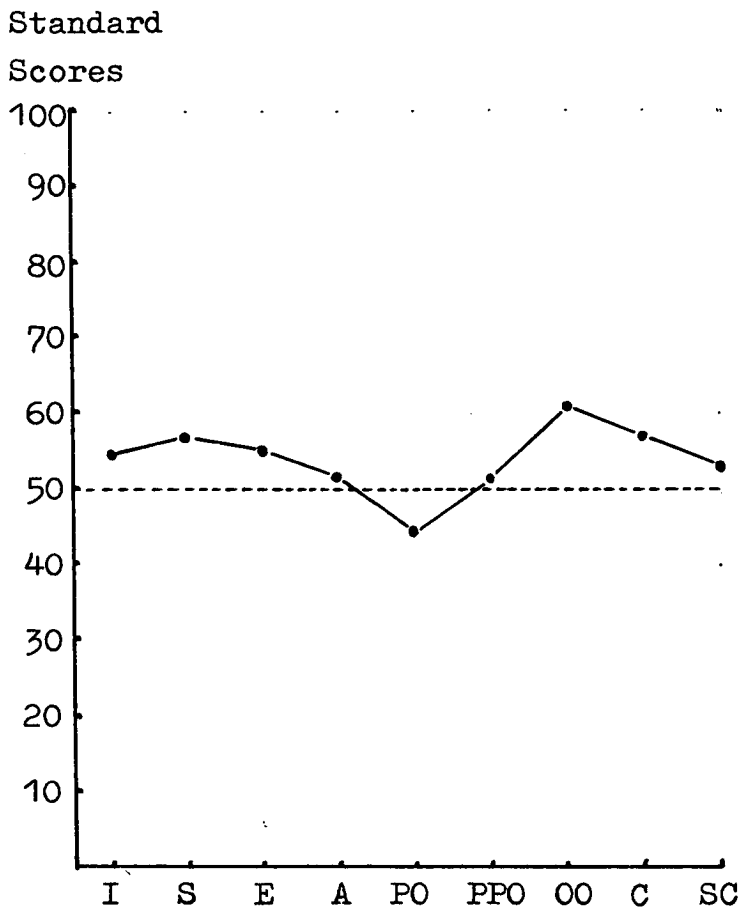


Fig. 4. CIES Form R Profile for Residents of E Yard.

Unit mean raw scores and standard scores for H Yard are to be found in Table 16.

TABLE 16.
CIES Form R Unit Mean Raw Scores to Standard Scores - Adult Males - Unit H.

	I	S	E	A	Sub-scale		O	C	SC
					PO	PPO			
\bar{X}	3.18	2.63	3.63	2.18	2.90	3.9	3.36	2.09	5.64
S.S	43	45	57	47	31	53	47	39	41

A profile (Fig. 5) showing the greatest deviance from Moos' norms and with particular negative emphasis on PO and C. Residents perceive above average freedom to express their feelings but experience low involvement and support. H Yard is designated a 'privilege' yard and houses inmates who provide services to the prison, e.g., cooks, kitchen helpers, bakers, individuals with responsibility to prepare food snacks, cups of tea, etc. for staff. More flexibility in daily routines is therefore allowed and residents may watch TV over extended hours, spend less time in their individual cells, retire later at night, etc. It is perhaps surprising therefore that their daily routine is seen as having low practical orientation, however in a 'wider than prison' context this does seem a more appropriate evaluation. The greater acceptance of expressiveness is possible also associated with the presumed insistence one would expect on conformity with deadlines and the natural pressures which would develop from time to time in service demands. Perhaps surprisingly the profile reveals the lowest estimation of order and organisation (OO) throughout Risdon and also but less surprisingly the lowest perception of staff control (SC).

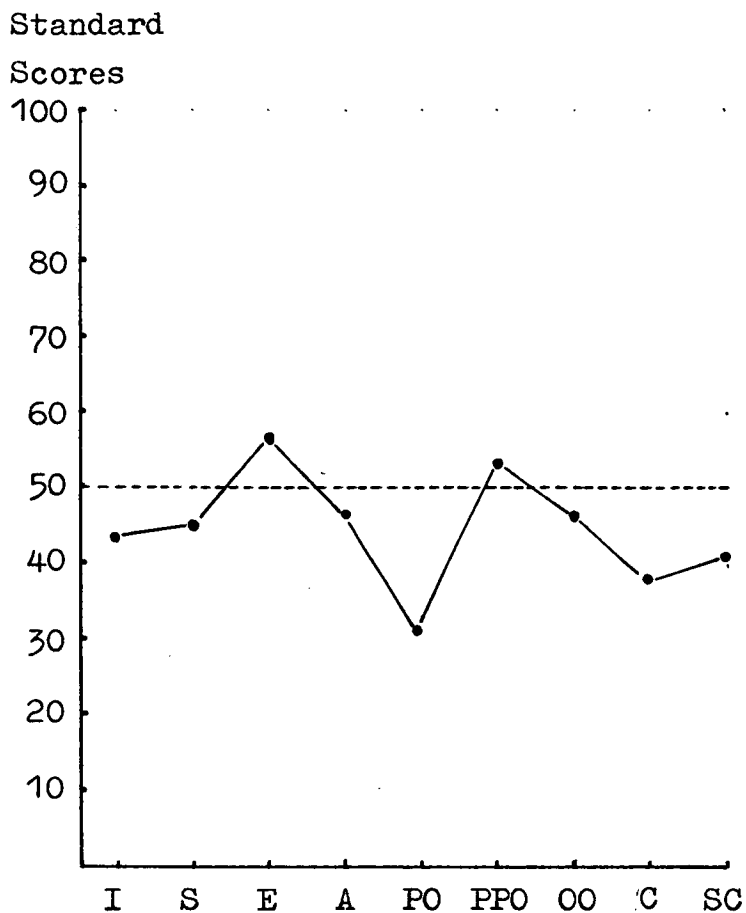


Fig. 5. CIES Form R Scores for Residents on H Yard.

