A STUDY OF THE HANDLING OF INMATES AND THE NATURE OF INMATE SUBCULTURE IN SELECTED PRISONS IN NIGERIA

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JULY, 2016

DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis entitled "A Study of the Handling of Inmates and the Nature of Inmate Subculture in Selected Prisons in Nigeria" has been carried out by me in the Department of Sociology. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this thesis was previously presented for another degree or diploma programme in Ahmadu Bello University or any other academic Institution.

Paul Njideka _____ _____

Name of student Signature Date

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled "A Study of the Handling of Inmates and the Nature of Inmate Subculture in Selected Prisons in Nigeria" by Paul Njideka meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Ph.D (Sociology) of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACIP----------Assistant Chief Inspector of Prisons
ACP----------Assistant Comptroller of Prisons
AI----------Amnesty International
ASP----------Assistant Superintendent of Prisons
ATI----------Awaiting Trial Inmate
BBC---------- British Broadcasting Corporation
CC---------- Condemned Criminal
CIP----------Chief Inspector of Prisons
CJS----------Criminal Justice System
CLO----------Civil Liberty Organization
CSP----------Chief Superintendent of Prisons
DCIP----------Deputy Chief Inspector of Prison
DCP---------- Deputy Controller of Prisons
DSP----------Deputy Superintendent of Prisons
FCT----------Federal Capital Territory
IP---------- Inspector of Prisons
LFN---------- Law of the Federation of Nigeria
NGO---------- Non-Governmental Organization
NPC----------National Population Commission
NPS---------- Nigerian Prisons Service
NWGPRD----------National Working Group on Prison Reform and Development
PA---------- Prison Assistant/Attendant
RIPC---------- Reports on International Prisons Conditions
SF---------- Sample Frame
SMR---------- Standard Minimum Rules
SP---------- Superintendent of Prisons
SS----------Sample Size
UN----------United Nations
UNODC---------- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

ABSTRACT

The study focused on the handling of inmates and the nature of inmate subculture in selected prisons in Nigeria, namely Kirikiri Maximum Prison, Lagos, Kuje Medium Prison, Abuja and Kakuri Open Prison Camp, Kaduna. The research aimed at investigating into the treatment approach adopted by the uniformed staff in handling convicts in their custody; inmates and staff perceptions of the goals of imprisonment; the extent the prisons abide by the Standard Minimum Rules (SMRs) of the United Nations; the nature of inmate subculture in the prisons; and inmates' attitude towards the reformation and rehabilitation programmes.Two theories which address inmate subculture, namely, indigenous origin theory (deprivation theory) and importation theory, together with rehabilitation theory, were thoroughly examined for the purpose of adopting the theoretical framework for the study. Deprivation theory which addresses the closeness and traditional-oriented nature of Nigerian prisons and rehabilitation theory which addresses proper handling of inmates were adopted as the theoretical frameworks of the study. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected for the purpose of tackling the research problem. Questionnaire was the instrument used to collect quantitative data. Total sample sizes of 162 and 135 of inmates and uniformed staff respectively were drawn from sample frames of 485 inmates and 406 uniformed staff which ensured that at least one in every three categories of inmates and staff was included in the sample. Stratified sampling technique was employed to ensure that the prisons were proportionally represented in the study. In each prison, systematic sampling technique was applied to draw the allocated sample sizes of inmates and uniformed staff respondents from the sample frames.Qualitative data were collected from certain categories of inmates and staff in order to complement quantitative data collected from samples of inmates and staff. In-depth interview (using check list) and non-participant observation (using observation guide) were also used in this regard. The respondents here include inmate leaders, inmates attached to reformation and rehabilitation programmes; key administrative officers and reformation and rehabilitation officers/instructors.The data analysis was carried out at two levels, namely univariate and bivariate. Among other things, the study revealed that the uniformed staff were liberal-oriented in their attitude towards the inmates which ushered in good relationships between staff and inmates; that staff and inmates perceived the imprisonment goals differently; that most essential rules of the SMRs were not complied with; that the inmate government (inmate subculture) differed considerably in modus operandi from the conventional inmate subculture; and the inmates had positive attitude towards the reformation and rehabilitation programmes. In view of the findings, the researcher recommended both short-term and long-term measures to tackle the challenges facing the prisons. The short-term measures include exploring non-custodial punishments for minor criminal and civil offences instead of over-reaching the Criminal Justice System (CJS); adequate separation of convicts in prison custody to avoid the devastating effects of prisonization; and adequate funding of prisons by the government concerned. Long-term measures include separation of prisons and jails; systematic conversion of warders to liberal treatment officers; and official establishment of participatory government in prisons in view of the cordial relationships between prison authority and the inmate government. Suggestions for further researches include periodic studies of discharged inmates and examining the dynamic interplay between inmates' attitude to rehabilitation programmes and post release success.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Prior to the introduction of the contemporary prisons in Nigeria, various indigenous societies had ways of, and institutions for, dealing with criminals. Such ways included fine, flogging, mutilation, amputation, ostracism, banishment, enslavement and execution, depending on the gravity of the offense committed. Holding facilities existed in many societies such as Ogboni House in Yorubaland, Ewedo in Edo Kingdom, Ulo Nga in Igboland and Gidan Yari in Hausaland (Awe, 1968; Ahire, 1990). Ayittey (1991) maintained that all over the world, "interned inmates (prisoners) are generally regarded as criminals, yet the way a nation treats her prisoners is a good measure of the humanity of its government and citizens." According to Nwolise (2010), African societies, prior to the invasion of the continent by the slave dealers (1440s) and colonial master (1850s), had their respective and effective criminal justice systems, but no prisons.

Ayittey (1991) further attested that there were laws, (unwritten constitution, traditions, customs, codes of morality, conventions, covenants, and pronouncements of kings – in- Council); law enforcement institutions (King's messengers, the youths, age grades, female groups,secret societies, masquerades etc), courts (King's court, people's Court, etc), and corrections processes aimed not at punitive and retributive goals but at delivering justice, restoring and promoting social harmony through restoration/restitution and compensation.

The contemporary Nigerian Criminal Justice System (CJS), which prison is a part of, was introduced by the British Colonial Government (Awe, 1968; and Orakwe, 2011). Criminal Justice System is an organized legal institution which is made up of three major components,

namely, law enforcement, judiciary and correctional institutions. Newman (1978) defines the system as a loose federation of agencies, each separately budgeted, each drawing its manpower from separate wells and each a profession unto itself. Moore (1997) noted that Criminal Justice System is not a system in the sense that the component agencies are centrally controlled by an authority but that the agencies are linked through a process in which the "outputs" of one agency become the "inputs" of the next agency in the criminal justice process. It is the machinery through which an accused person is processed and disposed (Dambazau, 1999).

