

THE GUELPH ABATTOIR PROGRAMME:
AN INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO CORRECTIONAL INDUSTRIES

I, STAFF RESPONSE

By

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Specific proposals resulting from the staff interviews are as follows:

1. Maximize communication of proposed changes to all correctional officers and utilize staff input at the implementation stage.
2. Avoid, where possible, Outside Managed Industrial Programmes which would require the inmates to be released on T.A.P. from the institutions.
3. Improve the level of remuneration for all inmates including those employed in Ministry managed industrial programmes.
4. Improve the relevance of existing Ministry managed industrial programmes.

OVERVIEW

Attitude surveys of a representative sample of correctional officers located at the Guelph Correctional Centre indicated a remarkable concurrence with the official Ministry philosophy concerning the role and importance of rehabilitation in corrections. Rehabilitation for inmates was also regarded as the most likely impact of innovative industrial programmes. The present Ministry managed industrial programmes were viewed as important components of correctional programming but falling short of the intended goals. In particular, the present industrial schemes were criticized for a lack of adequate staff and facilities, poor management and poor incentives.

A majority of the officers indicated that inmates are capable of, and can be expected to work at, levels demanded by private industry. In addition, most officers stressed the need for concomitant increases in remuneration, above the present incentive rate since this was not expected to have any disruptive results. On the contrary, it was specifically indicated that higher inmate wages would likely improve family financial responsibility, work habits and work attitudes.

The results of the present study clearly indicate staff endorsement and encouragement of not only the Abattoir Programme but also the general concept of Outside Managed Industrial Programmes. Indeed, despite serious disruptions in the present programme, the majority of the C.O.'s were favourably disposed to private industrial involvement within corrections and consistently discriminated a rehabilitative impact as being the most likely result. With the exception of an expected disruption in the institutional routine, few substantial problems and difficulties were observed to have been created by the introduction of an O.M.I.P. programme. Some officers, however, observed that the T.A.P. nature of the Abattoir Programme at the Guelph Correctional Centre created increases in contraband, scheduling difficulties and staff manpower shortages.

In general, therefore, a stable and progressive attitude was displayed by the officers. The existing Abattoir Programme was viewed as a good example of an O.M.I.P. and the future implementation of similar programmes was encouraged.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgement	i
Overview	ii
List of Tables	v
I. Introduction	1
II. Literature Review	1
III. Description of the Abattoir Programme	4
IV. Methodology	5
A. Focus	5
B. Staff Sample	6
C. Procedure	6
D. Data Analysis	6
V. Results	6
A. Description of Staff Sample	6
B. General Attitudes	7
C. Attitudes re: Industrial Programmes	8
D. Attitudes re: Outside Managed Industrial Programmes	10
E. Attitudes re: Paging Wages to Inmates	11
F. Attitudes re: Abattoir Programme	12
G. Attitudes re: Difficulties and Problems	13
VI. Discussion and Conclusions	15
References	18

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Correctional Programmes: Perceived Importance and Adequacy at Guelph Correctional Centre.....	8
2	Goals to be Emphasized in Work Programmes	9
3	Possible Results of Outside Managed Industrial Programmes: Perceptions of Likelihood	10
4	Possible Impact of Paying Wages to Inmates: Perceptions of Likelihood	11
5	Possible Impact of the Abattoir Programme: Perceptions of Likelihood	13
6	Problems and Difficulties	14

11-7

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years the Ministry of Correctional Services has placed an increased emphasis on community involvement in correctional programmes. This orientation is exemplified by the recent introduction of Outside Managed Industrial Programmes (O.M.I.P.). In principle, these programmes involve the conversion of existing correctional industries to private industrial management. As a result, a more realistic work environment is provided for an optimum number of inmates.

The Abattoir Programme at the Guelph Correctional Centre is currently the only O.M.I.P. in operation within the Ministry. The abattoir facilities were recently leased to a private company which in turn has regularly employed approximately 40 to 50 inmates. As a correctional industrial programme, it is a bold and innovative experiment in institutional reform with a wide range of possible implications for both the inmates and the institution.

