

STRUCTURING OF CONVICTED PERSON'S TIME IN RELATION TO GENERAL EVALUATION OF HIS BEHAVIOUR IN THE PENAL INSTITUTION

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this research is to investigate the forms of time structuring in the areas of education, work and medical treatment and their reflection on general evaluation of examinees' behaviour by the competent professional workers in the penal institution. We started our research with one general hypothesis, according to which the higher level of time structuring will result in more favourable evaluations of examinees' behaviour. The research was conducted in 1994, on the sample of 327 convicted persons of male sex, convicted for criminal offenses of robbery and assault with intent to rob, who were or still are serving their terms in the closed type penal institution and who have committed these criminal acts during the period between January 1st, 1981 and December 31st, 1993. The method applied in processing of collected information was HI-square test and the obtained results confirmed that more desirable forms of time structuring in the fields of education and work are significantly more often followed by the positive evaluation of prisoners' general behaviour. Furthermore, such positive evaluation is relatively most frequent in the cases of psychosomatically healthy prisoners and those suffering from somatic illnesses. Authors conclude that the main shortcoming of Croatian penological practice is the insufficient number and quality of targeted, individualized programmes, based on a contractual relationship with the convicted person, which would contain precise criteria for control and evaluation of the programme effectiveness.

Key words: robbers, closed type penal institution, time structuring, work, education, medical treatment.

1. INTRODUCTION

Life in a maximal security penal institution with characteristics of so called "total institution" runs according to the rules which ensure the functioning of such institution. Of course, these rules are regulated first of all by the Criminal Law of Republic of Croatia (in preparation), by the Law on Execution of Sanctions for Criminal Offenses, Offences Against Property and Violations, in further text LES (Changes and Amendments published in "Narodne novine" No. 19 of May 3rd, 1990 and No. 66 of July 9th, 1993), by House Order of penal institutions, and also by other regulations based on the law. These rules are regulating not only the behaviour, rights and obligations of convicted persons, but also the duties and authority of the employees. In addition, there are also some unwritten rules of actions and conduct, which are based on experience of living in a relatively small space for a longer period of time, in a forced association with a large number of other people and with extremely limited possibility of privacy (deprivation). By this we are referring primarily to the very strict codex of conduct in the convicted persons' community, which represents an internal, fundamental principle

of functioning within its informal system. Of course, this codex has a special value for those prisoners who are, with occasional exceptions, continually staying inside the penal institution during the entire term of their sentence. Those are the persons who are showing the recognizable signs of so called negative socialization or "prisonization", or in other words, socialization through adjustment to prison conditions, and this is most apparent by multirecidivists, whose intervals of life outside of prison are relatively short and "calculated" to end up with their return to penal institution as the place where they "know all the ropes" and where they feel "at home".

The convicted persons, who were having problems with socialization even before their arrival to penal institution, will have difficulties in adjusting to the order and discipline, as minimal demands for functioning of the institution, and will have even more difficulties with such time structuring which the institution is able to offer and which is mostly based on self-discipline. The subsequent chapters of this study describe the perpetrators of criminal offenses of robbery and assaults with intent to rob, who are the subject of this research, as adults who, in most cases, have grown up

in unfavourable material conditions and very bad familial atmosphere, as well as with number of adverse personality traits and behavioural disorders. In another research, Kovačević (1979) has obtained the results which indicate that during the penological treatment the perpetrators of robberies are markedly explosive, violent, irritable, unfeeling and submissive persons, who in their social contacts exhibit the extremes (introversion or extroversion) and prevailing egotism. Knezović and coll. (1978:107) and Turčin and Goreta (1988) state that convicted persons with personality disorders in a narrowed sense of the term (of which there is surprisingly high percentage among perpetrators of robberies) have difficulties in adapting to the conditions of life in a prison.

It is possible that such attitude toward adaptation to prison is, in fact, a transferred general relation of observed person to the authorities (Cohen and Taylor, 1972:180), what can be partly deduced from the manner in which the said person has committed his criminal deed (confronting the authorities or behind their back). At any rate, it was confirmed by research that in the case of perpetrators of robberies there is a significant probability of their negative attitude during the penological treatment (Žaja, 1986).

We can, therefore, assume that in this research we shall seldom come across a favourable general evaluation of an examinee's behaviour in the penal institution.