Normally, the Criminal Justice System is responsible for the regulation and control of criminal behaviour as well as the instrument of maintaining order, peace and justice. The Criminal Justice System is the manifestation of society's use of due process (Macionis, 2009). The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (amended) requires that the society responds to crime using due process. This implies that the Criminal Justice System must operate within the ambit of the law in handling the cases of suspected criminals. According to the Constitution, no person will be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. In view of these provisions, those charged with crimes have the right to defend themselves and to confront their accusers; they have a right to legal counsel and a speedy, impartial and public trial; they can refuse to testify against themselves; and they cannot be tried twice for the same crime (1999 Constitution (amended), chapter 1v:33-45). Perhaps, brief explanations of the major subsystems of the Criminal Justice System will help us to appreciate it the more.

The Police: The annexation of Lagos as an extension of British Government in 1861 marked the beginning of the institution of formal machinery of governance in Nigeria (Orakwe, 2011). At this point in time, the British colonial government was chiefly concerned with the protection of

legitimate trade; guarantee the profit of British merchants as well as the activities of missionaries (Ahire, 1990).In view of this, Mr. McCrosky, the then acting governor of the colony, and a prominent British merchant in Lagos, formed a police force of about twenty-five (25) constables (Obilade, 1979) and that marked the beginning of police force in Nigeria.

Under the colonial government, the police had wide functions to perform which included the prevention and detection of crimes, repression of internal disturbances, and defense of the colony. In addition, it was used to suppress local resistance to foreign rule and carry out the colonial territorial expansionist policy (Alemika, 1983). The police, in view of the functions, doubled as an armed force during the colonial government. Presently, the general duties of the police as contained in the Police Act and Regulations (CAP. P19. LFN2004) are: "prevention and detection of crime; the apprehension of offenders, the preservation of law and order; the protection of life and property and the due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged, and shall perform such military duties within or without Nigeria as may be required by them, or under the authority of, this or any other Act" (Part 11, section 4).

The police are the most visible component of the Criminal Justice System in view of the fact that they maintain regular direct contact with the public. The agency provides entry into the Criminal Justice System either through crime reports from the members of the public or through its discoveries and investigations. A policeman, as the saying goes, is the "gate-keeper" of the Criminal Justice System. This is because he determines who enters into the Criminal Justice System and his decision has wider implications for other subsystems (Dambazau, 1999). In the course of his duty, a policeman exercises much discretion which affects the entire Criminal

Justice System in the long run. He determines whether or not a given act is an offense; where to patrol; who to interrogate; what to investigate, and what to report officially.

The Nigerian police encounter many difficulties in performing their constitutional duties. The work of investigation requires the investigating police officer to visit the location of the scene of crime, recoding of testimony and making arrest wherever desirable. Unfortunately, the police are very unpopular among the populace and therefore lack their much required support and cooperation. Generally, the police have negative image as being corrupt, unfriendly and coercive.

Siddique (2005) noted that the bitter police-public relationship dated back to the freedom struggle during the British rule. The police had the duty to maintain law and order which exposed them to confrontation with the public. The result was that the agency was placed in an unenviable position and the obvious target of public fury. Without prejudice to the reason, the present unenviable records of the police's brutalities and unprofessional acts in Nigeria cannot be underestimated. The police are involved in all manner of corruption, extortion and extra-judicial killings. The killing of the leader of the Boko Haram sect, Yusuf Mohammed, who was allegedly captured alive by the army and handed over to the police was a case in point ("Sect leader alive when captured" BBC News, 3 August,2009).

Under their operation "fire for fire" many captured suspects die in their custody or are shot dangerously while attempting to escape (Dinkalu, 1999). Apart from the strained police-public relationship, the universal tendency for people to keep away from the problems of others compounds the problems of the police. In actual fact the police ought to be people-friendly and protect lives and property. The departure of the police from its traditional role contributes a lot to

prison congestion since it is the police that, in most cases, determine who enters the criminal justice process through its arrests and detentions.

The Courts: Prior to the British colonization and occupation of the territories which comprised what is known as Nigeria today, the indigenous people had developed a system of maintaining law, order and justice (Obilade, 1979; Okonkwo, 1990). In most of the areas which constituted what is today known as Northern Nigeria, the law in force was the Muslim law of Maliki School based on the Holy Quran and the teachings of Prophet Muhammad; in the areas now constituting the Southern Nigeria and some parts of the territories now the northern states, the law in force was unwritten customary law (Obilade, 1979; Okonkwo, 1990; Dina, Akintayo and Ekundayo, 2005).

During the period in question, the British and other foreign merchants had already started to trade with the indigenous people on the coast of West Africa-Lagos, Benin, Bonny, Brass, New Calabar (Degema) and Old Calabar (Calabar) (Obilade, 1979). Then, it was the duty of the local courts to settle trade disputes between foreign and indigenous traders (Dina, Akintayo and Ekundayo, 2005). However, the foreign merchants were not satisfied and complained to their home governments that they hardly obtained justice in the native courts. Consequently, in 1949, the British government appointed the first consul for the purpose of regulating the trade between the British and indigenous traders (Obilade, 1979). The consul established consular courts which dealt with trading disputes between British and indigenous traders. In addition, equity courts were jointly established by British and indigenous traders in coastal areas of Benin, Bonny, Brass and Calabar (Obilade, 1979; Dina, Akintayo and Ekundayo, 2005).

At Independence in 1960, Nigeria evolved a legal system but not very different from what it inherited from the colonial masters. The constitution of 1999 (as amended) primarily charged the judiciary with the responsibility of law-making and to follow the law-making procedures as specified in sections 58 and 59.

The courts constitute the second subsystem of the Criminal Justice System which is set up to define, interpret and apply the law, and ensure its enforcement for the purpose of maintaining tranquility in society. The court stands for justice, depicted by the justice scale. The courts consist of lawyers, judges and jurists who are expected to discharge their constitutional responsibilities without fear or favor, hence the independence of the judiciary enshrined in the Nigerian constitution.

The judiciary which comprises the courts is referred to as "the last hope of the common man". By implication, it serves as an avenue for any person wronged, whether poor or rich, to obtain redress. When a crime is committed and the suspect arrested, formal action must be channeled through a court. It is a court that has the legislative competence to determine guilt or innocence of the accused. Any person who trespasses by the way of harming the accused is liable to prosecution in the court of law for taking laws into his hands.

Like the police, colonial courts (consular courts) established by the British government at the Lagos colony were meant to protect the business interests of the British merchants who felt that the native courts that were arbitrating in trading disputes between them and indigenous traders were not in their favor. Through the importation and imposition of English law-common law, equity and English statutes-the British colonial government legally created a favorable business environment to enable British merchants to exploit their indigenous counterparts. Local laws and

customs were relegated by subjecting them to the tests of repugnancy to natural justice, equity and good conscience (Obilade, 1979).

