

Article

Reactions of Prison Staff to the Needs of Culturally Different Convicts

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Abstract: The article presents the trends in penitentiary work with convicts of different cultures, focuses on their activation, individualisation of work, and organizational difficulties. The purpose of the research has been to discover the ways in which prison staff react to situations requiring flexibility justified by cultural differences of the inmates. The research questions have included: How does prison staff respond to the needs of culturally different inmates? How do the respondents' reactions correlate with professional experience? Based on the literature, a hypothesis has been established that prison staff avoids individualized treatment of convicted foreigners. Despite the perceived differences in culture, religion, and their different mentality, prison procedures aim at uniformity. Tendencies towards resistance and stiffness to the needs of culturally different people become prevailing. The research method used has included a diagnostic survey ($n = 232$, F: 40, M: 192) conducted in prison officers in Poland. The written interview technique has been used, where the respondents have reacted to 3 situations of convicts, reflecting their national, religious, and cultural distinctiveness. In their responses, the respondents have decided on the way of action in the situation, as well as their motivation. The operationalization of the source material has been performed in two ways. There has been applied the content analysis method according to the grounded theory (B.G. Glaser, A.L. Strauss), resulting in the creation of categories marking actions and motives. A multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) of the built categories has been carried out using the Statistica program, as well as the correlation analysis of variables with the Cramer's V coefficient. The results of the analysis show statistically created, indicated manners of reacting that have occurred in the studied sample. Additionally, they point out an independent variable - seniority, which has correlated with the quality of the response.

Keywords: foreign national prisoners, prison activities, multiculturalism, prison staff decision, motivation

1. Introduction

Migration processes of population naturally generate new challenges for national justice systems and penitentiary policy. The dynamics of migration and movement of people for work and settlement purposes brings the crime of foreigners. Therefore, the issue of prisoners of foreign nationalities can be considered in two ways, depending on the quantitative or qualitative perspective. On one hand, it concerns the number of foreigners convicted of a crime in a country other than their home country. As a result, justice systems and penitentiary procedures must create appropriate procedures, involve foreign language translators, and adjust living conditions. However, from a qualitative perspective, the prison isolation of convicts who are culturally different generates new tasks in the field of social, psychological, and pedagogical work. Therefore, the key is the quality of decisions made, the way of responding to their needs, and finally, the question of the sense and space for the individualization of methods of punishing. Individualization draws its sources from human rights to maintain cultural, religious, and ethnic identity and distinctiveness.

The range of challenges faced by prison policies and practice varies across Europe and the Americas. Due to the destinations of migration flowing from the countries of Asia and Africa, naturally, the number of convicts coming from these regions is large in Western Europe, Scandinavia, and Great Britain. In Belgian prisons, the population of convicts of different national, cultural, and religious backgrounds exceeds 40% (Brosens et al. 2019); in Norway it is over 1/3 of the population (Westreheim and Terje 2014). The convicts mainly come from Poland, Lithuania, Nigeria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Romania, and Somalia. The diversity of the origin of these people is significant for penitentiary work, because it is difficult to develop a unified method of communication of activation and support, which would be adapted to different religious practices, mentality, and life experiences. In Poland, as in the countries of the region, i.e. in Slovakia, Czechia, Lithuania, Hungary, the number of convicted foreigners is at a relatively low level of 0.5-1%. Of course, this does not mean that the foreigners' crime rate is radically lower than in Western countries. Rather, it is a result of several factors. On one hand, there is less migration to these countries and treating the region rather as "transit". On the other hand, the prisonization rate, i.e. use of imprisonment, is much higher. As a result, the general population of prisoners is larger, and the group of several hundred foreigners in custodies or prisons seems to be quantitatively small. However, as in other countries, this is primarily a qualitative problem, because the large diversity of convicts generates many challenges to the prison system and policy. An important factor is also the diverse life history

of these people. Research conducted in Belgium emphasized the war experiences of Iraqi convicts, whose childhood and youth had been subordinated to conflicts and marginalization of social groups. As a result, childhood experiences carry over their educational potential, mentality, and quality of building relationships with people (Westrheim and Terje 2014). Similar war experiences affect a group of inmates from Chechnya who left the country, especially as a result of the wars in 1994-1995 and after 1999. Some of them engaged in criminal activities and became prisoners in Poland.