Table 1. *General evaluation of convicted person's behaviour in the penal institution*

	positive	variable	negative	total
aps	54	219	54	327
%	16.5	67.0	16.5	100

The information presented on Table 1 confirm the assumption about the probable evaluations of examinees' behaviour. Less than a fifth of them (16.5%) behave in a way evaluated as positive by penal institution's workers. The remaining four fifths of examinees obviously represent a category of prisoners regarded by penal institution's workers as those with whom they have to work more intensively. Among those, however, there are four times more examinees whose behaviour was evaluated as changeable, than those whose behaviour was evaluated as negative. The examinees whose behaviour was evaluated as negative, however problematical, are at least predictable in their behaviour, so the penal institution workers are able to take up an adequate attitude in relation to them.

But the vast majority of those examinees whose behaviour was generally evaluated as changeable requires, in fact, a special attention, exactly because they seem to have a very selective conception of both, their rights and obligations, so that the institution workers cannot rely on their proper conduct during any activity without a constant control. In any case, the "changeable" behaviour cannot

be evaluated as positive.

Of course, the convicted person's behaviour in penal institution is no guaranty of this person's successful reformation. Positively evaluated behaviour may be, and very often is, extrinsically motivated, which means that it might be a planned behaviour, calculated to secure favours and rewards. However, even when it is so motivated, such behaviour will be promoted by the existing concept of treatment, although this is admittedly not a very good solution, because it can easily turn into "buying of good behaviour" by the management. Anyway, the institution workers are well aware that generally positive behaviour does not necessarily mean renouncement of criminal career or any progress in the functioning of convicted person's personality or behaviour in a wider sense of the word. Still, if the convicted person persists, regardless of motives, in one of the available programmes (education, work, free time structuring), even when he finds these activities unattractive and uninteresting, he will nevertheless have the opportunity to acquire new knowledge, to learn new skills or to learn new ways of structuring his free time, all of which might

help him later, after his release from penal institution, should he found himself on a turning point. However, will he really use these new knowledge, skills and habits to reorganize his life or not, depends on his own decision. At that turning point in convicted person's life the most important, maybe even decisive role has the postpenal reception and help, which in our conditions, unfortunately, does not satisfy even the minimal requirements. Bern (1987:140), in summing the experiences of penological workers in their work with convicted persons, states that the prisoner, who truly wishes to regain his freedom as soon as possible, will find the way to distinguish himself in the eyes of penological workers, in order to reach his goal. However, he mentions also another type of prisoner, the one who does not, in fact, wish to regain his freedom. Such prisoner simulates "good behaviour", only to sabotage his own efforts in a critical moment and thus prolong his stay in the penal institution. Let us add that the so called multirecidivists could also be included into that category: during the short intervals of their life out of prison, they continue their criminal activity and consequently, soon find themselves again in the penal institution.

It is indeed a pity that this research was not conceptualized in such a way as to include also an attempt of possible detection of such examinees among the 16.5% of those whose behaviour was generally evaluated as positive.

2. THE PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS

The purpose of this research is to investigate the various forms of time structuring (education, work and medical treatment) and their reflection on the general evaluation of examinees' behaviour by the penological workers. One general, working hypothesis was made in that sense, according to which the higher level of time structuring shall contribute to the more positive evaluation of examinees' behaviour.

The research has been conducted on the sample of 327 male prisoners, convicted for criminal offenses of robbery and assaults with intent to rob, who were or still are in the closed type penal institution and have committed their criminal acts between January 1st, 1981 and December 31st, 1993. The research was conducted during the month of October, 1994.

The variables processed in this study were taken from the Questionnaire specially

constructed for this purpose at the Department of Social Pedagogy at the Faculty for Defectology and Faculty for Criminology. The variable General Evaluation of Prisoner's Behaviour in the Penal Institution was brought into a relation with variables: General Education of Prisoner in Penal Institution, Occupational Training Foreseen for the Prisoner by the Orientation Programme, The Kind of Work Assigned within Penal Institution, Evaluation of Convicted Person's Work Activity and Medical treatment Foreseen for the Prisoner by the Medical Programme.