Unit mean raw scores and standard scores for the Medium Security unit are to be found in Table 17.

TABLE 17.

CIES Form R Unit Mean Raw Scores to Standard Scores - Adult Males - Unit M.

	Sub-scale								
	I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	O	C	SC
\bar{X}	5.84	1.92	3.76	2.61	4.23	3.07	5.46	3.23	6.61
S.S	64	38	58	50	42	46	62	50	50

M Division is a unit separate and distinct from the Maximum Security Units B, C, D, E and H and deviates greatly from the norm.

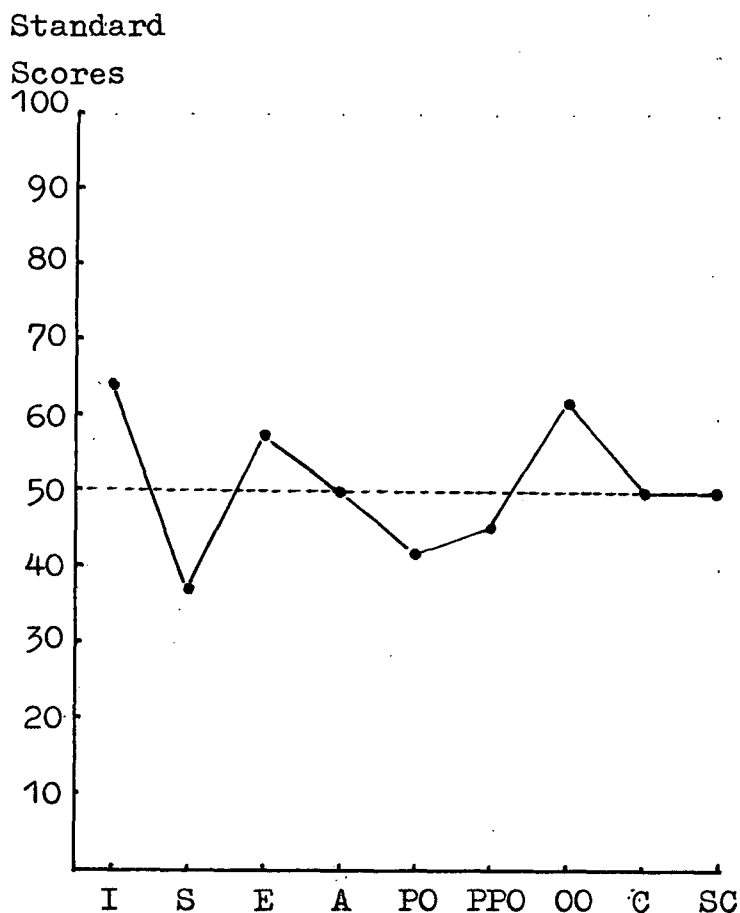


Fig. 6. CIES Form R Profiles of Residents in Medium Security Unit.

Most marked are the sub-scale variances contributing to Relationship dimensions, i.e., high I, low S and moderately high E. Though much daily work is conducted outside the prison and among the wider

community in Hobart, the daily routine is still perceived as having little practical orientation but in contrast, the degree of order and organisation is perceived as high - probably a response to the extent to which formal security considerations must still be maintained, i.e., adherence to strict timetables for delivery and pick-up of prisoners at community work-sites. The high score on involvement reflects the more social nature of M division which possesses a single 'common-room' where all residents may meet, watch TV and socialize until 8.30 each evening - a stark contrast to maximum security yards where each man is returned to his own cell and locked up for the night before 5.00p.m.

The relative contribution to variance made by each sub-scale for each unit, is shown in Table 18. A relatively even spread of variance is found between the three major dimensions, i.e., personal development, programme and system maintenance. Overall, the greatest contribution to variance is made by the sub-scale PO, indicative that throughout the prison, a poor opinion is held by prisoners of the practical value for them, of the work they are engaged in.

TABLE 18.

Contribution to variance within yards by each sub-scale.

Unit	Sum of squared differences from Moos' norms in S.D. units.									Totals
	I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC	
B	.74	.07	.18	.03	2.11	0.15	0.15	0.94	0.08	4.6
C	.01	.65	.07	.004	.30	.41	.05	.59	.21	2.02
D	1.29	.02	0.27	.02	1.06	.62	.0004	.0016	.18	3.67
E	.137	.47	.21	.03	.27	.05	1.16	.64	.1024	3.07
H	.44	.29	.49	.08	3.8	.07	.07	1.18	.77	7.22
M	2.18	1.29	.66	.00005	.71	.16	1.21	.0001	.00008	6.21
	4.79	2.78	1.88	.344	8.25	1.46	2.64	3.35	1.34	
	9.45			10.05			7.33			

THE SIMILARITY OF UNIT PROFILES

As a first step towards analyzing the similarity of Risdon unit profiles to Moos' norm, scores for all units except the Women's were combined and are displayed in Table 19.

TABLE 19.

CIES Form R Raw Score Means of Combined Units
B, C, D, E, H and M. Adult Males.

	Sub-scales								
	I	S	E	A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC
\bar{X}	4.28	3.12	3.37	2.66	4.03	3.20	4.17	2.89	6.26
S.S	52	49	55	50	40	47	52	47	47

The profile for the combined groups confirms the overall emphasis on inmates negative evaluation of PO and the slightly raised value of E but otherwise is a quite close approximation to Moos' norm (see Fig. 7.).