Even today, the courts have left much to be desired in discharging their avowed constitutional obligations. The Constitution (1999) (amended) provides for an independence of the judiciary; in practice, the judiciary is subject to executive and legislative pressures, influenced by political leaders at both federal and state levels and it suffers from corruption and inefficiency. Today, the problem of prison congestion cannot be divorced from court congestion perpetuated by unnecessary delay of cases. The right to a speedy and fair trial has faded away. The high number of "Awaiting Trial Inmates" which dominates the prison population in Nigeria has to do with the inability of the courts to dispense justice without delay. Sanda (2007) maintained that the congestion at the court which is a carryover from the courts to the prisons arises from series of adjournments in both listing and hearing of charges. The result is over stretching of the available prison facilities.

The negative consequences are of two folds: the Awaiting Trial Inmates who are not exposed to any formal treatment (except being locked in cells) greatly increase the population to the extent that the convicted inmates receive inadequate attention as regards their reformation and rehabilitation; and those not convicted are freed after wasted years of "illegal incarceration", leaving them feeling dejected and wronged.

The Historical Evolution of the Nigerian Prison System

Modern prisons are enmeshed in a number of roles, some of which seem to be incompatible. This is because, on one hand, prisons are required to incapacitate and punish offenders taken into hostage, on the other hand, they are required to discipline, reform, teach self-reliance and

rehabilitate the offenders. Many critics are of the opinion that these multi-dimensional functions are not possible to be realized by prisons concurrently in view of their contradictions. Sir Alexander Paterson, a member of Prison Commission (U.K) from 1922 to 1947, maintained that "you cannot train a man for freedom under conditions of captivity" (Siddique 2005).

Just like other subsystems of the Nigerian Criminal Justice Systems discussed earlier, the Nigerian prison system owes its origin to the British annexation and occupation of the Lagos Colony in 1861 (Elias, 1968; Obilade, 1979; Dina, et al 2005). The establishment of police and courts in the colony and its environs necessitated the establishment of prison to complete the Criminal Justice System. Consequently, in 1872, Broad Street Prison Lagos, with the initial intake of 300 inmates, was established (Elias, 1968; Dina, et al 2005 and Orakwe, 2011). The progressive encroachment of the British into the hinterland and the establishment of British protectorate towards the end of the 19th century necessitated the establishment of the prisons as the last link in the Criminal Justice System (Orakwe, 2011). Thus by 1910, there already were prisons in Degema, Calabar, Onitsha, Asaba, Benin, Ibadan, Sapele, Jebba and Lokoja under the control of the Police Department (Elias, 1968; Obilade, 1979; and Orakwe, 2011).

By 1906 the British Colonial Government had declared protectorates over the East, West and North and finally amalgamated the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria as a political entity, Nigeria on January, 1914 (Obilade, 1979). At this point in time, instead of having unified prison system, Orakwe (2011) observed that there was a dualisation: the National Prisons under the control of the government and the Native Authority Prisons under the control of the local rulers. The Prison Ordinance 1916 and Prison Regulation 1917 were mostly applicable to the National Prisons since the local rulers were given

free hand to run the local prisons under them. The ordinance and the regulation formally established the prisons and their operations and empowered the governor to establish and regulate the operations of the prisons; to declare any building in any place to be a prison and to appoint the Director of Prisons and other officials to manage and superintend the entire Prisons system (Elias, 1968; Orakwe, 2011). By this ordinance, the Director of Prisons was also empowered to make standing orders for the organization, discipline, clothing and staffing of the prisons staff and inmates.

Also, the non-unification of the prison system then could be seen in the marked difference in which the southern and northern prisons were administered. In the south, where the prisons were modeled along British standard, there were three categories of prisons. A convict prison was for those sentenced to more than two years of imprisonment; a provincial prison for offenders serving less than two years of imprisonment; and a divisional prison was meant for offenders serving less than six months (Elias, 1968). Convictand provincial prisons were placed under senior prison officials and Divisional Prisons were placed under the supervision of the administrative officers. The overall control, administration and supervision of prisons were placed under the Director of Prisons appointed by the Governor.

In the North, the prison administration was entirely different from what obtained in the south. Native authorities operated prisons on local levels under the day to day supervision of the Chief Warder, "Yari" (Elias, 1968). The prisons were under the direction of the Northern Inspector – General of Police. Police officers mostly performed the work of warders as the prisons were treated as an appendage of the police cells.

As things began to unfold, the Native Authority Prisons controlled by the local rulers began to be abused, especially in the North and other areas where the local feudal authorities wielded enormous powers (Elias, 1968; Orakwe, 2011). The local chiefs used such powers to settle old political scores, extract tributes, subvert the course of justice and generally perpetuated injustice. They were also very poorly run and the local prison conditions varied from one place to another in their disorganization, callousness and exploitation (Orakwe, 2011).The National Prison, directly controlled and staffed by the colonial government did not fare well either. The Prisons regulation was published in 1917 to prescribe admission, custody, treatment and classification procedures as well as staffing, dieting and clothing regimes for the prisons. These processes were limited in one very general sense. They were not geared towards any particular type of treatment of inmates. Instead they represent just policies of containment of those who were already in prison (Orakwe, 2011).

In view of the above deficiencies exhibited by both national and native authority prisons, Ahire (1990) maintained that colonial prison was imperatively adopted by foreign and oppressive ruling class to subjugate, intimidate and subordinate the indigenous people. He went further to affirm that at this stage the colonial prison was not ready to reform any one, but unmistakably functioned to take custody of, and control of, those who resisted colonial domination and exploitation.

Prisons were highly congested and different categories of inmates (first offenders, habitual offenders and non-criminals) were lumped together in cells. Lack of spacious accommodation hampered smooth administration. In many areas, existing buildings were converted to prisons; there was no deliberate plan to build prisons. Reformation and rehabilitation were given little or

no attention. The emphasis was on hard labour (Awe, 1968). Moreover, during the colonial government the bulk of the prison staff were ex-servicemen noted for their authoritarianism which showed that the prison system was carefully groomed towards militancy and cruelty, but nevertheless it served the colonial purpose (Orakwe, 2011).

The prison service under colonial government only witnessed a relative modernization in 1934 when Colonel V.L. Mabb, an ex-military officer, was appointed the Director of Prisons by the then Governor, Sir Donald Cameron (Awe, 1968; Orakwe, 2011). Mabb worked hard to introduce a unified prison. Though he failed, he succeeded in his supervisory and inspectoral powers over the native authority prisons. It was also during his tenure that the Prisons Warders Welfare Board was formed.