The necessary information was collected from official documentation of Lepoglava Penal Institution. The method applied for processing of information was the Method of Contingency Tables. The association coefficients: Phi coefficient, contingency coefficient C, corrected contingency coefficient Cc and Cramer coefficient V were calculated, along with the HI-Square Test.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Most people feel uncomfortable when faced with unstructured time. According to Bern (1990:22), the need for time structuring grows out of three sorts of hunger: hunger for encouragement and sensation, hunger for recognition (which can be satisfied only by another human being), and hunger for structure which causes the transformation of groups into organizations and leads to a distinct demand for and recognition of those people whose time is well structured. The existing classification of short-term time structuring includes four basic types: withdrawal, rituals, activities (work) and free time activities. In everyday life, these forms of time structuring are used to avoid boredom or to derive from some situation the highest possible degree of satisfaction. Essentially, the time structuring is also a reflection of an individual's solution of how to deal with existential problems in the widest sense.

The possible forms of time structuring for convicts in a penal institution within the frame of above mentioned categories are quite limited in their number and scope. A detailed articulation of daily activities, both, for working days and holidays, is regulated by House Order of each institution, specifically for each category of inmates (depending on the type of inmates confined in that particular institution, i.e. whether the inmates are persons who are under arrest, convicted persons serving their prison term or persons

punished for minor offenses). Considering the fact that time structuring is taking place within the frame of the imposed legal punishment in a form of deprivation of freedom, it is possible that these activities, although they may correspond to the forms of time structuring the prisoners themselves have been using before in their lives, will be predominantly perceived as coercion. This ensues from the well known conflicting role of simultaneous rehabilitation and punishment (Kennedy, 1976, as quoted by Mejovšek, 1992; Brinc, 1984, 1987). Therefore there is a little probability that the possible forms of time structuring in the penal institutions will be really (intrinsically) accepted by the majority of prisoners and used for their personal advancement in a certain field of knowledge or skill. Still, we believe that the behaviour within the penal institution of those convicted persons, who, regardless of their motivation, have accepted, or at least partially accepted, the possibility to structure their time within the given frame, will be more positively evaluated by penological workers (penologists) than the

behaviour of those who refuse to accept it.

3.1. General education and occupational training of convicted persons

General education is the minimum of what a convicted person in a penal institution can get in a way of acquiring a greater competence in any field of activity. The Article 131 of SEL says that: "For those convicted minors and younger adults who have not completed the 8-year elementary school education, the legal punishment enforcement organ is obliged to organize the instruction courses for the purpose of acquiring a basic general education. Such instruction courses will be organized also for other convicted persons for whom they are judged to be useful and necessary." Although the emphasis here is on younger chronological age, the other two criteria (deficient education and the need of education) are also quite important when other categories of convicted persons are in question (Žakman-Ban, Leko, 1984).

Table 2. *General education of convicted persons in a penal institution*

	in progress	finished school as planned	finished analfabetic course	plan failed	not planned	total
aps	28	24	2	40	233	327
%	8.6	7.3	0.6	12.2	71.3	100

The general education of examinees in this sample, evaluated upon their arrival to the penal institution, was classified into the following categories: very good - 2.1%; good - 6.4%; average - 35.4%; bad - 39.8%; and very bad - 16.2%.

If we should take into consideration only that category of convicted persons whose education is bad or very bad, then the planning of general education instruction is expected in at least 56% of the cases. However, as it is shown on Table 2, the general education instruction was planned for only 28.7% of the examinees (only half of the estimated percentage). There is obviously a real need for an overall analysis of factors influencing the planning of general education (or occupational training) during the prison term. The point in question is the orientation programme, which is made at the very

beginning of the treatment, when it should be possible to foresee, except for some uncommon cases (like very low intellectual capabilities), that during the treatment the prisoner could undergo some personal changes or some new circumstances may appear in connection with him. These changes are being determined by continual evaluation of the course of the treatment, which is the task of the workers in the reception-release department. If this task is properly done, such reobservation can always result in supplementations of the treatment programme, also when the matter in question is convicted person's general education.

Another problem is an analysis of factors due to which even that what was planned was not successfully realized (in this particular case, such result was obtained by somewhat more than half of examinees for

whom the education was planned). Of course, this is a specific population and this sample shows a high quota of distinctly negative personality traits, so that in many cases it is quite understandable, not only that the education plan has failed, but also the fact that the general education was not even planned, although the education level of that particular convicted person was low or very low. On the other hand, we believe that it is reasonable to assume that beside convicted person's personal status there were also some other reasons for such, in our opinion, quite unsatisfactory situation (for instance, the length of the prison term). Presently, there is no systematic analysis available, which would be focused, for instance, on the question of intensity and quality of the preparatory

work with individuals (or groups) in the penal institution, or more precisely, what has been done to motivate them to participate and persist in the process of general education, as well as to resolve their resistance and to teach them how to learn; or the question of how much time and effort is being devoted to development of individual programmes of general education and specific methods of transfer of educational contents to such special population. Considering the actual situation (regarding the personnel, in the first place), we believe that the systematic analysis of these problems would bring out enough arguments and directions for necessary changes in relation to the general education of convicted persons as one of the important parts of penological treatment.