In addition to the quantitative and qualitative issue justifying the need for research in culturally different convicts, an important argument is the need to activate them in prison conditions. Foreigners find themselves in a double exclusion situation which, according to Christin Achermann, is enforced both by the criminal law of the country and by national laws on deportation after serving the sentence (Achermann 2009). Thus, these are people who have a low level of motivation to be active during their stay in prison, waiting for forced deportation after leaving the prison. Dorien Brosens concretizes this marginalization of convicted foreigners to additional difficulties struggled by them: lack of contact with their family, language difficulties, longing and difficult coping in the prison, and uncertainty of the situation (Brosens et al. 2019; Barnoux and Wood 2016). At the same time, many studies confirm the sense of activating convicts despite their extremely difficult situation in a foreign country. Activation has various trends; it concerns sports, psychological trainings, education, and vocational preparation. Supporting soft skills and sports activity have a positive effect on the well-being of prisoners, increase prison discipline, and reduce conflict situations (Meek and Lewis 2014; Gallant et al. 2015). Well-being and mental condition of prisoners improves with cultural, pro-health, and social activity (Friestad 2010). Education of convicts and professional preparation play a special role. In migrants with experiences of wartime childhood and youth, prison education compensates for the past shortcomings. Education, regardless of ethnic origin, always has a positive effect on the quality of life and social position after the return to the home country (Westrheim and Terje 2014). Additionally, education of prisoners is not only a rule of international law, but also a pro-humanitarian action, assuming that isolation from society itself does not change their disadvantageous socio-economic position. Education is a chance for social inclusion in every region; it is an important dimension of democratic qualities of the society, striving to eliminate the marginalization of prisoners as well (Westrheim and Terje 2014). Pro-professional activation of convicts reduces criminal recidivism (Davis et al. 2013). Long-term education programs in Argentina's prisons showed an 85% decrease in re-offending activities of their beneficiaries (Torrijo 2019).

Working with foreign prisoners is associated with numerous restrictions, both organizational and personal. In the organizational barriers, the penitentiary policy of states, as well as the specific organizational culture of the prison system, play an important role. Latin American countries are struggling with overcrowding in prisons, internal violence in convicts, activity of prison gangs, and lack of medical care. But simultaneously, with the policy of a massive tendency to retributive justice and isolation of the offender, ignoring socialization activities during the very period of this isolation (Torrijo 2019). The restrictive law of European countries concerning deportation of a convicted foreigner after serving a sentence is a difficulty. Such situation discourages activity, and also makes it difficult to plan activities that may turn out to be useless after returning to a completely different region in terms of culture and religion (van Kalmthout et al. 2007). Despite recognizing the need to activate foreigners in their penitentiary policy, the countries of Western Europe allocate minimal budget funds to this. The real needs of convicts who are culturally different are examined to a small extent, and the offer of educational, social, and professional interactions is rigid and aims at uniformity, not individualization (Westrheim and Terje 2014). An organizational issue is also the model of prisoners' arrangement, considering establishments intended only for convicts of different cultures and other for citizens of the country. European countries have various policies in this field. A separate arrangement allows for greater flexibility of work and individualization of activities adequately to cultural, religious, and mental needs. This does not arouse frustration and resistance from other inmates who are treated with more uniform procedures. In this way, there is a chance to fulfil the provisions of international law, mainly the Recommendation on foreign prisoners of the Committee of Ministers of the EU Member States of 10 October 2012 (2012), assuring the flexibility of prison staff to react to exceptional needs, allowing for maintaining identity (Ugelvik 2017). In Polish conditions, it is not preferable to create separate institutions for convicted foreigners, but rather there are observed rules on avoiding combining people of warring nations, preventing potential tensions, and on bringing convicts from similar regions together. Then, a natural process of mutual linguistic support and cultural contact between these people takes place. On the other hand, the lack of social background in the country means that foreigners more often go to places of increased isolation in order to minimize the chance of escape (Achermann 2009).