Dolan (1946 – 1955) succeeded Mabb as the Director of Prisons. Mr Dolan was a trained prison officer with an ample field of prison administrative experience. Dolan inherited deplorable prisons condition and conditions of service. He emphasized the philosophy of reformation and rehabilitation and set up operational guidelines on how they could be achieved. He made classification of prisoners mandatory in all prisons, introduced visits by relations to inmates, introduced progressive earning schemes for long term first offenders and embarked on staff development/training.

Dolan retired from the service in 1951 and was succeeded by K. Carew (1951-61) as the Director of Prisons. Carew did not achieve much, probably because his period was pre-occupied with the arrangement towards self-rule in the country. Francis (1961) replaced Carew as the Acting Director of Prisons for the period of six months before he handed over to the first indigenous director, Chief F.S Giwa-Osagie. The appointment of Osagie as the Director of Prisons ushered

in rapid process of Nigerianization of the key positions in the prison service (Awe, 1968). Cadet officers recruited in 1958 were used to fill senior positions hitherto reserved for expatriate officers. His tenure witnessed a tremendous increase in prison population with the attendant problems such as improper classification of inmates, inadequate accommodation, poor feeding and poor sanitation.

Both federal and native authority prisons were facing serious challenges as a result the Federal Government, in 1968, set up the Gobir Commission to inquire into the problems and make recommendations. Among other things, the Gobir Commission recommended a unified prison system for the country. Consequently, the Native Authority Prisons were abolished and on the 1st of April 1968, Nigeria had a single prison system with all prisons placed under the control of the Federal Government of Nigeria (Orakwe, 2011).

Following the adoption of the Gobir Commission's recommendation and the subsequent release of the White Paper in 1971, reformation and rehabilitation of prison inmates became the central issue of the prison policy. Initially, the policy was contained in the Decree 9 of 1972 (Orakwe, 2011) which stipulated clearly how the prisons were to be run. Very importantly, it spelt out the treatment regimes the inmates would be subjected to; the aim of imprisonment which is recovery as opposed to the punishment that characterized previous regimes. In 1990, the decree was revised as CAP366 Law of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The new law did not only uphold the provisions of the decree 9 of 1972 but also went ahead to stipulate ways of treating inmates in custody. The statutory functions of the Prison Service are as follows:

1. to take into lawful custody all those certified to be kept by courts of competent jurisdiction;
2. to produce suspects in courts as and when due;

3. to identify the causes of their anti-social dispositions;

4. to set in motion mechanisms for their treatment and training for eventual reintegration into society as normal law abiding citizens on discharge; and

5. to administer prison farms and industries for this purpose and in the process generate revenue for the government (Prison Act and Regulation CAP366LFN 2004).

As it could be noted from the above provisions, the law guiding the prison service in Nigeria, with particular reference to treatment of inmates, has a human face. It is targeted towards adequate custody, humane treatment and rehabilitation of the inmates. However, it is one thing to make laudable policy and another thing to implement it. This study is focused on "the handling of inmates and the nature of the inmate subculture in selected prisons in Nigeria". The essence is to investigate the actual treatment regimes in the prisons which often give rise to the manner in which inmates are handled by staff and the consequent nature of inmate subculture in the prisons.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

The study centres on two key variables: "handling of inmates" and "inmate subculture", hence the need to understand the concepts. "Handling of inmates", as conceived here, refers to the process, or manner of approach, adopted by prison staff towards or in dealing with the prisoners under their custody. It embraces all the measures (both official and unofficial) the staff take in order to relieve, cure, or correct the inmates of their criminality. The United Nation's Standard Minimum Rules (SMR) for the treatment of offenders (part 1, section 1-55), with respect to the handling of inmates, clearly stipulated the following: absence of discrimination in the treatment of prisoners; proper classification and separation of prisoners according to sex, age, criminal records, the legal reasons for their detention and the necessities of their handling.

Also included are issues of accommodation, food, clothing, personal hygiene and medical services; discipline, contact with the outside world; library facilities, religion and the outlook of the institutional personnel. Furthermore, part 2, in respect to the treatment of the inmates, prominently features areas of prison labour, education and recreation as well as social relations and after-care (UNHCR, 1955).

Handling of inmates varies from time to time and place to place, depending on the societal perceptions and reactions to crimes and criminals. Wormith and Andrews (1984) maintained that the physical, emotional and psychological prison environment faced by inmates is determined by the prevailing beliefs and attitudes held by the criminal Justice System and the general public concerning the appropriateness of certain types of punishment. According to Wormith and Andrews (1984) some societies maintain that in order for a punishment to be acceptable to the public, it must clearly demonstrate adverse effect. Other societies insist that the punishment of incarceration does not have to, and should not, be equated with harm and that the creation of a humane and effective prison environment requires the development of mechanism with which to reduce deprivation of liberty (John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999).

The corollary of that is that two schools of thought emerged with respect to the handling of prisoners---the classical school and the positivist school. The classical school championed by Bentham and Beccaria maintains that an offender is fully aware of what he does; implying that crime is a deliberate act which if not combated could become a "life pattern" (Obioha, 2002). The advocates maintain that criminality grows out from egoistic and self-satisfying interests of human beings. In their handling approach, they tend to "make the punishment fit the crime" (Barnes, 1972).

The positivist school championed by Lombroso, Garofalo and Ferri of the Italian school maintains that the offenders are not solely responsible for their criminal behaviour; that the impacts of the society and other socio-environmental factors cannot be ruled out. In view of this, the advocates insist on the replacement of punishment by scientific methods for the protection of society (Siddique, 2005). They opined that in the handling of prisoners "the treatment should be made to fit the offender" (Barnes, 1972). This research is intended to investigate the way prison uniformed staff (warders) handle inmates under their custody.

Inmates in prisons are not entirely isolated from one another but, more often than not, interact as members of a community. Williams and Fish (1974) and Clemmer (1958) maintained that as members of a community, inmates have culture of their own with norms and values which guide their conduct of behaviour and attitudes. The role of the inmate subculture in the lives of the inmates cannot be overlooked. Lloyd cited by Goffman (1961) maintained that:

> In many ways, the inmate social system may be viewed as providing a way of life which enables the inmates to avoid the devastating psychological effect of internalizing and converting social rejection into self-rejection. In effect, it permits the inmate to reject his rejecters rather than himself.