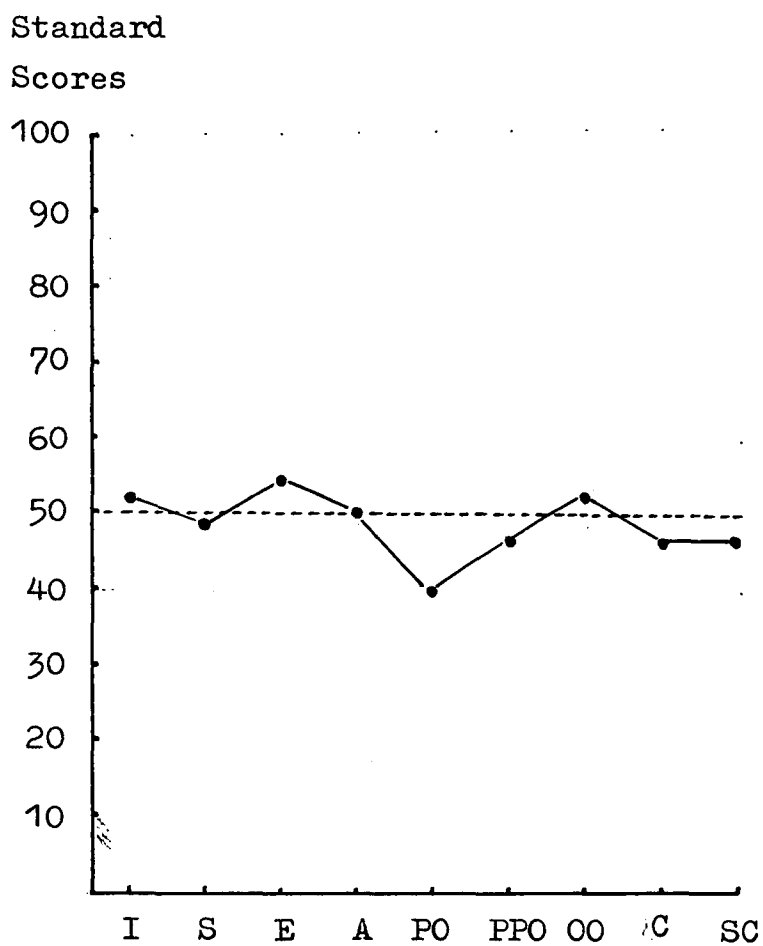


Fig. 7. CIES Form R Profile for Combined Units
B, C, D, E, H and M. Adult Males.

This degree of similarity has been expressed quantitatively in Table 20. Figures relate to Cattell's (1969) statistic r_p or profile similarity coefficient (1) and indicate that units B, C, D and E are similar to Moos' norm at highly significant levels while H Yard bears little similarity and M Division is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 20.

Similarity of Risdon Units Profiles Based on CIES Form R Means to Moos' Norms.

Unit	B	C	D	E	H	Med
Sum of squared differences across scales.	4.60	2.02	3.67	3.07	7.22	6.21
Profile Similarity Coefficient r_p .	0.56**	0.78***	0.63***	0.68***	0.39	0.45*
Combined sum of squared differences r_p .	Maximum Security Units incl. Privilege Yard H.					
			1.88			-
			0.79			-
Combined sum of squared differences r_p .	Maximum Security Units alone.					
			1.21		-	-
			0.86		-	-

*** p .01

** p .02

* p .05

$$(1) \quad r_p = \frac{2k^1 - d^2}{2k^1 + d^2} \quad \text{where } k^1 \text{ is the median chi square}$$

value for k degrees of freedom, i.e. for the number of elements (k) in the profile. In this study k=9. In calculating the profile resemblance of two groups, values of d are expressed in sigma units characteristic of the means of groups under comparison, in this case each Risdon unit is compared with Moos' normative sample of 51 units.

The relative dissimilarity of H and M units may probably be attributed to their privilege function. If indeed, M Division figures are removed from the sums of squared differences for each scale from Moos' norms across all units, then r_p is increased to .79.

Though H unit lies inside the maximum security complex, its daily routines are dissimilar as outlined above and if, then, H Yard figures are extracted on the philosophical basis that H Yard really constitutes an anomaly within a maximum security complex, then r_p is increased again to .86.

Clearly then, units B, C, D and E are similar to each other and similar to the norm for units provided by Moos. Units H and M are dissimilar (note comparative variances in Table 18 and also that r_p for M Division only just reaches significance at the 5% level) and H varies considerably more from the norm than does M Division.

TABLE 21.

CIES Form R Raw Score Means of Combined Units
B, C, D and E. Adult Males.

	I	S	E	Sub-scales					
				A	PO	PPO	OO	C	SC
\bar{X}	4.22	3.20	3.27	2.73	4.15	3.12	4.07	2.94	6.29
S.S	51	50	54	51	41	46	52	48	48

For this reason it seems appropriate to combine the means for units B, C, D and E and regard them as a summary for Risdon Maximum Security Units 'uncontaminated' by H Yard - the privilege yard. Table 21 gives values and Fig. 8 reveals the profile for this combination.