Personal barriers can be considered from the perspective of both convicts and prison staff. The above-mentioned experiences of childhood during the war (Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Bosnia and Herzegovina) significantly modify the quality of prisoners' acting in relations with staff. Additionally, deprivation of education in childhood causes greater

difficulties in filling these gaps. Another issue is the passivity of convicts and low level of motivation. Dorien Brosen (2019) rightly points out that this may be the result of certain attitudes, because passivity is not always a conscious choice. Activities to define individual needs and minimize barriers faced by the convicts may be a way to activate them. Additionally, apart from cultural and mental differences, foreigners do not understand the country's language; they do not understand the principles of system and society organization (Achermann 2009). They are therefore marginalized on many levels, remaining, at the same time, in various unfavourable roles: prisoner, criminal, foreigner, immigrant awaiting deportation. There are also different groups of foreigners in prisons: those who have been detained for many years and remain assimilated in the prevailing society, and short-term prisoners who move between countries for criminal purposes (Ugelvik 2017). Obviously, in this respect, an important role is played by religious and cultural differences, as well as different customs, and quality of social relations. Some activation opportunities are important in European countries, but may turn out to be ineffective in the country of origin of the convict.

Due to the specificity of the presented research, an important role is played by an analysis of barriers resulting from the activities of prison staff. On one hand, the Recommendation of 2012 verbalizes many tasks for the individualization of convicted foreigners' treatment. In terms of research, it requires constant monitoring of the needs, atmosphere, and expectations that allow to maintain a separate identity of prisoners. Nevertheless, the issue of realities of treating convicts becomes a terra incognita, which is scientifically explored to a limited extent (Warr 2016). An example is the lack of research on the situation of today's prisoners who experienced wartime childhood. Another limitation is the insufficient education of prison staff in terms of cultural competences. Cultural insensitivity becomes a serious barrier, as it causes a strong drive for uniformity, not individualization. Often, despite intercultural and multicultural activities in open democratic societies, this activity does not transfer to prison conditions (Rynne and Cassematis 2015). Thus, prison staff do not understand the sense of the needs and mentality of convicts, especially those from regions with a large cultural divergence. An example is the situation in Poland, because the majority of convicted foreigners are citizens of Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, and Romania. A small group are the citizens of African, Middle, and Far East countries. Therefore, the problem of the presence of culturally different convicts is marginalized in Poland, and considered to be solved in practice. It is the result of such a situation when foreigners represent different national identity, but culturally and religiously, they are close to the prevailing group. Whereas groups of convicted Muslims, whose religious attitudes even become radical in prison, seeking to

emphasize their dissimilarity, cause more complex problems. This is what the research presented below involves, exploring the ways of responding and motivation of prison staff. Employees play the role of animators of penitentiary work, teachers, mentors; therefore, they should have not only specific cultural competences, but also personality predispositions (Croux et al. 2018), using the quality of their personal relationship with an individual in this work. A resource for this relationship is one's own life experiences and personal history, because working with these convicts is above-standard (Brosens et al. 2020).

2. Source Material and Methods

The analysis of research work methods requires, in the first place, an outline of the process of obtaining source data. Basic research and analyses were carried out in the years 2012-2017, and addressed to active officers of the Prison Service in Poland. The scientific goal was to obtain information about general tendencies of prison staff to react to the challenges generated by cultural diversity of prisoners. The search for the tendencies focused attention on the quantitative approach, prompting the search for respondents from different parts of the country. Respondents were selected for the study with a high degree of randomness in order to avoid the exploration of a homogeneous group. As a result, the sample consists of 232 people: 40 women and 192 men, working as management and executive staff, officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, taking into account that the prison staff in Poland is a military organization. In terms of seniority, the respondents represented young staff: up to 2 years of work - 21.6%, 3-5 years of work - 8.6%, and staff experienced in the duties: 6-10 years of work - 28.4%, 11-20 years of work - 35.3%, over 20 years of work - 6%. Due to their official tasks, these were administration officials and management staff (40.5%), as well as the personnel working directly with the convicts (59.5%). Diversified tasks and perspectives of perceiving difficulties in working with foreigners made it possible to discover broader, generalized tendencies to respond to their needs. The common feature of the respondents was that they co-created a specific penitentiary policy, operated in a homogeneous system, and were guided by formal and informal rules of the prison life organization. The research was carried out in 3 stages and took place in two central training centres for prison staff. They were visited when vocational courses started, which made it possible to reach a large and regionally diverse sample.