Clemmer (1958) also maintained that prison inmates are a community and a community has a culture that determines the behaviour patterns of the individuals involved. He was optimistic that participation in the inmate culture for a long time could have a long lasting impact on the individual inmate by making it difficult for him to adjust to the cultural norms of the outside world when released from the institution. Once an inmate becomes a member of the community, in order to survive, he engages in two simultaneous processes of putting aside the values of the outside world and at the same time gradually accepting the values, customs and general culture

of the inmates-a process known as prisonization (Clemmer, 1958; Bartol and Bartol, 1994). The mutual obligations created within the inmate subculture strengthen inmate morale, and more significantly, protect inmates who engage in anti-social behaviour and illicit activities (Schrag, 1966).

However, some studies, such as Okunola et al (2002), maintained that inmate subculture is not always anti-social and anti-administration. Okunola, et al (2002) maintained that within the inmate subculture, there is a hierarchy of inmate officials who command the respect of other inmates and, more often than not, are recognized and utilized by the prison authority. The authors went further to affirm that though the "administration" of the informal organization of the inmates has no locus standi in the prison system, it acquires some recognition to the extent that it acts as the link between the inmates and the staff.

Unpalatable stories and remarks abound as regards treatment of the inmates, prison facilities and condition of inmates in Nigerian prisons. Many people believe that overcrowding in Nigerian prisons contribute significantly to bad prison conditions to which inmates are subjected. Talking about inadequate Nigerian prison infrastructure, Orakwe (2011) maintained that whatever the demerits the prison system bequeathed Nigeria at the end of the colonial rule, it is by and large far more progressive than the prison structure in Nigeria today.

The overcrowding in Nigerian prisons has been seriously blamed on the judiciary and the police who fail to see that justice is delivered in good time. Ugwuonye (2011) maintained that in Nigeria, instead of disposing of bail application with priority and urgency that would accord meaning and effect to the constitutional presumption of innocence, the courts adjourn bail hearings many times while remanding the suspects in police cells or prison custody. In some

cases, judges impose excessive and harsh bail terms which force suspects to remain in custody even after being admitted to bail.

Overcrowding in prisons has serious negative implications on the treatment of the inmates. Accommodation, classification, bedding, feeding, medical care and personal hygiene of the inmates, as well as reformation and rehabilitation facilities, are adversely affected.In his "Comparative Criminology Tour of the World", Winslow (2001) maintained that in Nigerian prisons, disease was pervasive in the cramped, poorly ventilated facilities, and there was chronic shortage of medical supplies. Food was irregularly supplied; some inmates had to provide their own food. Petty corruption among prison officials made it difficult for money provided for food to reach inmates. Bed or mattresses were not provided to many inmates, forcing them to sleep on concrete floors, often without blankets. Police and prison officials often denied inmates food and medical treatment as a form of punishment or to extort money from them.

Olanrewaju, et al (2011) distinguished between a jail and a prison: a jail is meant for suspects waiting trial and prison for convicted persons. They maintained that in Nigerian prisons, the two groups are lumped together in various cells and stripped of their dignity, due to the fact that prison facilities have been stretched beyond their original capacities. Nwezeh (2010) maintained that the Nigerian prison system was supposed to exist with the full complement to legal, vocational, educational and social services, but the situation has remained pathetic. He went further to state that there is absence of classification of prisoners as in young and old, pre- trial detainees, first time offenders and suspects who committed minor offences as they shared the prison facilities with dangerous criminals.

Abiodun (1998) noted that inmates of Yola Prison were not classified either by prison sentence or criminal records; the consequence was that the mentally retarded prisoners, first offenders, long-term, short-term and young prisoners were indiscriminately assigned to cells. Odekunle (1979) and Ahire (1990), have equally testified that the inmates are so regimented to the extent that it appears that the primary purpose of imprisonment in Nigeria is punitive. Odekunle (1979) observed that Nigerian prisons were operating on a mere custodial and punitive philosophy not taking advantage of recent penological innovations such as rational prisoner classification and segregation, work- release and parole.

In view of the above anecdotal accounts and research findings of the issues of treatment of inmates in Nigerian prisons, one wonders the nature of the inmate subculture in Nigerian prisons, the impact on the staff-inmate relationships and the entire reformation and rehabilitation programmes. In his study of Kaduna and Zaria Prisons, Tanimu (2010) noted that the relationship between the staff and the inmates was characterized more by hostility than friendship; that minor infraction of rules attracted undue and severe punishment from the staff and hostility meted to them ranged from physical torture to solitary confinement.

Eze and Okafor (2007), in their study of Nigerian Medium Prison Kirikiri, Lagos, revealed that many inmates join different inmates' groups in order to overcome maltreatments from the staff and older prisoners, and harsh prison conditions such as hunger. Hostility between staff and the inmates occasioned by custodial-punitive-treatment approach is most likely to set convicts against the staff with negative implication for the achievement of penal objectives of reformation and rehabilitation.

Criminologists such as Clemmer (1958), Goffman (1960), Sykes and Messinger (1960) maintained that depriving inmates and subjecting them to dehumanizing conditions make them to form an informal organization known as inmate subculture for the purpose of protecting themselves. Through the process of fraternization, the inmates who were socially distant persons find themselves developing mutual support and common counter mores in opposition to a system that has forced them into intimacy and into a single, equalitarian, community of fate (Goffman, 1961). According to Williams and Fish (1974), tightly regimented institutions, by dehumanizing the inmate, cause him to be more dependent upon the inmate culture for his physical and emotional needs. Hebburn and Stratton (1977) maintained that the inmate subculture is a normative system the essential components of which appear to be the condemnation of the condemners, the repudiation of the legitimacy of institutional norms, staff values, and imprisoned men, a rejection of free society and an acceptance of and identification with inmates.

If inmate subculture could exert a substantial force on the behavior of the individual inmate, as well as the collective behavior of inmates (as observed above by Goffman, 1961; Hebburn and Stratton, 1977; Clemmer, 1958; Aultman, 1978) then, it follows that this group could be manipulated to make a positive contribution to reformative/rehabilitative efforts. This study is geared towards filling the gap.

Furthermore, the manner in which the uniformed staff handle inmates under their custody, in view of the literature review, leaves much to be desired. Nigeria is a signatory to the United Nations' standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners which justifies imprisonment as follows:

> The treatment of persons sentenced to imprisonment or a similar measure shall have as its purpose, so as the length of the sentence permits, to establish

> in them the will to lead law-abiding and self-supporting lives after their release. To fit them to do so, the treatment shall be such that will encourage their self-respect and develop their sense of responsibility(section 65).

Empirical observations have shown that prisons are not handling inmates they hold hostage as required by the rules. The uniformed staff adhere to the idea that correction of inmates requires strict discipline, regimentation and punishment, all in the atmosphere of impersonality and quasi-military rigidity (Ikoh, 2011). In view of this, inmates' mails are censored, visitation is closely and strictly monitored, privacy is virtually nonexistent, feeding is poor, inmates appear half-naked and inmate distance is maintained through coerced deference by mass handling of inmates. Such conditions influence Alemika's (1987) conclusion that Nigeria's prisons are human warehouses and Eze and Okafor's (2007) opinion that the prisons are breeding grounds for criminals. If the above stated conditions really exist in the prisons, the question is: how will they be erased, especially the inhuman manner of handling inmates, in order to achieve the much desired goals of reformation and rehabilitation? The answer to the problem also lies within the boundary of this study.