Table 3. General education of convicted person in penal institution - General evaluation of convicted person's behaviour

general educ. in prison	positive	variable	negative	total
in progress	1	25	2	28
% row	3.6	89.3	7.1	100
% col	1.9	11.3	3.7	8.6
finished sch as planned	8	12	4	24
% row	33.3	50	16.7	100
% col	14.8	5.5	7.4	7.3
analfab. course	0	2	0	2
% row	0	100	0	100
% col	0	0.9	0	0.6
plan failed	2	28	10	40
% row	5	70	25	100
% col	3.7	12.8	18.5	12.2
not planned	43	152	38	233
% row	18.5	65.2	16.3	100
% col	79.6	69.4	70.4	71.3
total	54	219	54	327
% row	16.5	67	16.5	100
% col	100	100	100	100
HI2 = 18.1937	P(HI2) = 0.9805		Phi = 0.2359	

As it is visible from Table 3, in all subsamples of examinees, formed according to the criterion of general education in penal institution, there is relative majority of those whose behaviour was generally evaluated as changeable. However, it is interesting to note that among those examinees who have completed the planned course there is relatively twice as many examinees with generally positively evaluated behaviour

compared to participation of so evaluated examinees in the entire sample. Similarly, among examinees who did not successfully completed the planned general education, there is relatively significantly greater number of those with generally negatively evaluated behaviour compared to participation of examinees with such behaviour in the entire sample. Of course, this can be interpreted just as a tendency,

because the frequencies in some categories of investigated variables are very low, so the generalization is not possible, in spite of the parameters which are indicating statistically significant correlation between the variables. When we are talking about existing tendencies, however, we still cannot make definite conclusions about the direction of indicated correlation, i.e. did the fact of attendance and successful completion of planned education course in penal institution influence the positive general evaluation of behaviour. Namely, it is also possible that the behaviour, which penological workers evaluated as positive, is only a reflection of prisoner's realistic view of the situation, so

that inclusion into the general education programmes is regarded as a possibility for useful structuring of time during the prison term. On the other hand, the education of convicted person, as a relevant content of penological treatment, is not emphasized enough in our practice and it is not sufficiently reflected in the general evaluation of successfulness of treatment, as it is, for instance, the case with work programmes.

A similar approach can be used for occupational training of convicted persons. The information regarding the planned occupational training on the basis of orientation programme for each of the examinees is presented on Table 4..

Table 4. Occupational training of convicted persons foreseen by orientation programme

	not planned, unnecessary	yes, along with the job and school	yes, along with the job and course	yes, along with the job	not planned, although needed	total
aps	67	52	16	98	94	327
%	20.5	15.9	4.9	30.0	28.7	100

From the information presented on Table 4 it is visible that occupational training is not foreseen for 49.2% of examinees (because they already are the trained craftsmen or for some other reasons, the most probable of which are: chronological age, state of health and the length of prison term). Such training is foreseen for the remaining 50.8%, but if we take this group of examinees as separate entity, we will see that the only training planned for about 60.0% of them is through practical work. The rest, and this makes only 20.8% of all examinees, should receive a complete training with instruction in a school or a course, in addition to practical work.

The investigation of actual social status on this same sample (Dujmović, 1996) has shown that 0.6% of them have a university degree, 29.3% have high school education and 5.5% have finished some trade school, which makes the total of 35.4% of examinees who have "some" professional training. Another 38.6% have completed elementary school, so they could be potential candidates for some occupational training in the penal institution.

This divergence of data cannot be interpreted mechanically, particularly because we don't have the indicators which

would tell us how much of the planned occupational training was successfully realized and how much wasn't. Undoubtedly, the choice of occupational training offered to convicted persons in the penal institution should be made as attractive as possible and should include such trades which are needed in the present system of Croatian economy. Unfortunately, majority of penal institutions offer a limited choice of professional orientation with regard to the existing economy system (mostly metal workers, carpenters, agricultural workers, textile workers and various types of services), which, of course, limits the modalities of such training.