The method of obtaining data was based on a survey and written interview, because the respondents received a set of situational descriptions of real problems that had occurred in the

Polish prison system. The situation description always concerned the problem of a convicted Muslim and required an extraordinary response from the staff. The arrangement of individual situations was changing in terms of necessary actions' scope and their extraordinary nature, as shown in Table 1. The situations analysed in these studies were as follows:

Situation 1: In a multi-person cell, there is a Muslim from Arab countries - a follower of Islam and a zealous practitioner. He does not communicate in Polish, knows no word, and therefore, does not understand what his fellow inmates talk about. They call the Muslim names, attribute terrorist connotations to him, and mock him. However, no one reports related problems and conflicts.

Situation 2: There is a Muslim from African countries in a multi-person cell who pays great attention to everyday ablutions. After miction and defecation, he does not use any hygiene measures (toilet paper), but demands the possibility of washing the body. As there is insufficient sanitation in this cell, he tries to use water bottles, which causes water spilled on the floor and resentments from his fellow inmates. This convict demands that the cell be prepared in such a way that the sanitary facilities allow such ablutions after each miction and defecation.

Situation 3: There is a Muslim in prison, who strictly adheres to the principles of religious rites. In addition to a pork-free diet, he demands that he be fed with halal products, including ritually slaughtered meat. He would like the Prison Service to ensure that such certified meat is imported for him, explaining it with the requirements of religion and lack of willingness to compromise on this matter.

The considered situations differed on a continuum from easy matters (closer to standard actions) to difficult matters (requiring individualized, complex actions). Each of these situations had arisen as a result of qualitative pilot studies involving visits to prisons and interviews with both the staff and foreign inmates.

Table 1. Differentiating of the situations analysed by the respondents v. extraordinary personnel reactions - layout in the research tool.

	Standard reactions	Extraordinary (organizational) reactions	Difficult, complex extraordinary reactions
Situation 1			
Situation 2			
Situation 3			

The source material was classified into two categories: a) actions that the prison staff wanted to take in the situation b) motives with which they explained their reactions. In terms of quality, wider information on motivations was obtained in relation to standard and extraordinary (organizational) situations.

The collected source material required using the method of data operationalization in order to prepare them for statistical analysis. Since the aim of the research was to look for a tendency to react in the studied sample, it was not possible to rely only on individual analyses.

For this purpose, the methodological approach of the grounded theory, proposed by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, was used. First of all, there was applied a procedure of creating categories arranging the answers thematically, in a cascade manner, i.e. until the categories were exhausted. The research was conducted in stages, and the responses were categorized after each stage. After each stage, the number of categories already known to the researcher was increasing, and new ones were being created. The research was completed when a subsequent stage of collecting the source data did not bring about new categories. In the literature, the methodological convention of the grounded theory is presented in its classic version, proposed in the 1960s by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss (1967). The form of the theory has been modified by later sociologists, such as Kathy Charmaz (Constructivist Grounded Theory) (2006), and Adele Clarke (Postmodern Situational Analysis) (2005), moving towards narrative research.

The convention of Juliet Corbin and Anselm L. Strauss (2008) was used in the procedure of creating thematic categories based on the source material, and created focused coding of categories. There was distinguished the axial category, which played a leading role for the remaining categories that developed on its basis as secondary (complementary) categories. This concept of combining the leading category with the thematically related complementary ones is important for reducing large amounts of data and helps organize them synthetically. In this manner, the source data concerning both the methods of conduct of the prison staff, and their motivations, were processed.