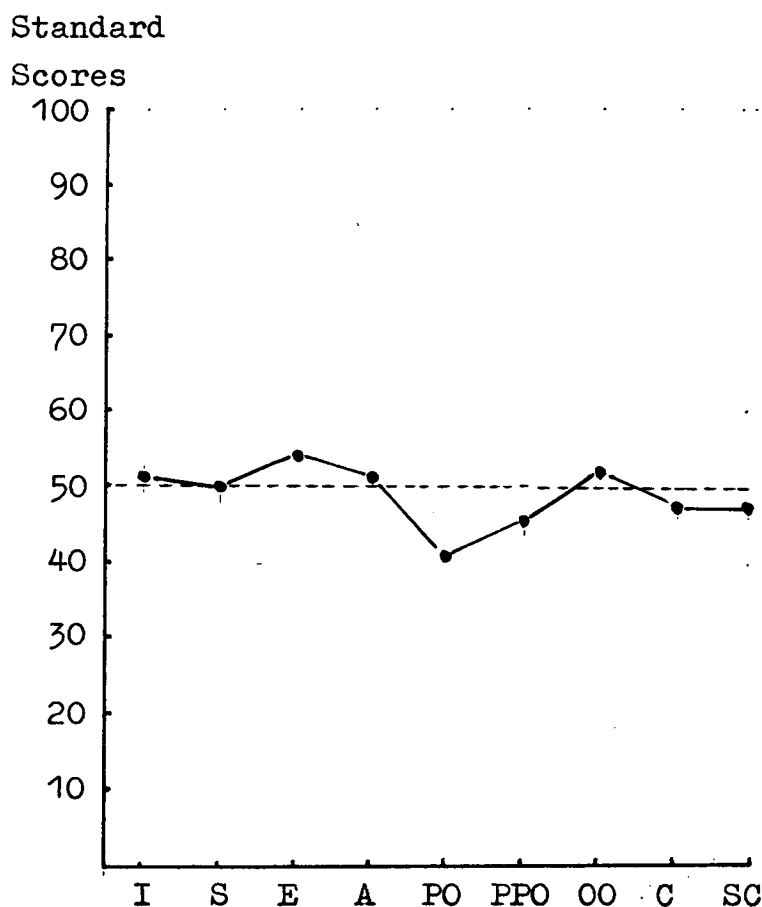


Fig. 8. CIES Form R Profile for Risdon Maximum Security Units B, C, D and E.

The profile shows the closest resemblance to Moos' norm and is marked only by the low value placed on Practical Orientation by the unit's residents. Though made up of only four units, this profile may be regarded as the simplest representation of the psychological environment to be found in Risdon Maximum Security units as a whole.

For comparative purposes, the means and standard deviations of the Risdon Maximum Security group comprising units B, C, D and E are shown in Table 22 alongside those of Moos' norms.

TABLE 22.

Means and Standard Deviations of CIES Form R Sub-scales for Combined Maximum Security Units B, C, D and E. Adult Males.

Sub-scale	Risdon Units N=4		Moos' Norm N=51	
	\bar{X}	S.D	\bar{X}	S.D.
I	4.07	0.94	4.01	1.24
S	3.20	0.65	3.27	1.19
E	3.28	0.11	2.77	1.22
A	2.78	0.33	2.60	1.45
PO	4.17	0.45	5.23	1.19
PPO	3.08	0.48	3.57	1.23
OO	4.05	0.80	3.77	1.54
C	2.98	0.73	3.22	1.04
SC	6.28	0.38	6.60	1.09

Moos' norms were based on 51 units, amongst which were a wide variety of institutional types including barracks, vocational farms, honour units, psychiatric treatment facilities and cell units. Risdon Maximum Security therefore would appear to fit somewhere near the centre of that institutional spectrum.

Finally, unit H and unit M were each compared with the Risdon Maximum Security norms and the resultant values for r_p were $-.29$ and $-.296$ respectively. Both figures failed to reach significance showing a low degree of similarity with the maximum security units and their negative direction gives added point to this comparison.

It must be noted, however, that because of the very small number of units in the Risdon Standard ($N=4$) the standard deviations are small and therefore variances about the means of sub-scales within H yard and M yard tend to be large by comparison, thus tending to produce a large sum of squared differences and small coefficients of profile similarity.

DEVIANT INDIVIDUALS

In this context, deviant is understood to describe the inmate of any unit who perceives his psycho-social environment in a way characteristically different from the way in which it is perceived by the majority of others in his group.

Essentially, and again using Cattell's (1969) profile similarity coefficient r_p , a comparison has been drawn between the idiosyncratic profile of every individual and the group profile for his particular unit. In doing this it was necessary to take into

account not only how the individual differed from his group (d) but how that group differed from the larger population group represented by Moos' norms (D). (1)

The individuals recognised by this method are identified in Table 23.

It is noteworthy that of a total of 27 individuals identified as deviant, 23 are deviant in a negative direction, i.e., each one differs from his group more than that group differs from the population mean. By contrast, only three individuals, all in H yard, are deviant in the reverse or positive direction. That is to say, they differ from their own group much less than that group differs from the wider population, in other words, these positively deviant individuals are closer to group consensus than are those others who are negatively deviant.

Because H yard is the yard with least resemblance to Moos' norms, i.e., it displayed most deviance, then it is more likely that any individual should have larger differences from his group means. Those individuals with positive values for r_p however have least differences.

$$(1) \quad r_p = \frac{(2k^1 + D^2) - d^2}{(2k^1 + D^2) + d^2}$$

This finding is worthy of greater attention and will be returned to later in the discussion.

TABLE 23.
Frequency and Distribution of 'Deviant' Individuals

Unit	<u>Number of Individuals</u> <u>Significance Level</u>			Total	No. in Unit	% of Unit
	.01	.02	.05			
B	-	1	1	2	24	8
C	2	3	3	8	19	42
D	1	0	3	4	15	27
E	6	0	2	8	21	38
H	1*	1	2*	4	11	36
M	1	0	0	1	13	7
Totals				27	103	26

* Only these individuals displayed positive deviance. They are identified by reference number in Appendix C.

THE WOMEN'S PRISON

Separately constituted, in a building which is constructed adjacent to the main prison workshops, the female unit is essentially under separate control though, of course, overall responsibility for the unit lies with the Comptroller of the whole institution.

Throughout the above results, no reference has been made to this unit because comparisons must be made within Moos' female norms. Passing reference to differences between this and the male units would be of only loose significance. The number of females present at any time is always small. Though the unit has the capacity to house some 24 persons, it is rare to find more than six individuals present.