Better programming of the occupational training would heighten the probability of success of the entire penological treatment and its protracted influence on reduction of later criminal activity. Realistically speaking, significant changes in that sense would require considerable investments and, first of all, the good management, capable of securing the expert services (teachers, instructors) and technology necessary for realization of programmes based on a scientific analysis of both, the needs of society and the needs of convicted persons.

Table 5. Occupational training of convicted person foreseen by orientation programme - General evaluation of convicted person's behaviour

planned professional education	positive	variable	negative	total
not planned - unnecessary	21	39	7	67
% row	31.3	58.2	10.4	100
% col	38.9	17.8	13	20.5
yes, along with the job and school	7	36	9	52
% row	13.5	69.2	17.3	100
% col	13	16.4	16.7	15.9
yes, along with the job and course	2	12	2	16
% row	12.5	75	12.5	100
% col	3.7	5.5	3.7	4.9
yes, along with the job	13	72	13	98
% row	13.3	73.5	13.3	100
% col	24.1	32.9	24.1	30
not planned although needed	11	60	23	94
% row	11.7	63.8	24.5	100
% col	20.4	27.4	42.6	28.7
ukupno	54	219	54	327
% row	16.5	67	16.5	100
% col	100	100	100	100
HI2 = 18.9307	P(HI2) = 0.9851		Phi = 0.2406	

In total experimental sample, as also in each of the subsamples formed according to the criterion of the planned occupational training, the behaviour of convicted persons was in the greatest number of cases evaluated as changeable. Within that, some shifts can be observed in distribution of examinees toward positive or negative general evaluation of behaviour. Further, it is noticeable that among those examinees who are not included into some planned occupational training because they are already trained workers or craftsmen, there are three times more of those whose general evaluation of behaviour is positive in relation to those whose behaviour is evaluated as negative. Conversely, greatest concentration of examinees whose general evaluation of behaviour is negative can be found among those who are not included into the planned occupational training, although in their cases the training would be necessary. In that subsample there is twice as many examinees with negative general evaluation of behaviour in relation to those whose behaviour is

evaluated as positive. These results, although expected, generally indicate that the fact that occupational training (in any form) is planned, does not by itself lead to a tendency to evaluate that particular convicted person's behaviour as positive. In our opinion, a special study should be made of the problems of education (general education and occupational training) in the penal institutions of Republic of Croatia, with a particular emphasis on approaches to motivation and the process of teaching, with its specific characteristics, on one side, and on the other side, on organizational approach within the training itself and the connection between the training and practical work. The starting point of this study should be a sincere consideration of the real needs of prisoners in regard to training and investigation of possibilities for the extension of the spectrum of verified training programmes. On the other hand, it would be useful to investigate the possibility of planning of some innovative ways of informing the prisoners about the possibilities and importance of occupational training (in the

Centre for Psychosocial Diagnostic; in the reception-release department of the penal institution and within the frame of group work with prisoners), as also of some additional efforts with an aim to help convicted persons to persist and complete the programme once they have started with the training. The consistent awarding of the efforts to enroll and persist in the training programme would surely give the prisoners an additional motivation, beside the benefit which they might have from the training in their future life, after their release from the penal

institution.

3.2. Work

Another possible way of time structuring for convicted persons in a penal institution is work. The kind of work assigned to a prisoner will, of course, depend on his abilities, but even more on the choice of work that penal institution is able to organize.

Table 6. Work assignments in the penal institution

	industry	agricult.	manage- ment job	various jobs	adminis- tration	no job - illness, oldness	no job - other excuse	total
aps	179	24	61	20	2	10	31	327
%	54.7	7.3	18.7	6.1	0.6	3.1	9.5	100

From Table 6 it is visible that as many as 87.4% of examinees are included into work process. Such high participation is probably due to the fact that this sample chronologically belongs to the period when the Law on Execution of Sanctions for Criminal Acts prescribed the work as obligation, while today it just foresees that it should be rendered possible (Constitution of RC, Article 23), in accordance with prisoner's physical abilities, his acquired knowledge and the possibilities of the penal institution or prison.

Considering this fact, the mere information whether a convicted person is assigned some work or not, will not be relevant in foreseeing his behaviour evaluation. More useful in this sense would be the information about his attitude toward work and the evaluation of his working activity, what will be elaborated on Table 9. On Table 7 the sort of job assigned to the prisoner is brought into relation with the general evaluation of the prisoner's behaviour in the penal institution.