In view of the foregoing it was felt that a comprehensive evaluation of the Abattoir Programme was required. The present report is the first of a series evolving from an evaluative research project conducted by the Ministry's Planning and Research Branch (Project #98). This report focuses on the early and subsequent correctional staff attitudes regarding the Abattoir Programme and the implications of O.M.I.P. involvement for both the inmates and the institution. Future reports will identify the inmate's attitudes and responses to the programme. Evaluations of staff attitudes was considered appropriate because previous investigations of innovative correctional programmes have tended to overlook the impact of the programmes on the specific institutions. In particular, very few provide information concerning the correctional officers' attitudes toward the programmes. Wilkins (1975) reports that the traditional role of correctional officers is affected by increased emphasis on rehabilitative programmes. Staff members, engaged in both rehabilitative and custodial functions have been noted to experience role conflict and role ambiguity (Stoffer and Toby 1951, Grutzner 1971). Ohlin (1968) on the other hand points out that staff cooperation is enhanced by increased communication and increased involvement of correctional officers in the planning and implementation of new programmes.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

It has often been noted that inmates typically have poor work histories and poorly developed job related skills (Glaser 1964, Waller 1974). Despite this, correctional industrial programmes have generally failed to provide the

majority of inmates with job training that is of much value in the real work environment. One explanation for this failure is the traditional overabundance of labour supply in institutions (Singer 1973). The lack of sufficient work, therefore, is instrumental in the development of poor work habits. Furthermore, correctional industries generally consist of maintaining institutional facilities or producing goods solely for the use of government institutions. Few inmates are engaged in tasks similar to those found in community industries.

In recent years, employment Temporary Absence Programmes (T.A.P.) have been instituted by various correctional jurisdictions. Specifically, these programmes allow selected inmates to be employed in the community during the day yet remain under institutional controls during the evening (Fox 1971). Typically, these community oriented programmes seek to provide the inmates with realistic job training, general work skills, positive work attitudes and improved post-release employment opportunities.

Previous research and experience with Temporary Absence Programmes has been encouraging. Hug (1971) reports that T.A.P. inmates exhibit a positive attitude toward the programme and have little difficulty complying with the restrictions imposed. In addition, Hug reports that success with T.A.P. depends in part on favourable staff attitudes and treatment of T.A.P. inmates. Significant reductions in recidivism as a result of T.A.P. involvement have been reported (Jeffery and Woolpert 1974, Crispino 1974). The former, in particular, report significant improvements in recidivism with "high risk" inmates and during the immediate post-release period when recidivism rates tend to be highest.

Other benefits to Temporary Absence Programmes have been reported. Specifically, T.A.P. schemes can offset direct institutional operating costs (Singer 1973, Jeffery and Woolpert 1974) and can provide indirect saving from reductions in recidivism (Rudolf and Esseltyne 1973). Singer (1973) also reports that T.A. Programmes reduce inmate tension, improve discipline and order within institutions and assist inmates to continue family financial support.

In spite of the potential benefits, limitations prevent widespread use of Temporary Absence Programmes. Only a small minority of appropriate industries are willing to employ inmates. In addition, excess temporary releases can seriously hamper institutional security. Furthermore, the nature of T.A.P. precludes the involvement of a large majority of inmates.

Because of the limitations of Temporary Absence Programmes, interest has also been shown in restructuring existing correctional programmes. This interest is evident in the increased attention shown to corrections by private industries (Saibe 1971, 1973, Pati, 1974) and the involvement of private industries within correctional institutions

(Evans 1970, Saipe 1971, West and Stratton 1971, Hickling-Johnson 1972). These reports all agree that correctional industries should be revamped to provide more realistic work and that inmates should, where possible, be paid a wage greater than the present incentive rate.

In Ontario, the recently established Outside Managed Industrial Programmes (O.M.I.P.) attempt to provide these crucial changes in institutional work programmes. Specifically, this approach seeks to establish opportunities for inmates to be employed by private industries but within the confines of the institution. Thus, the O.M.I.P. concept incorporates many of the features of the T.A.P. scheme. In particular, realistic work settings, on the job training, suitable remuneration and improved post-release employment opportunities are provided. The advantages over T.A.P. include a greater institutional control of inmate employment, less strain on security, an improved use of institution facilities, and a greater availability of realistic employment positions for inmates. In addition, Outside Managed Industrial Programmes are appropriate for many inmates who would ordinarily be ineligible for outside employment, (i.e., many are ineligible because they are considered to be security risks).