In this section basic comparisons will be drawn with Moos' norms but because of the extremely low numbers involved (n=5) these must be interpreted with caution. Mean and standard scores are found in Table 25.

TABLE 25.

CIES Form R Raw Score Unit Means and Standard Scores - Adult Females.

	I	S	E	A	Sub-scales		OO	C	SC
					PO	PPO			
\bar{X}	7	5.2	2.8	3.4	4.8	3.4	9.0	6.2	7.2
S.S	59	57	39	41	43	43	83	69	65

The profile (Fig. 9) shows considerable deviation from Moos' female norms.

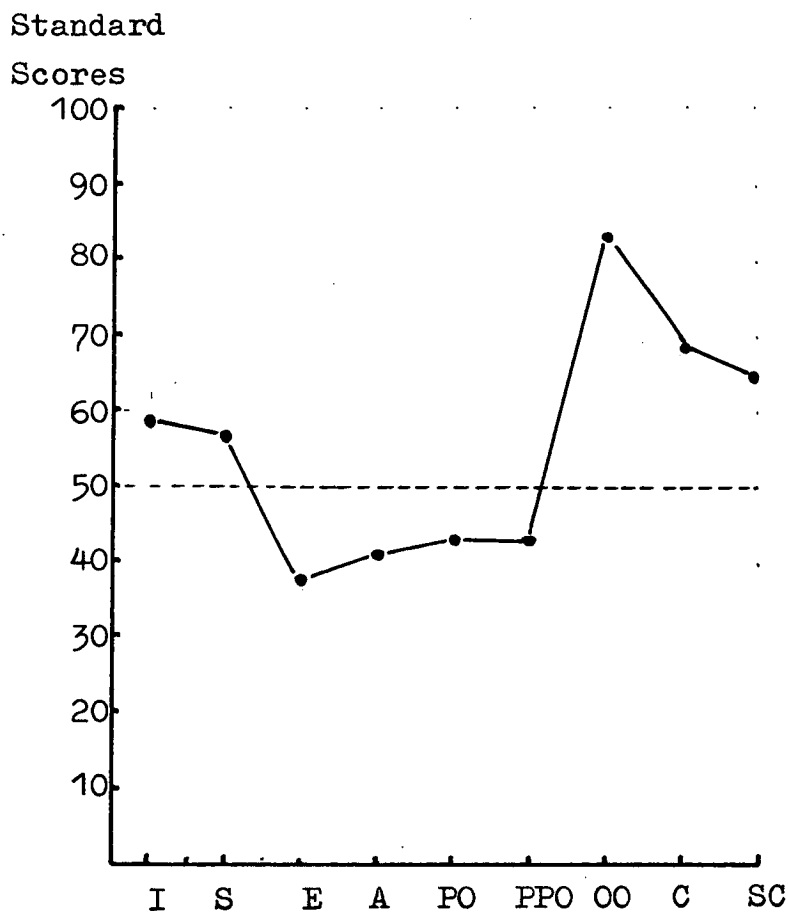


Fig. 9. Form R Profile for Females in Women's Unit.

Outstanding is the perceived degree of Order and Organisation (OO) of Clarity of Procedures (C) and of Staff Control (SC). Markedly low are the programme dimensions of Autonomy (A), Practical Orientation (PO) and Personal Problem Orientation (PPO) as was generally the case in the Male units. Whilst Involvement (I) and Support (S) receive above average ratings, the low perception of Expressiveness (E) suggests that the

females find little opportunity to express their real feelings within the unit.

Similarity of Risdon Female Profile to Moos' Norms.

Cattell's statistic r_p was applied to the data from Table 25 and a value was obtained for r_p of $-.11$. This low figure indicates little similarity between Risdon female data and Moos' sample. This may indeed be a consequence of the small number of females tested and the consequential small range of scores but would probably change little with increasing numbers until perhaps such numbers neared capacity for the yard.

CHAPTER V.

DISCUSSION

UNIT PROFILES

Application of the CIES within the Risdon Prison complex has shown it to be sensitive to differences in psycho-social climate and able to discriminate between units having different expectations of prisoners and different day to day routines. Moos (1975) in an exhaustive analysis of 84 juvenile correctional institutions subjected his results to a cluster analysis and derived six clusters of programmes, each cluster lending different emphasis to a particular scale or group of scales. For example, a profile which positively emphasized all three relationship variables, (Involvement, Support and Expressiveness), together with the treatment programme variables of Autonomy, Practical Orientation and Personal Problem Orientation, was described as a Therapeutic Community Programme. Such units tended to be orderly and well organised but not to lay stress on Staff Control.

Clearly, no Risdon unit or group of units conforms to these standards. Such a departure is hardly surprising in view of the fact that Risdon is almost wholly designed as a maximum security unit and no pretence is made that the experience of inmates is directed towards therapeutic ends. Selection for the only detached unit (Medium Security) is made on an assessment of the individual's likelihood of escape and has a reward value for prisoners whose behaviour in maximum security has

been blameless. Medium Security has no distinct therapeutic function.

Arising from a cluster analysis, Moos' groups are, of course, of a somewhat arbitrary nature and definitive values for sub-scales have not been published. Hence the similarity of Risdon profiles to those within the typology cannot be assessed using formal techniques. Nevertheless, it is of interest to examine the distinctive features of each of Moos' clusters because they offer a systematic way of considering the differential significance of the dimensions contributing to particular profiles and of characterising prison environments.

The second cluster of programmes identified by Moos, he described as Relationship oriented in which above average scores were indicated on Involvement and Support together with emphasis on Order or Organisation and Programme Clarity. Essentially, such programmes were perceived as 'warm and clear' and strongly supportive of interpersonal relationships. The combined profile for units B, C, D and E (Fig. 8) is remote from this description nor does any single unit fit more comfortably.