Table 7. Work assignment in the penal institution - General evaluation of convicted person's behaviour in the penal institution

job in prison	positive	variable	negative	total
industry	25	131	23	179
% row	14	73.2	12.8	100
% col	46.3	59.8	42.6	54.7
agriculture	9	13	2	24
% row	37.5	54.2	8.3	100
% col	16.7	5.9	3.7	7.3
management jobs	13	40	8	61
% row	21.3	65.6	13.1	100
% col	24.1	18.3	14.8	18.7
various jobs	3	11	6	20
% row	15	55	30	100
% col	5.6	5	11.1	6.1
administration	1	1	0	2
% row	50	50	0	100
% col	1.9	0.5	0	0.6
no job - illness, oldness	1	9	0	10
% row	10	90	0	100
% col	1.9	4.1	0	3.1
no job - other excuses	2	14	15	31
% row	6.5	45.2	48.4	100
% col	3.7	6.4	27.8	9.5
total	54	219	54	327
% row	16.5	67	16.5	100
% col	100	100	100	100
HI2 = 42.7527	P(HI2) = 1.0000		Phi = 0.3616	

The correlation between variables is statistically significant, but the results should not be cursorily generalized, since the low frequencies within separate categories of each variable do not allow generalization. It is possible, however, to observe the tendency, which shows that among examinees who are working in agricultural units there are almost five times more of those whose behaviour is generally evaluated as positive in relation to those whose behaviour is generally evaluated as negative. Similarly, in the group of examinees who are assigned maintenance jobs there is a noticeable tendency of greater number of those with generally positively evaluated behaviour (twice as many in relation to those whose behaviour is generally

evaluated as negative). Since both kinds of work require considerable freedom of movement and in connection with it, a considerable amount of trust, here was, in fact, the general evaluation of prisoner's behaviour the decisive factor which has greatly influenced the distribution of jobs.

More valid information about the course of treatment, in the segment related to work, will be obtained by analysis of convicted person's attitude toward work, which in this study is evaluated on the basis of the expert team opinion about his activity at work, although for more correct evaluation it would be necessary to investigate also the opinions and standpoints of prisoners. The expert team opinion is formed by penological workers

(penologists) responsible for the treatment in direct cooperation with instructors and guards in the penal institution's Production Department. Most frequently it has a descriptive form and it is not written conclusively, at any set point of time, but as a continual observation and evaluation, based on percentage of fulfilled work norm on one side, and the verification of overhead costs for corresponding jobs. Will the convicted person really use the possibilities of work in the penal institution for sensible structuring of his time, which means that he will be motivated to do his job correctly, depends in the first place on his general attitude toward work, but also on number of other reasons, such as his subjective estimation of profitability of this work, the influence of other prisoners on his evaluation of work in the penal institution

and, of course, the influence of penological workers, who should be trying to strengthen his motivation. For those convicted persons who are already participating in some production activity, a special evaluation and underlining of clearly defined additional criteria for evaluation of their work attitude would certainly represent an additional motivation to persist in this activity and do the assigned job correctly. These additional criteria should, in the first place, include the following relationships: convicted person - penal institution's workers; convicted person - other convicted persons - co-workers; convicted person - another fellow-prisoner as foreman ("brigadier"); as also: rational use of materials; creativity and innovativeness, and similar.

Table 8. Evaluation of convicted person's work activity - General evaluation of convicted person's behaviour

	very good worker	good worker	bad worker	doesn't work	total
aps.	100	136	50	41	327
%	30.6	41.6	15.3	12.5	100

The work activity of over 70% of examinees has been positively evaluated and somewhat less than a half of that number have earned the reputation of very good workers. This fact indicates that the situation in this field is suprisingly good, particularly considering previously analyzed personality traits and former behaviour of convicted persons on one side, and the fact that only 16.5% of examinees have positive general evaluations of their behaviour in the penal institution. There is a possibility that, among other things, the criteria for defining the work activity evaluation were not sufficiently clear, but on the other hand, it can also be the result of the efforts of penological workers in that penal institution to motivate the convicted persons for work in relatively acceptable conditions. Still, we are more inclined to think that this is the matter of incomplete, i.e. not sufficiently defined criteria, since in this case work activity has not an exclusively productional purpose, but also an ergotherapeutical function. Therefore, the evaluation of work activity of convicted persons in a penal institution represents a much more complex task compared to evaluation of work activity of free workers, because it includes