The Abattoir Programme at the Guelph Correctional Centre is the only O.M.I.P. currently in operation within the Ministry. Specifically, this programme involves the leasing of the abattoir facilities at the institution to a private industry. The meat-packing company, in return, regularly employs 40 to 50 inmates.

The Abattoir Programme incorporates all but one of the advantages of the O.M.I.P. concept. Although the facility is located on the institution premises, it is quite removed from the other structures. Consequently, the O.M.I.P. inmates must undergo a daily temporary release from the institution in order to attend work. The procedure employed is identical to that used with T.A.P. inmates.

Being the first implementation of the O.M.I.P. scheme, much of the planning of the Abattoir Programme was done on an ad hoc basis. Although previous experience with T.A.P. and other new programmes does provide some insight, the Abattoir Programme is nevertheless an innovative and bold experiment in institutional reform. The need is present, therefore, for a comprehensive evaluation of the Abattoir Programme to assess the efficacy of the O.M.I.P. concept and to identify difficulties encountered for reference in future programme implementation.

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE ABATTOIR PROGRAMME

The Guelph Abattoir Programme was first implemented in June 1975 and initially involved both the abattoir and cannery facilities at the Guelph Correctional Centre*. The programme primarily seeks to provide a real work environment to an optimum number of inmates. In particular, it is aimed at the development of good work habits and improved skills in obtaining and maintaining employment. Through the provision of suitable remuneration, the programme also seeks to provide accumulated savings to ease community re-entry, help support families and defray institutional expenses. Furthermore, useful, on the job training in various meat-packing skills is provided.

In the current arrangement, the Ministry leases the abattoir facilities to the company and provides, at cost, the required servicing (i.e., electricity, steam, etc.). In addition, the Ministry provides a continuous supply of suitable inmate labour and any necessary security services. The company, in return, is obliged to provide the optimum number of employment positions for inmates and all necessary job training. Furthermore, they are expected to provide acceptable working conditions and remuneration. Business management of the abattoir is the sole responsibility of the company.

Prior to involvement in the programme, each inmate applicant must serve at least three months of his sentence. The institution then eliminates those who are security risks, have poor institutional conduct or outstanding court charges. The company is the final arbiter in the selection procedure. Employment begins with the availability of a position, hence there is little choice as to the task assigned.

During peak production, approximately 40 to 50 inmates are employed at the abattoir. Since the inception of the programme, inmates have from time to time been occupied in all but the most highly skilled positions. Generally, however, inmates are placed in less skilled positions on the "kill-floor", in shipping or in sanitation.

The starting wage is \$3.15 per hour and opportunity for increases is available. Violations of a temporary leave of absence, institutional misconduct and poor work performance all constitute grounds for removal from the

* The present company is the second to be involved in the programme. In November 1975, the original company went into receivership thus forcing a complete suspension of the programme for approximately 2 months. The failure of the company was not due in any way to involvement in the Abattoir Programme. The present company has chosen to operate the abattoir only, hence the complete shutdown of the cannery facility.

programme. Inmates are permitted to voluntarily withdraw from the programme and generally cease their employment upon completion of their sentences. A few, with Ministry approval, have continued as civilian employees upon release. Understandably, continued employment at the abattoir is not encouraged. Extensive continued employment would greatly limit the availability of positions for incoming inmates. Furthermore, the potential for problems is created by having ex-inmates working alongside current inmates.

The O.M.I.P. inmates pay \$5.00 per day for room and board and are housed together in a dormitory within the institution. They are presently occupying the third dormitory since the inception of the programme. All other facilities (recreation, cafeteria, etc.) are shared with the other inmates in the institution.

There is one major feature distinguishing the Abattoir Programme from the O.M.I.P. concept. Because the facilities are situated outside the security of the main institution, the employed inmates must be formally released on a temporary basis to attend work. Thus the programme vastly increases the number of inmates on daily temporary absence.

Other disruptions in the institution occur. In particular, the varying work schedules impose scheduling difficulties on the kitchen staff and require inmates to keep unorthodox sleeping hours.