Having only average emphasis on the Relationship dimensions of Involvement and Support and with stress on Expressiveness, another cluster was identified by Moos

as Action Oriented. These qualities were joined by low degrees of System Maintenance and Moos found that such units enjoyed an elevated degree of violent behaviour linked with a high occurrence of damage to property, tendency to refuse orders, etc. This seems not unlike the behaviour which is found inside Risdon episodically and indeed this profile is the one which perhaps is best matched by that of the Risdon Maximum Security Group (Fig. 8).

Another cluster to which however the summary Maximum Security profile (Fig. 8) bears only slight resemblance is the Insight-oriented programme which Moos defined as possessing only a moderate emphasis on Order and Organisation because to highlight this may reduce the openness and spontaneity of self-expression. In this cluster, Practical Orientation and Personal Problem Orientation are stressed, which two requirements sharply distinguish it from the Risdon profile.

The fifth cluster identified by Moos is indeed the cluster to which, intuitively, the Risdon profile (Fig. 8) should display best fit. Described as Control Oriented, it is high on Staff Control and Organisation. In Risdon however, Staff Control is not seen as high - surely a paradox in a Maximum Security gaol - while also, units are uncharacteristically high across relationship dimensions by comparison with levels Moos found typical for this cluster.

The single scale of Expressiveness, indicative of the open expression of anger, is dominant in Moos' sixth and last cluster which he described as Disturbed Behaviour. This cluster was characterized by more aggression than was displayed in the Action cluster and Moos found that approximately 20% of residents had recently damaged or destroyed unit property or assaulted other residents. More than 75% of residents had refused orders from staff and the incidence of attempted suicide was higher than on units conforming to alternate profiles. In a maximum security prison, this degree of disturbed behaviour is unlikely to be tolerated and no unit conforms to that profile.

In summary then, whereas it may have been expected that the Risdon Maximum Security Profile should conform to a Control Oriented profile, that was not the case. Whatever may be the staff perception of that situation, residents clearly do not acknowledge control by others and perceive themselves as having a degree of autonomy which would not be permissible in a truly Control Oriented situation. In fact, within the cluster so characterized by Moos, Autonomy gained the lowest score among all sub-scales, compared with a slightly above average score on the Risdon profile. (Fig. 8)

The lack of perceived Staff Control, together with the higher degree of Autonomy, serves to illustrate one over-riding shortcoming of Tasmanian conditions in the

corrections area. Basically, all offenders receiving a sentence of imprisonment, of all ages from 16 to over 60, for all types of offence from violent assault to simple forgery, from the most experienced recidivist to the first offender, are initially committed to Risdon Maximum Security. Dependent then on behaviour and prognosis, some will eventually move to Medium Security and some to the prison farm, approximately 30 miles distant. At any one time however, the very diversity of individuals within the Maximum Security confine is wholly inconsistent with any notion of differential treatment for different types of offender. Clearly, the majority of inmates need not be subjected to Maximum Security considerations yet all are housed in units designed with this principal function in mind. It is therefore perhaps in mute acknowledgement of the incongruent nature of the fit between individual and environment that staff-control is diluted. Unfortunately however, where staff control is diluted, that is to say, where structure is lacking or where control is inconsistent, there is much room for ambiguity and manipulation of events and relationships.

Doubly unfortunate therefore is the fact that staff declined the opportunity to participate in this study. Comparisons between staff and resident perceptions would probably have revealed numerous inconsistencies worthy of investigation.

DEVIANT INDIVIDUALS

The identification of deviant individuals has proved to be a most interesting facet of this study. As pointed out above, the measure of deviance used (actually a measure of similarity) takes into account not only the individual's deviance from his group but that group's deviance from the population as a whole (in this context, Moos' normative sample). This measure appears preferable to that employed by Moos (1975) which takes no count of the larger reference group.

Not only has it been possible to identify those persons who adopted an extremist position above or below the group mean, giving rise to large values of $\sum d^2$ and therefore negative values for r_p but also those who deviated considerably less overall than the group (giving rise to a positive coefficient r_p .) These latter individuals are those who perceive the environment in terms much more close to the average perception of the group.

Among 27 individuals who stood out as deviants only three had positive values of r_p ; that is to say, they stood closer to their peer group mean than did their unit mean to the mean of Moos' norm. The other 24 deviants departed from their peer group to a greater extent than that group itself differed from the larger

population mean. These persons may be thought of as extremists such that in any group which itself differs from the population norm they are identifiable as holding more extreme views than the group average.

However, in a group which is itself quite deviant from Moos' population norms, i.e., H yard, an individual has to be particularly extreme in order to stand out, and in fact only one such person was identified.

On the other hand, in a group which is close to population means, individuals with less extreme views are highlighted. For example, therefore, within C yard, that group which most closely resembled Moos' population norms, a total of eight (42%) of individuals were revealed as deviant. Yet, within the prison during the period of this study, C yard was acknowledged by staff to be a quiet yard.

It seems therefore that a simple measure of deviance about a yard norm may be insufficient to account for internal dissent.

Prison records of internal infringements of rules and procedures are not organised in relation to the yard within which the disturbance occurred. In order to ascertain the distribution by yards of internal offences, it would be necessary to search the files of

every individual - not only those in the sample but those outside the sample - to determine, (a) whether that individual was inside the prison at the time of the study, (b) whether he committed an offence, and (c) which yard he was in at the time of the offence. The records system however does not separate the files of those prisoners who are currently serving a sentence from those who have ever served sentences, including therefore those who have been released.