1.3 Research Questions

In view of the research problem above, the research is directed towards finding answers to the following questions:

1. What treatment-approach is adopted by the uniformed staff in Nigerian prisons in handling of inmates under their custody?

2. How do the staff and the inmates conceive the reasons for imprisonment in Nigeria?

3. How are the inmates of Nigerian prisons handled (in terms of accommodation, classification, clothing, feeding, medical care, personal hygiene, contact with the outside world, punishment,

labor, etc) vis-a-vis the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules (SMRs) for treatment of prisoners?

4. What is the nature of inmate subcultures in Nigerian prisons?

5. What is the inmates' attitude towards reformation and rehabilitation programmes?

1.4 **Aims and Objectives of the Study**

The aim of the study is to investigate the handling of inmates and the inmate subcultures in selected prisons in Nigeria. In order to achieve this, the following specific objectives are pursued:

1. to find out the treatment approach applied by the uniformed staff of the prisons in handling inmates in their custody;

2. to examine how both staff and inmates conceive the reasons for imprisonment in Nigeria;

3. to establish the extent to which handling of prisoners in Nigeria meets the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for treatment of prisoners;

4. to ascertain the nature of inmate subculture in Nigerian prisons; and

5. to find out inmates' attitude towards the reformation and the rehabilitation programmes.

1.5 **Significance of the Study**

The study hinges on two major variables, "handling of inmates" and "nature of inmate subculture". These two variables are two sides of the same coin which cannot be sidelined in any package meant for the reformation and rehabilitation of prison inmates. Inmates are human and very sensitive to the ways they are handled by uniformed staff and that invariably determines the nature and operation of their subculture. The study establishes the important link between the variables that will guide both policy makers (the National Assembly) and policy

implementers(prison administrators) to create favourable prison environment needed to achieve rehabilitative model prison.

Secondly, review of literature revealed that most prison studies done in Nigeria are at individual unit of analysis which lack generalization. Moreover, those that cut across prisons failed to take into consideration the different levels of prisons in the country. This multi-level prison study, hence multi-level analysis, cut across minimum, medium and maximum prisons in Nigeria. Therefore the findings are reflective of the prison situation in the country and serve as better reference.

Thirdly, inmate subculture, more often than not, is seen in negative light. It is seen to be anti-prison administration and that it functions to frustrate reformation and rehabilitation goals. On the contrary, this study has established through its findings that inmate subculture, as exists in the prisons, is pro-administration in all its ramifications and brings good relationship between staff and inmates. The leaders cooperate with the prison authority and are used by it to maintain discipline, law and order in the place. In view of this, the study has found out that the inmate subculture as it operates in the prisons could be employed to achieve therapeutic environment in prison which will go a long way in addressing inmates' problems.

The components of the Criminal Justice System-the police, the courts and the corrections-influence one another and therefore could not be treated in isolation. The output of the police is the input of the court whose output becomes the input of the corrections. In view of these functional relationships, any sub-system that fails to discharge its responsibilities well is very likely to affect others adversely. Most of the problems of the Nigerian prisons are compounded

by the police and the courts. In view of this, the study established that a holistic approach to tackling the problems of the CJS is very fundamental in solving the problems of prison.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study is focused on the treatment of inmates and formation of inmate subcultures in Nigeria prisons. In view of this, the researcher examined the treatment approach adopted by the uniformed staff, staff- inmate relationship, rehabilitation programmes and facilities in the different security prisons. Attention was paid to the indicators of inmates' treatment as operationalized using the United Nations recommendations. They included accommodation of inmates, separation of the inmates on the basis of sex, age, nature of offence and jail experience; inmates' punishment, feeding, clothing, personal hygiene, labour, education, religion and contact with the outside world. It was also within the preview of the study to examine staff and inmates' conceptions of the prison goals and the aftermath.

The study also examined the nature of inmate subculture in the prisons. Special attention was paid to inmate leadership and inmate code which spell out the "dos" and "don'ts" of the inmates and how they affected staff and inmate relationships and inmates' responses to reformative and rehabilitative programmes. The roles of the subculture, both to the inmates and the prison administration, were noted.

Finally, the study was carried out only in three selected security prisons in the country, namely, Kuje Medium Prison Abuja, Kakuri Open Prison Camp Kaduna and Kirikiri Maximum Prison Lagos.Kuje Medium Prison and Kirikiri Maximum Prison are selected based on their location to important cities of Lagos (former capital of Nigeria) and Abuja (the Federal Capital Territory) which attract people from various parts of the country. In view of this, the prisons are bound to

comprise prisoners from diverse cultures of Nigeria. Kakuri Open Prison is a minimum convict prison in terms of surveillance and control of the inmates. It is considered as a model minimum prison capable of representing satellite prisons, prison camps and prison farm settlements in the country. Only the uniformed staff of all cadres and the convicted inmates constituted the study population. The study was carried out within the time frame of six (6) weeks, from 4th July-12th August, 2013 (an average of two weeks in each prison).

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1Conceptual Review: The research topic hinges on three major concepts, namely 'prison', 'handling of inmates' and 'inmate subculture', hence there are the foci of the conceptual review. The term 'Prison' has been defined from two major perspectives- as a physical structure for quarantining criminals and as a functional institution to handle criminals. As a physical structure, according to McCorkle and Korn cited by Obioha (2011), prison is a physical structure in a geographical location where a number of people living under highly specialized condition adjust to the alternatives presented to them by the unique kind of social environment. Lectric law library lexicon (2003) defines prison as a facility designated by law for the confinement or detention of those who are legally ordered to be kept in custody. This definitional perspective only sees prison as a facility meant to hold and prevent the menace of criminals or 'the unwanted persons' in the society, pending on when they would be gotten rid of. It is a place of confinement or captivity for societal offenders. Prisoners, in this respect, live in their own world separated from the conventional world without any plan for their reformation and rehabilitation.

The functional perspective sees prison as a facility which performs important services to offenders, in particular and the society, in general. It is a place to reform offenders so that they would imbibe the required attitudinal behaviour that would make them not to re-offend. It is a place to equip the offenders with skills and knowledge that would help them to be self-sustaining and self- reliant on release. On the part of society, prison is meant to punish and incapacitate those who have violated the law and to protect the society from their further criminal activities. It is meant to reform and rehabilitate the societal deviants so that they would recoil from their evil deeds and be able to contribute positively to the progress of the society. In line with the

functional perspective, Okunola, Aderinto and Atere (2002) defined prison as a total institution where the inmates, 'the undesirable elements of society' are meant to be treated, in isolation from the free society. After the treatment, the prison is expected to return its 'clients' who were once 'the undesirables of society' back as 'fits' into the mainstream macro-society.