The responsibilities of correctional officers vary according to the amount of direct exposure to the inmates in the programme. The officers assigned to the dormitory encounter the employed inmates most frequently. The majority, however, are assigned to other dormitories and thus experience a minimum of interaction and exposure. Some officers are periodically assigned to security doors or the reception area and come into occasional contact with the inmates involved in the programme.

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. Focus

The present report seeks to provide a clear outline of the correctional staff response to both the Abattoir Programme and the related concepts and to provide recommendations for future O.M.I.P. development. Of particular interest are the overall responses to specific issues as well as changes in attitude following prolonged exposure to the programme. The study focuses specifically on attitudes concerning corrections

in general and the role of industrial programmes. The report also details the officers' impressions regarding the likely results of private industrial involvement within corrections, the paying of wages to inmates and the specific Abattoir Programme. In addition, the report includes observations concerning disruptions and difficulties brought on by the introduction of an O.M.I.P. programme.

B. Staff Sample

Sixty correctional officers, randomly selected from the staff at the Guelph Correctional Centre, were asked to participate in the study. This sample represented 38.2% of the correctional staff at the institution. Most of the results reported, however, are based on interviews with only 51 officers (32.4%), the number available for both interviews. Of the original 60, six were transferred, and one each refused, was ill and retired prior to the scheduling of the second interview.

C. Procedure

Each participating staff member was given a semi-structured interview approximately three months after the start of the Abattoir Programme. This interview was designed to elicit attitudes with regard to the goals of corrections in general and the proposed changes in the correctional industrial programmes. During this interview, they were given a brief but detailed description of the O.M.I.P. concept and the actual Abattoir Programme. The initial interview then sought to also obtain the officers' perceptions, attitudes and predictions with regard to both the concept and the programme. Following an eight month interval, a similar second interview was conducted with the 51 available officers.

D. Data Analysis

Both descriptive and inferential statistics were employed in the analysis of the staff data. Frequencies and percentages provided an outline of the staff attitudes while related t-tests provided information regarding the significance of any differences and changes in attitudes.

V. RESULTS

A. Description of Staff Sample

The background characteristics of average correctional officer in the present sample was similar to the average reported in a previous study in Ontario (Wilkins 1975).

He was 35 years of age (73%), married with children (95%) and had achieved a minimum grade 10 education (78%). In addition, he was at the non-administrative C.O.2 level (75%) and had been employed at the Guelph Correctional Centre for at least three years (68%). Eighty-two percent of the officers had at one time worked in private industry, 50% had been in the military and 47% had at one time been self-employed.

B. General Attitudes

Fifty-eight percent of the officers expressed positive feelings with regard to their work as correctional officers at the Guelph institution. Job satisfaction was particularly attributed to daily personal contact with inmates, the rewarding opportunity to help people, variety in duties and general job security. Some officers, however, indicated job dissatisfaction. These officers commented specifically on inadequate communication, direction and administrative support. In addition, some complained of a lack of discipline and authority within the institution.

Ninety percent of the C.O.'s rated inmate work motivation as lower than that of their civilian counterparts. Reasons for the low motivation centered primarily on laziness and apathy (43%), poor experience (24%), poor incentive (10%) and the failure of the present Ministry managed work programmes to enhance future employment potential. In spite of the poor work motivation, however, 64% of the officers indicated that inmates are capable and can be expected to work at levels demanded by private industries. These officers also indicated that increases in wages should accompany any increase in productivity.

Almost all of the correctional officers (98%) emphasized the importance of rehabilitation as a major factor in planning correctional programmes. The importance of rehabilitation was stressed by significantly more officers than was the importance of protection of society (82%, $t = 3.21$, $p < .002$)*. Protection of society, in turn, was stressed as important to corrections by significantly more officers than was punishment (46%, $t = 5.36$, $p < .0001$).

* The t ratio is a standardized measure of the difference between the means of the two groups in terms of the dispersion within each group. The probability level indicates the statistical reliability or degree of confidence one can have in the results. Thus a $p=.05$ indicates that 5 times out of 100, a statistic will achieve that value by chance and chance alone.