The key objective of the research was to discover tendencies in the way the respondents react, i.e. supra-individual patterns of response. Therefore, after creating the categories, in accordance with the grounded theory methodology, they were subjected to further statistical analysis. Two approaches were applied: a) the first one is data mining, which enables observing data distributions and their layouts in repeating patterns, b) the other is the correlation analysis. Data mining methods are defined as a manner of exploring source data and are used to analyse qualitative variables (Berry and Linhoff 1997). Thanks to this, it was possible to observe collective (generalized) tendencies in responding to the needs of convicts of different cultures. The tendencies to a specific response were obtained by using the Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) method, and the Cramer's V coefficient was used to analyse the correlation of variables, in both using the Statistica program. The correlation analyses were performed on independent variables such as: gender, seniority, direct contact with the convicts, and the dependent variable, i.e. the reactions of the respondents. The quality of these responses in relation to the needs resulting from the dissimilarity of the convicts was categorized in two

ways: into those that solve the conflict in the issue by individualising the approach (avoiding conflict), and those that generate it through the lack of concessions (generating conflict).

In terms of violation of human rights and well-being, the conducted research did not have such impact. Participation of respondents in the study was voluntary; only adults were involved. The respondents were informed on the data of the institution conducting the research and the scientific purpose. It was explained that the subject of the analysis was not of any political nature and was not related to the wave of migration and the contemporary migrant relocation policy in 2014-2017.

3. Results

3.1 Theoretical Location of the Research

The research on reactions of prison staff is prognostic when they discover paradigms, patterns of action, and not just analyse individual experiences. Through generalized tendencies, the researcher can describe the rules of action in the context of a wider penitentiary system. Especially in studies carried out in prisons, the acting subject is placed in a network of other formal and non-formal stimuli. He or she acts in a complex system, therefore his or her reactions are adjusted to the adopted and existing pragmatics. The theoretical basis of the analysis are system theories explaining the processes that govern organizations. The Edgar H. Schein's theoretical concept of a system's organizational culture model is particularly important. The organizational culture is a pattern of assumptions shared by the staff, a set of rules and behaviours developed by the system. Therefore, in the research results, it is necessary to look for generalized ways of responding. Additionally, according to E. Schein (2004), the organizational culture has its strength because the adopted paradigms work well enough for the staff to be recognized by them as valuable and useful. From the perspective of penitentiary research, an important aspect is the duplication, by new members of the organization, of previously developed activities and rules that they have found. They are communicated as the correct way of perceiving, thinking, and feeling. Edgar H. Schein has therefore distinguished three key levels of the organizational culture that are interrelated, the diversity of which prompts researchers to multi-level exploring.

1. The first level of the organizational culture includes artefacts - artificial creations of the organization, which are a set consisting of the language of the organization, unified personnel behaviour, rituals, and the sphere of material equipment and instruments of the organization.

2. The second level covers norms and values, both declarative, and actually followed. Especially the aspect of norms and rules of operation, which are informal, but developed by the organization, prompts the researcher to take into account the contexts in which they will emerge.
3. The third level describes a reality of an archetypal nature, which is unobservable and, at the same time, difficult to study through reflection. It contains hidden (unofficial) assumptions of the organization.

3.2 Tendencies in the Ways the Prison Staff Respond to the Needs of Culturally Different Convicts

The source material contained information about the actions taken by the respondents in particular situations, as well as about their motivation. The qualitative diversity of the answers enabled creating several axis categories (from 6 to 12 in each of the situations), which organized the source material, indicating key thematic groups. However, discussing the tendencies in responding to the needs of convicts was possible only after using a data mining analysis. The first approach was the Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), thanks to which the individual categories of action and motivation were subject to a polar dispersion. The dispersion of the variables shows divergent tendencies in the studied sample. In addition, the statistics used inform the researcher about the scope of the sample described by a given tendency, i.e. at what level the conclusions can be generalized.

The analysis of data dispersion has two research values here; on one hand, it creates generalized group ways of responding that cannot be noticed in individual case studies. On the other hand, it has a prognostic value, informing about the popularity of a given way of reacting in the organizational culture. The research focused on the most popular and homogeneous tendencies in the prison staff, when the accuracy of the analysis concerned the largest possible part of the studied sample.