In some countries, such as the United States of America and Canada, the term 'Corrections' is used to refer to the third arm of the Criminal Justice System. There are two forms of corrections, namely, institutional and non-institutional corrections. Institutional corrections involve the confinement and rehabilitation of adults and juveniles convicted of a crime against the law and the confinement of persons suspected of a crime awaiting trial and adjudication. They include prisons, jails, reformatories, correctional farms, reception centres, detention centres and workhouses. The use of the different terms denotes whether those held have been convicted, are awaiting trial, confirmed mentally sick or minor offenders. Non-institutional corrections include pardon, probation, parole activities and other measures not directly related to institutional care (Schmallenger, et al 2001).

In Nigeria, the prison system provides the largest correctional facility and at the same time represents the correction component of the Criminal Justice System. Prisons in Nigeria are established to keep in safe custody of persons legally interred to identify the causes of their inherent anti-social behaviour, treat and reform them to become law abiding citizens of a free society, train them towards their rehabilitation on discharge and to generate revenue for government through prison farms and industries (Prison Act and Regulation CAP366 LFN, 2004). The correction policy of the Nigerian prison system, in view of its mandatory functions, emphasizes custody, reformation, rehabilitation and reintegration.

However, many people are of the opinion that in actual practice, custody is vigorously pursued at the detriment of other functions. Eze and Okafor (2007) maintained that an examination of both colonial and post-colonial laws revealed that they emphasized the custodial functions of the prison while silent on correctional functions of the modern prison. Alemika and Alemika (1995) maintained that the fundamental aims of penal policy in Nigeria are punishment, deterrence, and societal protection through custodial incapacitation. This negligence of its correctional function is a teething problem facing the Nigerian prison system and unless right measures are taken in that direction, realizing the rehabilitative ideal will continue to be a mirage. If prisons were living up to expectation in their avowed responsibilities, we would be closing them not building more. The effectiveness of imprisonment as a penal measure should be measured in terms of the ability of prisons to reduce re-offending behaviour of prisoners and not mere captivity of offenders. A prisoner should be seen as a soiled hand that requires to be cleaned rather than be cut-off. As a result, prisoners supposed to be handled with passion, fairly and firmly by the custodians on behalf of the society.

The prisons are further divided into categories, namely, maximum security prisons, medium security prisons and what may be termed minimum prisons. The terms “maximum” “medium” and “minimum” refer to both type of construction and degree of control the staff exercise over the inmates. **Maximum security prisons** are designed for prisoners who are considered to be unstable, dangerous, and in general rather high risk, either in terms of escape or aggressive behavior. Normally, maximum security prisons have imposing masonry walls surrounding the buildings on the ground. Williams and Fish (1977) maintained that maximum security prison is best characterized in terms of regimentation rather than its architecture. The inmates are subjected to continual surveillance by correctional officers who man the walls, officers who

watch throughout the population, and still other officers who monitor closed circuit television equipment. In Nigeria, maximum prisons include Kirikiri maximum prison, Lagos, Port Harcourt maximum prison and Abuja maximum prison. In addition to the features mentioned above, they have gallows for execution ofcondemned inmates.

Medium security prisons are meant to house inmates considered slightly more tractable and less dangerous than maximum security inmates. In view of this, the architectural designs and surveillance by the correctional officers are less austere. A number of inmates may work outside the prison under close supervision.

Minimum Security Prisons are holding/training facilities where the prison staff exercise the lowest possible level of control and surveillance over the inmates. In terms of physical structure, such prisons are not surrounded by fences, not to talk of high security walls. They include prison camps, prison farm settlements, satellite prisons and open prisons. The Satellite Prisons can be described as intermediate prisons camps set up mainly in areas with courts that are far from the main prisons. They serve the purpose of providing remand centers especially for those whose cases are going on in courts within the areas. When convicted, long term prisoners could be moved to appropriate convict prisons to service their terms.

The Prison Farm settlements are agricultural prison camps set up primarily to train inmates in Agro-based vocations so that when they are discharged they will have Agro-based skills to depend upon. The convicts are expected, in addition, to be taught to appreciate the dignity of labour. The Farm settlements are large mechanized farms that are located in the food-producing areas of the different geopolitical regions of the country.Subsidiary Farms and Market Gardens are Agricultural Extension Projects usually attached to some State Prisons Headquarters for the

same purpose as stated above. They are made up of vegetable-producing market gardens, poultry and piggery farms etc. Apart from training inmates in all these agro-based vocations, these facilities are expected to yield revenue to the State.

Open prisons are sometimes referred to as "halfway- homes" because of the degree of freedom the inmates are allowed to enjoy. Inmates in open prisons face virtually no visible physical restraints; the prison grounds may be encircled only by an easily scaled, low fence. They may have a cottage or campus design, with dormitories or personal rooms rather long cellblocks. Inmates have greater freedom of movement and autonomy in these facilities; they are given more privileges and allowed to have more personal possessions in the cells. In Nigeria, there is only one convict open prison which is located at Kakuri in Kaduna, Kaduna State.

Open prisons in the beginning were not truly open but were in the nature of minimum security prisons. However the institution of open prisons in the contemporary sense is associated with Alexander Paterson, a member of the British Prison Commission from 1922 to 1947. The philosophy behind open prisons rests on two dictums which maintain that man is sent to prison as a punishment and not for punishment; and that a man cannot be trained for freedom under conditions of captivity. Siddique (2005) maintained that the best thing about the open prisons is that the system counters what is known as "prisonisation" of the convict, institutionalization and criminalization denoting the two components of prisonisation. The author opined that in view of more extensive terrain and free movements, the inmates become more relaxed and tension free, a condition more conducive to the administration and reception of rehabilitative techniques.

In Nigeria, legally speaking, persons who are below the age of 18 years ought not to be put in prison if found guilty of any offense; rather such under aged persons are sent to a borstal home

for appropriate training. In other words, Borstal institutions are for the remand and treatment of juvenile offenders. At the moment, the Prisons Service has only three (3) of such in Kaduna and Ilorin in the North and Abeokuta in the South. There is the need to build more to take care of the cases of juveniles who are increasing in number and who because of their age should not only be mixed with adult prisoners but should be deserving of different treatment methods from those of the adults.