C. Attitudes re: Industrial Programmes

The correctional officers' attitudes regarding the importance of various specific correctional programmes are summarized in TABLE 1. In addition, the extent to which the officers judged these programmes to be adequately available at the Guelph Correctional Centre is indicated.

TABLE 1 Correctional Programmes: Perceived Importance and Adequacy at G.C.C. (N = 60)

<u>Programme</u>	<u>% of staff:</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Adequate</u>
Academic Education		100	52
Sports and Recreation		97	85
Trades Training		95	37
Industrial Shops		95	23
Personal Interest (hobbies)		93	65
Agricultural Work Settings		82	2 (92*)
Career Counselling		78	32 (43*)
Personal/Group Counselling		73	52
Religious Counselling		65	85
Work as a Form of Punishment		30	7 (82*)

* % of staff who consider the activity to be absent at G.C.C.

Work as a form of punishment was the only programme that was not considered important by a majority of the officers. In the majority of instances, the importance of the correctional programmes was noted by more C.O.'s than was the availability of the programmes at the Guelph institution. Of particular interest to the present study is the indication that 95% of the officers considered industrial shops to be important correctional programmes. It is of even greater interest, however, that only 23% considered industrial shops to be adequately provided at the Guelph institution.

Although a majority of the officers indicated a need for improvement in the industrial programmes, 57% of the C.O.'s stated that the present Ministry managed programmes do make some positive contribution to the general aims of corrections. Specifically, the present schemes provide some suitable work training and discipline. Thirty-nine percent of the officers, however, indicated that the present Ministry managed industrial programmes fail to make a positive contribution to corrections. In particular, these officers cited problems surrounding poor organization by the Ministry and inmate apathy.

In view of past changes, it is of interest to note on TABLE 1 that 82% of the officers still stress the importance of agricultural work settings. Criticisms of past changes were particularly leveled at the removal of the agricultural programmes and the failure to institute a suitable replacement. In addition, past changes in the industrial programmes were criticized for having been poorly planned and hastily implemented.

The extent to which the correctional officers agreed that various stated goals should be emphasized in work programmes is indicated in TABLE 2. There were no significant changes in attitude following the first interview. The information in TABLE 2, therefore, indicates only the results of the second session.

All of the specific goals were stressed as important by a large majority of the officers. In particular, rehabilitative goals which would affect the individual inmates were emphasized by more officers than were goals which would affect the Ministry and the institutions. The officers also indicated that the present Ministry managed industrial programmes fail to achieve these important goals. In the opinion of the majority of the officers, the only goal currently being met is the provision of essential services to the institution. The failure of the present industrial programmes to achieve the other useful goals was attributed to limited staff and facilities, inmate apathy and organizational mismanagement.

TABLE 2 Goals to be Emphasized in Work Programmes

<u>Goal</u>	<u>% Agreeing</u>	<u>N</u>
Train inmate in general work skills (i.e., good habits, follow instructions)	100	51
Constructively occupy inmate's time	100	51
Train inmate in specific marketable skills	96	49
Provide necessary work so inmate earns own keep	84.3	43
Provide essential services like house- keeping and food	84.3	43
Make a profit and help finance institutions	78.5	40

D. Attitudes re: Outside Managed Industrial Programmes

Prior to the first interview, 80% of the staff sample indicated that they knew very little about the Abattoir Programme and the general O.M.I.P. concept. Four officers were not aware of the programme and only two felt well-informed. Following a brief description of the programme and the principles incorporated, 73% of the officers indicated their support for the concept. These officers commented specifically on the potential advantages that could be gained through more realistic job training, the opportunity for continued family support, and the likely improvement in work attitudes. A small minority, however, expressed concern over the possible abuse of inmate labour by the company and the possible security problems inherent in having private industries within institutions. Sixty-four percent of the officers indicated that inmates are capable of meeting the increased production demands of private industries.

The correctional officers exhibited a stable attitude with regard to the likely impact of O.M.I.P. programmes. Perceptions of the likelihood of possible results of O.M.I.P. in general remained unchanged following prolonged exposure to the Abattoir Programme. The results of the second interview are presented in TABLE 3 and depict the order in which the various possible results of O.M.I.P. involvement were considered by the officers to be likely to occur.