the evaluation of the total convicted person's attitude, not only toward the immediate tasks connected with the realization of the work norm (which is, as such, always questionable in the circumstances of the penal institution), but also toward the co-workers and the civilian personnel, plus a number of other relevant parameters, such as: abandoning of the place of work during working hours; rational use of material; complexity of the particular job; the level of training and similar). On the other hand, there is an additional difficulty caused by non-existence of a clearly defined list of work attitude evaluation criteria, prepared in advance, so that the prisoners can be informed about those criteria and about the benefits resulting from their observance. In the present situation, when due to the organizational difficulties the groups of convicted persons are much too large, it is questionable whether it would be possible to achieve a better quality of evaluation, even with such clearly defined list of criteria, since first of all the proper evaluation would demand of both, penologists responsible for the treatment and of other penal institution's workers, a far more intensive individual work with convicted persons than it is possible to

realize, considering the relation between the number of convicted persons, on one side and the number of professionals directly involved in the treatment, on the other.

Table 9. Evaluation of convicted person's work activity - General evaluation of convicted person's behaviour in the penal institution

working capability	positive	variable	negative	total
very good worker	32	64	4	100
% row	32	64	4	100
% col	59.3	29.2	7.4	30.6
good worker	19	94	23	136
% row	14	69.1	16.9	100
% col	35.2	42.9	42.6	41.6
bad worker	1	38	11	50
% row	2	76	22	100
% col	1.9	17.4	20.4	15.3
doesn't work	2	23	16	41
% row	4.9	56.1	39	100
% col	3.7	10.5	29.6	12.5
total	54	219	54	327
%row	16.5	67	16.5	100
%col	100	100	100	100
HI2 = 49.3405	P(HI2) = 1.0000		Phi = 0.3884	

The data presented on Table 9 indicate a statistically significant correlation between variables describing the evaluation of convicted person's work activity and the general evaluation of his behaviour. Here again, one has to be cautious in generalizing the obtained results, because of low frequencies within individual variable categories. If we look at the examinees by categories made on the basis of their work activity evaluation, we shall see that examinees whose behaviour is evaluated as changeable are predominant in each of the categories. However, in the category of examinees judged to be very good workers, there is eight times more examinees whose behaviour was generally evaluated as positive in relation to those whose behaviour was generally evaluated as negative. In the categories describing inferior workers or those who are not included in any kind of work task, there is a far greater number of examinees whose behaviour was generally evaluated as negative in relation to those with positively evaluated behaviour. To a certain extent, this is a logical result, because positive evaluation of behaviour, as well as positive evaluation of the work activity, can be essentially taken as an indication of certain

mental stability and motivation to make the time in penal institution more meaningful and bearable, and if possible, to shorten the prison term.

3.3. Medical treatment

The programme of the penological treatment foresees, of course, the medical treatment of convicted persons, if such treatment is necessary. The medical treatment can sometimes significantly influence the structuring of convicted person's time, if such treatment is performed as therapy at regular intervals, like in the cases of mental or addiction illness, when it is also probable that in the time between the actual therapy sessions the convicted person will have to fulfill certain "tasks", agreed upon between the leader of this part of the medical treatment and himself during the therapy sessions. Theoretically, the fact that a convicted person needs some medical treatment or therapy should not per se predetermine the expectation of negative evaluation of his behaviour in the penal institution. However, considering the fact that a penal institution is by definition an inappropriate place for therapy process,

which is additionally handicapped by condition of patient's confinement, particularly in cases of mental or addiction illness, it is realistic to expect lesser results.