3.2.1. Tendencies to Respond in Situation 1.

The results of the MCA show two polar ways of response, coded in the categories of action and motivation. The first pole is a tendency to minimize the problem when the Muslim has become a victim of verbal aggression. Respondents described their action as: a) Leave the problem until it dampens (Reaction: C), guided by the motivation (Motivation: 5) - Do not see a problem until it is formally reported. The other pole presented a competitive tendency

consisting of two actions and three motives. On one hand, actions aimed at isolating the victim of aggression from other inmates (R: A), guided by a utilitarian motivation, i.e. reducing potential threats in the prison (M: 2). An equally popular trend was to use disciplinary punishments against aggressors (R: B), accompanied by two motives: a) Eliminating cell conflicts (M: 1) and b) Respecting the dignity and safety of the victim of aggression (M: 3). Interesting is the qualitative analysis of both directions of responding, which describes patterns occurring in almost 17% of the studied sample. That is, in the organizational culture of the prison system, the most strongly represented activity is the avoidance of difficulties and pragmatic reactions aimed at eliminating potential threats. However, it is about internal threats that are of interest to the personnel who must counteract them. This is confirmed by the percentage distribution of responses, because as many as 58.2% of respondents preferred to isolate the Muslim in order to eliminate tensions and potential conflicts, guided only by pragmatics. On the other hand, the willingness to leave the situation unresponsive was as popular as actions to punish the aggressors, 9.5% and 9.1%, respectively. The responses on the protection and respect for the dignity of the victim, which were key here, were relatively slim. Such motivation was indicated by 27% of respondents and was at a similar level than the motivation resulting from prison pragmatics, i.e. eliminating threats (24.2%). In the categories describing the motivation, the need to educate all convicts on tolerance, to prevent similar conflicts through education and not isolation, was very poorly represented. Educational activities aimed at cultural sensitization were observed in 5.6%. This tendency is confirmed in the literature. The conducted research indicates that prison personnel in various European countries (Achermann 2009; Westrheim 2014; Ugelvik 2017; Torrijo 2019; Brosens et al. 2019; Brosens et al 2020) have a low cultural sensitivity, which is why it rarely becomes a stimulating factor. Without multicultural knowledge and cultural sensitivity, the prison staff are primarily guided by the pragmatics of their tasks.

3.2.2 Tendencies to Respond in Situation 2.

In the case of the analysis of the responses to the second situation, the used MCA dispersed two response tendencies that describe a regularity observed in 16% of the sample. First pole - the most frequent reaction of the staff was striving for standardization of the conditions and ways of treating prisoners, despite the fact that there is a clear cultural and religious difference. The prevailing activity was the standardization of living conditions for all prisoners (R: 3), which occurred in 40.1% of the respondents. It results from a double motivation: a) Forcing the Muslim to adapt to the conditions of the country (M: E - 36.6%), and

b) Teaching other methods of taking care of hygiene that are common in the country of residence (M: D - 9, 1%). The second pole - a competitive tendency, placed on the other pole, was striving for making the ways of treating the culturally and religiously different convicts more flexible. The prevailing reaction was to adjust the living conditions to the needs of the convict (R: F - 25.4%). The motivation declared by the supporters of this approach mainly involved: a) Respect for the traditions of the Muslim (M: 1 - 10.3%) and b) Yielding to the reported needs so as not to generate tension in relationships (M: 6 - 3%). From the point of view of cultural preparation of the prison staff, again, the data confirm little interest in the well-being and protection of the individual's cultural identity. 10.3% of the respondents saw religion as a factor determining the reaction, despite the fact that it was the strongest motive justifying the expectations of the convict. However, the uniformization reactions were much more popular, both in terms of the living conditions of prisoners and the methods of treating them. Respecting the diversity and identity in organizational culture, as well as respecting the awareness of the staff are minimized by pragmatics. Striving for standardization is a way to avoid flexible activities and individualization. In terms of functionality of an organizational culture, such aim is predictable and justified. On the other hand, however, it points to a strong potential resistance of the personnel to changes proposed, for example, in the EU Recommendation of 2012 [11]. As in other European countries, cultural sensitivity and recognition of individual needs is a not very popular prison practice. In my opinion, one of the reasons is a strong pursuit of the organizational culture to use schematic actions and adopt standard response patterns. The strength of the penitentiary system in its totalitarian nature and the aforementioned organizational and personal barriers provide opportunities for this. Therefore, changing the quality of punishment requires, first of all, mental change, and multicultural education of staff. It is the direction of teaching sensitivity and perception of prison reality proposed by Max Weber as an understanding interpretation. Part of it is understanding situations and relationships through the prism of cultural and identity sources. Multicultural education is also important here, as it allows not only to see practical advantages, but also the ethicality of the activities proposed in the organizational culture.