As indicated in TABLE 3, the correctional officers were largely optimistic that a favourable impact would result from O.M.I.P. involvement. In particular, a large majority of the staff members predicted a positive and rehabilitative impact on individual inmates. In addition, inmate management was seen as likely to improve and a deleterious effect on intra-institutional behaviour unlikely. The lesser goal of a favourable impact on the Ministry institutions and society in general was perceived by fewer officers to be likely to ensue from O.M.I.P. involvement.

TABLE 3 Possible Results of Outside Managed Industrial Programmes: Perceptions of Likelihood

<u>Possible Result</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Improved inmate work habits and attitudes	88	45
Inmates will continue to support families	88	45
Better job opportunities upon release	86	44
Better job training than now available	84	43
Improved inmate management	77	39
Will help finance institutions and reduce public expense	63	32
Companies will become interested in the goals of corrections	43	22
Increased tension among inmates in different work settings	37	19
More behaviour problems from inmates	23	12

E. Attitudes re: Paying Wages to Inmates

Sixty-seven percent of the officers agreed that the incentive allowance for Ministry managed industrial programmes should be increased. Of these officers, 33% indicated that the minimum wage is appropriate. On the other hand, 33% of the total staff sample indicated that the present incentive scheme is adequate, if not excessive. These officers specifically commented on the public expense entailed in inmate wages as well as the need to avoid being "too generous".

Seventy percent of the officers recommended a competitive wage for inmates employed in privately managed industrial programmes. The minimum wage was recommended by 20% of the staff. All of the officers agreed, however, that the wage for private industrial involvement should be greater than the wage for Ministry managed work and should be substantially greater than the present incentive allowance rate.

The staff perceptions of the possible results of paying and increased wage to inmates are summarized in TABLE 4. Although there were some changes in attitude following the first interview, the information provided on TABLE 4 reflect only the opinions expressed during the second session.

TABLE 4 Possible Impact of Paying Wages to Inmates:
Perceptions of Likelihood

	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Better able to support family while seeking work	86	44
More useful contact between inmate and family	82	42
Greater family stability due to inmate support	80	41
Inmate more likely to seek work on release	77	39
Better work habits while incarcerated	75	38
Better work attitudes while incarcerated	73	37
Better work attitudes on release	67	34
Better work habits on release	64	32
Tension between inmates in different pay levels	45	23
Greater resistance to institutional restrictions	41	21
Increased resistance to supervision	37	19

It is evident that the staff members were generally optimistic that a favourable impact would result from paying wages to inmates. In particular, a beneficial impact on the inmates' family responsibility for financial support was

considered to be likely by the greatest percentage of C.O.'s. An almost equal number of officers predicted a positive and rehabilitative impact on the individual inmates' work habits and attitudes. Only a minority of officers indicated that an adverse effect on institutional behaviour would be likely.

There were some changes in attitude following the first interview. During the second session, fewer officers perceived the inmates as more likely to seek work upon release ($t = 2.16, p < .05$). Some officers specifically commented that the inmates would use their savings to 'buy time' until the next financial crisis. In addition, fewer officers expressed the attitude that wages would improve work attitudes during incarceration ($t = 2.13, p < .05$). More favourably, however, fewer officers during the second interview saw wages as likely to increase resistance to institutional restrictions ($t = 3.64, p < .001$). Similarly, fewer C.O.'s predicted increases in resistance to supervision ($t = 2.78, p < .01$).

F. Attitudes re: Abattoir Programme

The extent to which the officers agreed with the selection of the abattoir for O.M.I.P. conversion increased from 48% in the first interview to 61% in the second. Those who did not concur with the selection were mostly concerned about the shortage of meat packing positions in the community. It was felt that a less highly specialized industry would have been a more appropriate choice.

The inmate selection procedure for the Abattoir Programme was considered acceptable by 71% of the correctional staff. Some officers recommended a greater use of correctional staff in the process, taking into account their greater familiarity with the individual inmates. Many of the C.O.'s pointed out that the stringent selection procedure precludes the involvement of most inmates for reasons of security or behaviour. These officers indicated that future successes in the Abattoir Programme might be attributable to the selection process and the inclusion of many inmates who would have been 'successful' regardless of the impact of the programme.