Table 10. *Medical programme foresees availability of treatment*

	not planned - unnecessary	psychic illness	somatic illness	alcohol, drugs	not planned - needed	total
aps	126	33	12	118	38	327
%	38.5	10.1	3.7	36.1	11.6	100

Table 10 shows that no medical treatment was judged to be necessary and that, consequently, was not planned for only slightly more than one third of examinees. Since the medical programme is made at the beginning of penological treatment and therefore does not take into account the possibility that the need for some medical treatment might appear at some later point, during the convicted person's stay in the penal institution, it can be concluded that some form of treatment of chronic diseases is foreseen for extraordinary high number of examinees. The medical service of this penal institution has been put, in this case, in a difficult position and was probably not able to do its job correctly. In such situation, many penal institutions in the world resort to segmented programmes, specifically made for individual categories of convicted persons (family therapy, group therapy, occupational therapy). The participation in such programmes is voluntary and the programmes are carried out by experts from outside of the penal institution (Milan and McKee, 1974:746; Ross and McKay, 1978; Halleck and Witte, 1977; Lipton, Martinson

and Wilks, 1975:10). Such programmes would be particularly useful for that part of examinees (11.6%) who are not foreseen to receive any medical treatment, although the necessity of it was clear from the beginning. The only reason that could justify such data would be that the penal institution has no possibility to secure the necessary form of treatment. In our opinion, the main reason is the location of the penal institution, which makes it difficult to form a higher quality medical teams. Within the scope of this same problem, the unsatisfactory status of medical workers who should carry out such programmes has also an important role. However, these are all relative justifications and difficulties which the management of the penal institution could easily overcome in a more optimal general situation and better material conditions. Of course, by this we do not advocate uncritical transfer of experiences from abroad into our penological practice, but we do plead for the best possible realization of treatment in the existing circumstances, which should begin, we believe, with the training of specialists for particular forms of penological treatment.

Table 11. *Medical programme foresees availability of treatment - General evaluation of convicted person's behaviour in the penal institution*

planned medical treatment	positive	variable	negative	total
not planned - unnecessary	29	80	17	126
% row	23	63.5	13.5	100
% col	53.7	36	31.5	38.5
psychic illness	3	19	11	33
% row	9.1	57.6	33.3	100
% col	5.6	8.7	20.4	10.1
somatic illness	2	9	1	12
% row	16.7	75	8.3	100
% col	3.7	4.1	1.9	3.7
alcohol, drugs	15	88	15	118
% row	12.7	74.6	12.7	100
% col	27.8	40.2	27.8	36.1
not planned, although needed	51	23	10	38
% row	3.2	60.5	26.3	100
% col	9.3	10.5	18.5	11.6
total	54	219	54	327
% row	16.5	67	16.5	100
% col	100	100	100	100
HI2 = 17.7318	P(HI2) = 0.9770		Phi = 0.2329	

Statistical parameters relative to Table 11 show a statistically significant correlation between variables describing treatment foreseen by medical programme and general evaluation of convicted person's behaviour. In spite of their low generalizability, it is possible to confirm certain tendencies, which should be taken into consideration in the future programming of medical treatment. In all categories of examinees, formed according to the kind of planned medical treatment, those examinees, whose behaviour is generally evaluated as changeable, make a numerically dominant group. However, among examinees for who no medical treatment is planned, because it was judged as unnecessary, there are relatively twice as many of those whose behaviour was generally evaluated as positive in relation to those with negatively evaluated behaviour. Among examinees included into the treatment of somatic illnesses only, there is also a slight majority of examinees with positively evaluated behaviour. This relation is opposite between examinees foreseen for treatment of mental illnesses and those who have no medical treatment planned for them,

although it would be necessary. For those two categories the established respective relations are four times more and twice as many of those with negative evaluations of behaviour than those whose behaviour is evaluated as positive. It is interesting to note that between examinees treated for alcoholism and those treated for drug addiction there are no differences in participation with regard to positive or negative general evaluation of behaviour, which could be related to relatively well structured programmes of treatment.

4. CONCLUSION

In accordance with the hypothesis made at the beginning of this research, the obtained results show that more attractive forms of time structuring in the areas of education, training and work programmes for prisoners in a closed type penal institution are significantly more frequently followed by positive evaluation of their general behaviour. Further, such evaluation is relatively most frequently related to psychosomatically healthy prisoners and those with somatic

illnesses.

More detailed analysis of all results, however, has brought up a number of questions and dilemmas related to structuring of prisoners' time, which should primarily support the objects of penological treatment. The necessity of special and systematic analysis in particular areas is indicated in regard to work programme. In our opinion, the chief deficiency of Croatian penological practice is the insufficient number and quality of specially targeted,

individualized programmes, based on a contractual relationship with the prisoner, which contain precise criteria for control and evaluation of programme effectiveness. We expect that the new Law on Execution of Sanctions, which is now in the process of legislation, will take into consideration the recommendations of experts and bring a number of innovations, which will open the possibility for the improvement of the quality of penological treatment.

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