Moos (1975) has employed four measures of deviancy. Two of these may be, for the moment, disregarded because they employ measures of 'Ideal' environments within institutions. Two others, viz. Total Deviancy and Directional Deviancy, have been used to predict inmate satisfaction with their programme but have yielded equivocal results. Moos therefore concluded that deviancy measures may not generalize from one programme to another because the programme milieu itself acted as a modifier variable. In other words, in some environments, deviancy may be an adaptive reaction.

The present study highlights the value of using Cattell's profile similarity coefficient which takes count of the prevailing milieu in the manner described above and suggests that it would be of value to conduct a study or studies examining the use of this statistic in relation to resident satisfaction or frequency of disciplinary infringements, etc. No previous use of this statistic with the CIES has appeared in the literature.

One particular strength of Cattell's measure appears to be that, as discussed above, it distinguishes between positive and negative deviants. Individual 112 (see Appendix C) was an extremist among extremists, whereas Individuals 102, 103 and 108 were quite the reverse, i.e., they resembled the group norm most closely. Two possibilities seem to exist in respect of the latter group. The first, that they were opinion-leaders whose personal views influenced that of the group while the second would suggest that they were simply straws in the wind and bent to conform with their own perceptions of majority opinion. Future research would be well directed towards clarifying this basic issue.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The extended use of the CIES within Australian prisons would appear to hold some promise. Its contribution would be of benefit in two distinct areas, firstly in improved theoretical understanding of the psycho-social processes which accompany prisonisation over time and secondly in the prospect of the improved management of prisons as administrators are made aware of these factors. Much folk-lore prevails at present about the characteristics of alternate prisons, e.g., Risdon has, for many years, been described as the 'Pink Palace' but only recently is reportedly enhancing its reputation for harshness by comparison with mainland

prisons. Certainly, obvious differences occur such as the availability in other prisons of shops which, manned by prisoners, sell personal needs such as toiletries, cigarettes, confectionery, etc., and a range of consumer items such as magazines, paper-backs, model-kits, etc. Recommendations that such innovations be made (Bent 1976) have yet to take effect.

The use of the CIES would allow descriptions to be stored of Australian prison environments which would serve as reference bases for studying the effects of change. Doubts concerning the applicability of Moos' norms were expressed by Jorm, Peters and Gorczynski (1974) in an application of the CIES within Cessnock Corrective Centre in New South Wales. However the present study, of a larger population, has shown a pleasing fit with Moos' data. The interaction of individual prisoners within different environments (i.e. different prisons or different internal sections of a prison) could be objectified. Prevailing beliefs that certain individuals are intractable might foreseeably be modified if their acceptance of alternate environments was examined.

It seems probable that a similar use of the CIES in conjunction with a sociometric investigation of inmate relations would be most valuable. Such aspects of interpersonal relations as perceived leadership or

popularity would seem relevant as would be the mediating effect of the role position inmates hold in social networks, e.g., symbolic leaders, visible leaders or concealed leaders (Bonjean 1963).

In addition attention could be paid to variables such as length of sentence remaining. The extent to which a prisoner is deviant has been shown to be a function of the elapsed time of his sentence and of the time remaining to be served (Wheeler 1961). Only recently, in Risdon, have formal parole procedures been permissible. Most prisoners are eligible to apply for parole following the lapse of one third of their sentence, providing that such a period is longer than six months. The interaction of such a factor with inmates' perception of prison climate would be of interest as would be the ultimate performance of any individual whilst on parole and the value of CIES ratings as a predictor of parole outcome.

A myth which prevails in many courtrooms is that during the course of imprisonment, a prisoner may be reformed or rehabilitated. Reference to CIES assessments of penal institutions and of prisoners recurrent scores on the same measure should serve to put flesh on the skeleton of reform or to lay it to rest permanently. In other words, environments which are loosely described as offering rehabilitation, should,

when examined with the CIES, reveal sub-scale scores consistent with a rehabilitation ethic. To insist on the existence of such an ideal, in the absence of any corroborative findings would inevitably lead to recognition of shortcomings and hopefully, to change.

Though it was not possible, in this study, to obtain staff responses to the CIES, it is evident that prison officers would differ, not only in their perceptions of prisoners' needs but indeed, in their perception of prisoners' perceptions. Individual officers would also have unique skills with which to shape or adjust to the environment of any unit to which they were attached. It would seem sound to attempt to 'fit' officers to units for which they were best suited, i.e., officers with a bent for supportive relations with inmates should be operative in a yard which reflects that philosophy while officers who adopt a harsh custodial role should be placed in units where this is appropriate. Indeed, the allocation of officers to particular sub-units would enhance the possibility of achieving improved management control throughout the system.

It would seem productive also to routinely administer the CIES during an exit interview on the occasion of each prisoner's release. Such a sampling could be construed as a recurrent random sample of

prisoners and would provide up to date information on institutional climate and change. This procedure should generate a continuous information flow 'from the bottom up' for which there appears no equivalent in current procedures. The interested, intelligent administrator would therefore be provided with a monitoring system which should reflect his own concepts of administration or alternatively provoke discussion about discrepancies.

CONCLUSION

The use of the CIES has allowed a profile of Risdon Prison to be drawn in terms which describe its psychosocial climate. There is good evidence that the norms upon which this scale is based have relevance for the Australian prison society and that its major dimensions are substantially independent of basic background variables such as prisoners' ages and intelligence. As a consequence, there seems to be a justification for extending the use of the CIES to other prisons. One major consequence would be the laying to rest of any assumption that prisons are all the same or, indeed, that they offer the same experience to inmates. Administrators and inmates alike should benefit from the information to be derived, the former from its potential for improved management and the latter from its potential for improved communication upwards of their prison experience.

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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A.

Summary of numbers of inmates in testing sessions.