The staff attitudes, during the second interview, with regard to the likely impact of the Abattoir Programme are summarized on TABLE 5. There were no significant differences in attitude following the first interview. As indicated in TABLE 5, all of the possible results were considered likely to occur by a majority of the officers polled. Thus, in spite of serious disruptions in the programme, the officers maintained a stable and favourable attitude with regard to the programme's potential.

Overall, rehabilitation for the individual inmates was discriminated as being the most likely impact of the programme. Slightly fewer officers foresaw a beneficial impact with regard to staff/inmate relations and community involvement in corrections.

TABLE 5 Possible Impact of the Abattoir Programme:
Perceptions of Likelihood

	<u>%</u>	<u>N/51</u>
Encourage and develop general work skills	88	45
Encourage more family responsibility	86	44
Encourage more self responsibility	82	42
Inmates will learn marketable skills	80	41
Encourage good work habits	80	41
Reduce disruptive behaviours	71	36
Breakdown staff/inmate barriers	69	35
Encourage community involvement in corrections	62	31

G. Attitudes re: Difficulties and Problems

The extent to which the correctional officers observed various difficulties and problems as a result of the Abattoir Programme is summarized in TABLE 6. It is strikingly evident that in the opinion of the officers, there were very few real problems brought on by the implementation of an O.M.I.P. programme. Fifty-one percent of the staff indicated that the institutional routine became more difficult and complicated. This, however, is an expected observation. The introduction of an innovative programme, which increases the number of T.A.P. inmates, increases the potential for contraband, and forces various scheduling difficulties, should be expected to produce some disruptions in the institutional routine. It is perhaps more interesting that an almost equal number of officers did not notice that the routine had been complicated. Only 12% of the officers claimed to have been adversely affected by the programme. Almost twice as many (21%) indicated that their own jobs were made easier as a result of the Abattoir Programme. Only 10% of the officers observed an increase in friction between the correctional staff and the inmates. Thirty-nine percent, on the other hand, indicated that the programme had created less friction. These officers cited greater respect, cooperation and satisfaction as a result of the programme. In addition, it was indicated that the employed inmates keep a "low profile" to avoid incidents which might lead to their removal from the programme.

TABLE 6 Problems and Difficulties

	<u>Noticed</u>		<u>Not Noticed</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Institutional routine has become more difficult and complicated	51	26	41	21
O.M.I.P. inmates have been treated worse than civilian employees	20	10	51	26
Conflicts between inmates and civilian employees	18	9	49	25
Company had difficulty finding inmates willing to work	16	8	65	33
Conflicts between O.M.I.P. inmates and regular inmates	12	6	77	39
Programme made personal job more difficult	12	6	78	40
More friction between correctional staff and inmates	10	5	60	30

A large majority of the officers (77%) did not observe conflicts between O.M.I.P. and regular inmates. These officers noted that rather than create substantial resentment between the two groups, the programme directly affected the institutional behaviour of those not employed. It was indicated that all of the inmates are aware that they may make applications to the programme and that many are well behaved in efforts to enhance their eligibility.

In addition to the problems noted in TABLE 6, many of the officers expressed concern that some inmates are failing to contribute to the support of their families. It was observed that some inmates are saving their earnings while their respective families continue to collect Welfare and similar family assistance. The officers criticized this practice as a backward step in the development of family responsibility and stressed the need to co-ordinate C.M.I.P. earnings with the various assistance agencies. Some C.O.'s specifically suggested that the programme include only those inmates who are married and willing to provide family support.

Many officers reported increases in the amount of contraband found within the institution. This development was attributed to the large increase in the number of inmates released on a daily basis. It was specifically indicated by some officers that if temporary absences could be avoided, the programme would encounter fewer difficulties overall.

VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of the present study clearly indicate correctional staff endorsement of the role of rehabilitation within corrections. In a direct contrast with previous studies (Wilkins 1975), almost all of the officers subscribed to the importance of rehabilitation as a goal for industrial programmes and as a major factor for planning all correctional programmes. Indeed, significantly fewer officers emphasized the importance of protection of society and punishment. Rehabilitation for individual inmates was also discriminated as the most likely consequence of both private industrial involvement per se and the specific Abattoir Programme. Thus, the evidence indicates that the correctional officers do not respond negatively to rehabilitation but, in agreement with the Ministry, expect rehabilitation to result from innovative programmes.