3.2.3 Tendencies to Respond in Situation 3.

The situation of providing a proper diet was the most complicated, due to non-standard activities to solve it. Additionally, in Poland, ritual slaughter products, both intended for the followers of Islam and Judaism, are not popular, and therefore, relatively expensive. Satisfying the religious expectations of the convict would therefore require flexible actions on several

levels: orders, suppliers, kitchen work, financing, etc. As a result, such practice is not implemented, and people who declare Islam tend to use an alternative diet, e.g. a vegetarian one, on a daily basis. On the other hand, religious diversity is protected by international law, and the law indicates recommendations for flexible response to the needs of convicts. Of course, the cooperation with religious unions and imams is important here, who justify the needs of inmates, preventing the manipulative and instrumental use of religion for utilitarian purposes.

The analysis of the tendencies to react describes 12% of the sample, i.e. the remaining group of respondents was dispersed in terms of alternative activities and motivations. Also 5.32% of the respondents did not give any answer, which was a clear signal of the difficulty in making decision on this issue. Competitive tendencies to react indicate as follows: First pole - activities aimed at: a) Categorical refusal to meet such claims (R: E - 23.3%) and b) Organizing an appropriate diet (R: D - 11.6%), or c) Transferring the matter to other departments (R: A - 9.5%). Rigid ways of responding to the reported need were associated with clear motivations to limit concessions to the Muslim. The prevailing motives were: a) Necessity to force the convict to adapt to the conditions of the country (M: 2 - 16.8%), b) Avoiding excessive concessions to the convicts (M: 3 - 25%). Second pole - the most common motive of respondents preferring concession and flexible actions is the need to respect the requirements of religion (M: 1 - 12.5%). In the case of other actions and motivations, a large group were supporters of legal and organizational restrictions who were convinced that such concession was prohibited by law (18%). For the researcher, this is an interesting topic of standardizing beliefs in the organizational culture. Assumptions and beliefs are duplicated, although they have not been confirmed in reality. The diet arrangement, to this extent, is enshrined in international law, in the opinions of imams and religious associations. The desired meat products themselves are also commercially available. On the other hand, the belief of the legal barriers turned out to be a popular and safe determinant of actions, although based on illusory premises.

3.3 Variable Correlation Analysis

The next stage of the research on the reacting responses of the prison staff towards culturally different convicts was the analysis of the strength of correlation of the independent variables and the dependent variable. The operationalization of the source material with the use of axial categories enabled generating a significant dependent variable defining the specificity of the undertaken reactions. The individual categories were divided into two sets: one included the responses aimed at flexibility and concessions (not generating conflict), the other included the reactions of resistance to the reported needs and striving for standardization of activities

(generating conflict). The variable was compared using the Cramer's V coefficient with independent variables, such as gender, seniority, direct contact with prisoners in the course of official duties.

The results of the correlation analysis lead to a conclusion that only the variable of seniority significantly correlated with the quality of the response to the needs of convicts (Table 2). However, such dependency appeared only in relation to the response to Situation 1 and Situation 2, and in relation to Situation 3, it was not a statistically significant dependency.