<u>Session</u>	<u>Number Tested</u>	<u>Comments</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>Response Sheet Numbers</u>
1	10X		B	1-10
2	13X	1 non-reader	B	11-23
3	10X	1 non-reader	C	24-33
4	10X		C	34-43
5	10X	1 refusal	E	44-53
6	8X	1 refusal, 1 non-reader	E	54-61
7	12X	1 refusal, 4 non-readers	D	62-73
8	4X	Conducted in cell yard. Prisoners isolated by own request. 1 refusal	E	74-77
9	3X		D	78-80
10	7X	All non-readers	E,C, D	16,29,54,62, 63,69,73.
11	5X	Females	Women	82-86
12	13X	18 refusals	Medium	87-100
13	4X		H	101-104
14	1X		H	105
15	5X		H	106-110
16	3X	1 refusal	H	111-113

APPENDIX B.

Form R of the Correctional Institutions Environment
Scale (CIES)

1. The residents are proud of this unit.
2. Staff have very little time to encourage residents.
3. Residents are encouraged to show their feelings.
4. The staff act on residents' suggestions.
5. There is very little emphasis on making plans for getting out of here.
6. Residents are expected to share their personal problems with each other.
7. The staff make sure that the unit is always neat.
8. Staff sometimes argue with each other.
9. Once a schedule is arranged for a resident, he must follow it.
10. Residents here really try to improve and get better.
11. Staff are interested in following up residents once they leave.
12. Residents tend to hide their feelings from the staff.
13. Residents are expected to take leadership on the unit.
14. Residents are encouraged to plan for the future.
15. Residents rarely talk about their personal problems with other residents.
16. The day room is often messy.
17. If a resident's programme is changed, someone on the staff always tells him why.
18. Residents may criticize staff members to their faces.
19. Residents on this unit care about each other.

20. The staff help new residents get acquainted on the unit.
21. Staff and residents say how they feel about each other.
22. The staff give residents very little responsibility.
23. Residents are encouraged to learn new ways of doing things.
24. Personal problems are openly talked about.
25. The unit usually looks a little messy.
26. When residents first arrive on the unit, someone shows them around and explains how the unit operates.
27. Residents will be transferred from this unit if they don't obey the rules.
28. There is very little group spirit on this unit.
29. The more mature residents on this unit help take care of the less mature ones.
30. People say what they really think around here.
31. Residents have a say about what goes on here.
32. There is very little emphasis on what residents will be doing after they leave the unit.
33. Discussions on the unit emphasize understanding personal problems.
34. This is a very well organized unit.
35. Staff are always changing their minds here.
36. All decisions about the unit are made by the staff and not by the residents.
37. Residents put a lot of energy into what they do around here.
38. Residents rarely help each other.
39. Residents say anything they want to the counsellors.
40. The staff discourage criticism.

41. Staff care more about how residents feel than about their practical problems.
42. Staff are mainly interested in learning about residents feelings.
43. Things are sometimes very disorganized around here.
44. Staff tell residents when they're doing well.
45. The staff very rarely punish residents by restricting them.
46. The unit has very few social activities.
47. Staff go out of their way to help residents.
48. Residents are careful about what they say when staff are around.
49. Staff encourage residents to start their own activities.
50. This unit emphasizes training for new kinds of jobs.
51. Residents are rarely asked personal questions by the staff.
52. Many residents look messy.
53. If a resident breaks a rule, he knows what will happen to him.
54. Staff don't order the residents around.
55. Very few things around here ever get people excited.
56. Staff are involved in resident activities.
57. When residents disagree with each other, they keep it to themselves.
58. Staff rarely give in to resident pressure.
59. Residents here are expected to work toward their goals.
60. The staff discourage talking about sex.
61. Residents' activities are carefully planned.

62. Residents are always changing their minds here.
63. If one resident argues with another, he will get into trouble with the staff.
64. Discussions are pretty interesting on this unit.
65. Counsellors have very little time to encourage residents.
66. It is hard to tell how residents are feeling on this unit.
67. Residents here are encouraged to be independent.
68. New treatment approaches are often tried on this unit.
69. Staff try to help residents understand themselves.
70. Counsellors sometimes don't show up for their appointments with residents.
71. Residents never know when a counsellor will ask to see them.
72. The unit staff regularly check up on the residents.
73. Residents don't do anything around here unless the staff ask them to.
74. Staff encourage group activities among residents.
75. On this unit staff think it is a healthy thing to argue.
76. There is no resident government on this unit.
77. Residents must make plans before leaving the unit.
78. Residents hardly ever discuss their sexual lives.
79. The staff set an example for neatness and orderliness.
80. Residents never know when they will be transferred from this unit.
81. Residents can call staff by their first names.
82. This is a friendly unit.
83. The staff know what the residents want.
84. Residents on this unit rarely argue.
85. Residents are encouraged to make their own decisions.

- 86. There is very little emphasis on making residents more practical.
- 87. Residents cannot openly discuss their personal problems here.
- 88. Residents are rarely kept waiting when they have appointments with the staff.
- 89. The residents know when counsellors will be on the unit.
- 90. The staff do not tolerate sexual behaviour by residents.

All items are responded to as TRUE/FALSE and a separate answer sheet is provided.

APPENDIX C.

Deviant Individuals.

<u>Unit</u>	<u>Reference numbers of individuals</u>			<u>n</u>	N in <u>Unit</u>	Approx. <u>% of N</u>
	<u>Significance levels</u>					
	<u>.01</u>	<u>.02</u>	<u>.05</u>			
B		22	17	2	24	8
C	35 43	29 34 40	37 38 42	8	19	42
C	78		79 62 65	4	15	27
E	61 52 50 47 46 44		55 51	8	21	38
H	103*	112	108* 102*	3* 1	11	27 9
Med	100			1	13	7

* Only these individuals achieved
'positive' deviance.