Almost all of the officers stressed the importance of correctional industrial programmes. The existing programmes were credited by many officers as making some contribution to the general aims of corrections. Most officers, however, criticized the existing industries at the Guelph institution as being inadequate and failing to establish a rehabilitative impact. This failure was primarily attributed to insufficient staff and facilities, poor management, poor incentives and inmate apathy.

The most important indication of the present study is the extent to which the correctional officers supported and encouraged both the Abattoir Programme and the general notion of private industrial involvement. The evidence points to extensive agreement among the majority of the officers that a rehabilitative impact would be likely to result from the Abattoir Programme, wages for inmates and future O.M.I.P. development. Furthermore, this attitude was evident during the initial interview when all but a few had had little exposure to the programme. It is particularly striking that the favourable attitude was maintained in the second session despite serious disruptions in the present programme. There might have been evidence of some change in attitude had the initial interview been conducted prior to the implementation of the programme. However, because the officers were largely unfamiliar with the programme, it is unlikely that an earlier initial interview would have produced very much evidence of change. Thus, it is clear that the correctional officers not only support the present Abattoir Programme, but also encourage the future development of similar O.M.I.P. programme. It is equally clear that the officers responded favourably to the innovative concept once communication of the programme had been made.

Despite the prevalent attitude that inmates are poorly motivated workers, most of the staff members indicated that inmates can be expected to produce at levels demanded by private industry. It was suggested, however, that increases in remuneration should accompany increased production. A competitive wage was strongly recommended for private industrial work. Wage increases approaching the minimum level were suggested for employment in Ministry managed programmes. A majority of the officers indicated that inmate wages are likely to produce improvements in work habits and attitudes. Slightly more C.O.'s predicted improvements in family and financial responsibility.

There were some significant changes in attitude following experience with inmates receiving wages. Specifically, fewer officers during the second session predicted that wages would improve the desire to seek work on release. Similarly, fewer officers predicted improvements in work attitudes during incarceration. This change in staff attitude possibly reflects the growing sentiment that inmates are motivated only by the wages and that the savings accumulated reduce the need for post-release employment. During the second session, fewer officers predicted that wages would increase inmate resistance to institutional restrictions and supervision.

In general, the evidence indicates that few problems were created by the introduction of the Abattoir Programme. Although disruptions in the institutional routine were observed by half of the C.O.'s, it should be noted that the introduction of an innovative programme might be expected to effect some changes in routine. It is perhaps more interesting that an almost equal number of staff members did not notice a disruptive effect. The results indicate that almost twice as many officers viewed the Abattoir Programme as improving their jobs than perceived an adverse effect. Improvements were specifically attributed to the involvement of more mature, motivated and cooperative inmates. It was also indicated that many regular inmates demonstrate improved institutional behaviour in efforts to enhance their O.M.I.P. eligibility.

Very few officers observed problems regarding abuse of the inmates at the abattoir. In addition, few reported increases in intra-institutional friction. Specific problems concerning contraband, staffing shortages, and scheduling difficulties were attributed to the Abattoir Programme. It should be noted, however, that these problems are specific to the existing programme and would not be as likely to occur with O.M.I.P. programmes operating within the institutions.

The inmate selection procedure was considered acceptable by most officers. Some, however, specifically pointed out that future indications of programme success may merely reflect the selection of inmates who would be most likely to succeed regardless of programme intervention. Thus, these officers identified a standard problem long recognized by

applied researchers. It was recognized that no completely adequate comparisons can be made unless inmates, suitable for O.M.I.P. involvement, are kept in a control sample.

In summary, the correctional officers exhibited a highly favourable response to rehabilitative efforts and encouraged the future development of Outside Managed Industrial Programmes. The Abattoir Programme was seen to be a favourable example of the O.M.I.P. concept in spite of serious disruptions and specific problems encountered. Continued improvements in the existing correctional industrial programmes as well as increases in the incentive allowance were recommended. Future O.M.I.P. development should communicate the proposals to the correctional officers and should utilize staff input at the implementation stage.

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