Table 2. Results of the correlation analysis of the variables of seniority v. quality of the decision made.

		chi-square	df	p	Cramer's V
Situation 1	Seniority v. conflict generation	18.085	8	0.021	0.15
Situation 2	Seniority v. conflict generation	18.663	8	0.017	0.15

The analysis of direct responses indicated that in Situation 1, 60% of the youngest staff avoided conflict, but at the same time, 37% of them undertook reactions generating tension, which did not resolve the situation. Much different results, with the greatest discrepancy, were recorded in people with 6-10 years of seniority. A very large part, 85% of the respondents, avoided generating a conflict by acting flexibly, and 13% of them generated a conflict. More divergent results appeared in the analysis of the ways of responding in Situation 2. Taking into account the youngest staff experience (0-2 years), 36% of respondents decided to engage in conflict-generating activities, while 35% preferred measures aimed at mitigating the tension. A similar tendency was maintained in the group of the employed for 3-5 years. A reversal of the observed reaction tendencies occurred in staff with 6-10 years of seniority (52% did not generate a conflict, 42% did). A constant increase in the reactions to mitigate and minimize tension was observed in the group of people with 11-20 years of seniority (54% were flexible, 40% were schematic), and over 20 years of experience (60% was willing to act flexibly, while 37% was willing to act schematically). In the case of other independent variables (i.e. gender and direct contact with prisoners in official duties), the results were dispersed and the correlation analysis did not show any significant dependencies.

Discussion and Conclusions

The analysis of data in terms of tendencies to respond to the needs of culturally different convicts indicates several aspects of the discussion. On one hand, the quality of decisions and motivations may be discussed, including judging them in terms of international law and international research to date. However, a more important discussion direction is the analysis of consistency of reaction, i.e. the question of standards. The prognostic dimension of the research is important here, because since the correlation analysis identified similar ways of reacting at the level of 12-17%, the general population of officers will present them to a similar extent. Therefore, the question arises whether there are consistent standards in penitentiary policy regarding the treatment of the convicted foreigner. The data indicate that there are no such standards; the reactions of the staff are rather a result of individual experiences, reflections, and previous practices. Of course, there may arise another question - whether such standardization is needed. Is it not better to leave the decisions up to the staff? Such freedom is an advantage in an open environment, but not in a prison setting. There is no possibility of negotiation in a total institution, no alternative solutions can be found. The standards of consistent and legal action are key.

The above thesis about the need for standards is also confirmed by the qualitative analysis of the ways of reacting, focusing on the role of education in relations with convicts. The cited literature on the subject highlights the need for cultural education of prison staff. It is also a task resulting from the Recommendation of the European Union. Nevertheless, the respondents hardly perceived the role of education in building relationships with culturally different convicts. The prevalence of restrictive, isolation, and administrative solutions turned out to be easier and more effective for prison pragmatics. This supports the fact that the standardization of penitentiary policy is important because there is no readiness to implement education for respect for culture and identity. Due to the lack of knowledge, the response to the needs of convicts is based on more or less formal beliefs prevailing in the organizational culture. It cannot be accepted that in one facility there may be a greater flexibility in the policy of protecting the identity of culturally different people, and in another, the policy is schematic, eliminating concessions as threats.

The quality of responses aimed at schematic actions and reluctant to the needs of culturally different convicts will certainly generate strong resistance of staff to the change of the organizational culture. The results of the research make it possible to forecast such resistance, therefore it is worth starting discussions on the model of cultural education and its implementation into practice. It is already known that potential, extensive cultural training will not bring the intended results. Rather, they will burn out their energy to convince the

beneficiaries of their rightness, to fight stereotypes and the strong resistance of the organizational culture to change. Therefore, an interesting solution are cultural mentors in specific prisons, who coordinate the quality of treating foreigners based on their personality traits, knowledge, and openness to action. Their role is especially important when there are people of strikingly different religiosity and culture. The mentors have knowledge on the specificity of cultural diversity in order to set clear rules for relations at the crossroads of cultures. In prison conditions, there is always a risk of manipulating otherness for utilitarian purposes. Ethnic customs from different regions of the world also step in the sphere of identity, which must be skilfully distinguished from religion and cultural value. An important task of mentors should be cooperation with local religious people and imams, whose activity in prisons clearly defines the convicts who require flexible actions to protect their identity, separating them from those who utilitarily manipulate declarations of diversity.

The correlation analyses also induce a discussion on the factors determining decisions made by officers. The relatively small range of correlation (only seniority) means that these factors should be looked for rather in the entire organizational culture of the system. An important role is played by unwritten rules, beliefs, and stereotypes, and their recognition which requires further research.

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