Handling of Inmates: Criminologists and social philosophers differ in their opinions as regards the way inmates should be handled to yield the desired results-prevention/ elimination/reduction of crimes in society. The classical school (voluntarism) based on utilitarian philosophy and championed by theorists like Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Benthan maintained the notion that human being is a 'hedonist' that seeks pleasure and avoids pain and a rational calculator weighing up the costs and benefits of the consequences of each action (Saddique,2005). This makes human being to ignore the possibility of irrationality and unconscious drives as motivators. In view of the conception, the advocates maintained that meting out sufficient punishment can deter people from crimes if they realized that the costs outweigh benefits. They contended that the more swift and certain the punishment, the more effective it is in deterring criminal behaviour.

The penologists who advocated this view are of two categories, retribution and utilitarianism. Retribution justifies punishment on the ground that people who commit evil must be punished to suffer their evil deeds. It believes that it is a moral right and duty to punish wrong doing. However, the right culprit must be identified to avoid punishing the innocent. Also the punishment must be proportionate to the seriousness of the crime. Utilitarianism maintains that

meting out punishment to an offender is necessary in order to deter the offender and others who might think of indulging in such behaviour in future. Punishment is therefore seen as a socializing measure which helps to keep individuals law-abiding in society. So in handling of inmates, the advocates try to make the punishment fit the crime committed. However, many instances have shown that criminals, especially hardened ones, are not merely scared by the gravity of punishments attached to commission of crimes. The fact that armed robbers in Nigeria face firing squad when caught has not stopped them but rather tend to make them heartless and devilish in their ugly robbery operations.

The positivist school (determinism), championed by theorists such as Lombroso and Durkheim, presumed that criminal behaviour is caused by internal and external factors outside of the individual's control. Lombroso, for instance, maintained that criminals are characterized by certain atavistic features which are characteristics of savagery such as big foreheads, broad nose and extra chromosome in their genetic composition (Saddique, 2005). However, this view overstates the role of biological factors in crime commission. It fails to notice that not all people with such atavistic features are inclined to criminal behaviour. Durkheim, in his own perspective, viewed crime as an inevitable aspect of society with uneven distribution of wealth and other differences among people (Ritizer, 2002). This suggests that societal factors such as poverty, poor socio-economic background, low level of education, social inequality, social injustice and the like can predispose people to crimes. Again this claim fails to explain the fact that not all people who experience hardships and ugly situations are predisposed to crimes and that some people from well-to-do family backgrounds and upper class commit crimes. However, in view of their conception, the advocates apply scientific method to study human behaviour. They emphasize a philosophy of individualized treatment of criminal and not the crime. Therefore in

handling of prisoners, the advocates insist on making the treatment fit an individual offender. They advocate programmes that would help prisoners to re-discover themselves, gain self-respect and acceptance in their respective communities.

Societal socio-cultural perception of crime and criminal also determines the way offenders and prisoners are handled. In the ancient Rome, Carney (1977) noted that offenders were perceived as traitors, sinners, bandits and criminals and were severely punished with such punishment as throwing into the lions' den, or burning furnace and even frying alive in pot of oil. Depending on the gravity of offences, they used flogging, crucifixion, beheading, hanging, mutilation, stoning to death, shooting with arrow/spear and exiling as forms of punishment. Igbo (2007) noted that in pre-colonial African societies, offenders were seen as enemies of gods whose offences attracted the wrath of gods on the entire society. In view of this, offenders were perceived and treated as outcasts, evil and wicked. Their punishment therefore ranged from public humiliation, flogging, excommunication, payment of fines to performance of sacrifices to cleanse the land before they would be reintegrated into the society.

In many African countries (including Nigeria), the old belief about offenders is carried over to the present time despite the modern emphasis on humane handling of offenders. Ugwuoke (2010) observed that one of the crucial issues facing prison administration in Nigeria today is the lack of agreement as to what should be the aim of dealing with convicts. He maintained that in principle, Nigerian prisons preach reformation and rehabilitation, but in practice, they advocate retributive punishment. He further maintained that the punishment of prisoners continues even after discharge from the prison due to public attitude towards them as they are branded and treated as ex-convicts-the stigma which is the greatest obstacle to a discharged prisoner's

reintegration. The federal and state laws further echoed the stigma by prohibiting ex-convicts from employment to certain positions and occupation of public offices.

The above observations notwithstanding, in Nigeria, the rationale for imprisonment is evident in the decree no.9 of 1972 which assigned the prison with the responsibility, among other functions, to teach and train the prisoners to become useful and law abiding citizens on discharge. These responsibilities ought to be the guideline for handling of prison inmates. They are to be discharged through carefully designed and well-articulated administrative, reformative and rehabilitative programmes aimed at inculcating discipline, respect for law and order and dignity of honest labour. The offender, in this wise, is prepared to become not only law abiding but also useful to both himself and the society at the expiration of his sentence.

However, Yusuf (2015) maintained that prison operation is made complex by the conflict in the custodial role and reformatory role with the former enjoying supremacy over the later. The supremacy is entrenched with the popular slogan of 'security first' in Nigeria. This has indoctrinated the officers that their career success is seen to be determined by the ability to ensure the security of prisoners even if other roles of reformatory and training are sacrificed in the process. Truly, for prisoners to be reformed and trained, they must be securely kept in prison. However, safe custody can be better and more meaningfully maintained through good correctional programmes. Custodial role entails use of coercive measures to obtain compliance and ensure safe custody. Compliance which is transient could not be sustained at the time of release for reentry into society thereby making the process of obtaining it a futile exercise.

In Nigeria government is more interested in safe custody than reformation. Government always gives more support in words and in funding of programmes that will ensure safe custody of

prisoners than programmes that will train them to become useful citizens. This is evident in the policy that militarized the prison service with the introduction of armed squad unit that is kitted with arms and ammunitions to ensure safe custody. Prisoners are further subjected to coercion, intimidation and fear to cooperate with the authority. Obioha (2005) and Yusuf (2015) maintained that apart from forceful use of disciplinary measures, inmates suffer severe deprivations such as loss of free movement, loss of personal names to prison numbers, loss of personal cloths to prison uniform, dispossession of personal belongings for keep in the record office and loss of privacy to the environment congested with people of varied wild experiences.

United Nations clearly specified the manner prisoners should be handled (treated) for the purpose of their reformation and rehabilitation in the Standard Minimum Rules (SMRs) for the treatment of prisoners. Section 65 (1) maintains that handling (treatment) of persons sentenced to imprisonment or a similar measure shall have as its purpose, so far as the length of the sentence permits, to establish in them the will to lead law-abiding and self-supporting lives after their release and to fit them to do so. The treatment shall be such as will encourage their self-respect and develop their sense of responsibility. To these ends, section 66 (1) specifies that all appropriate means shall be used, including religious care in the countries where this is possible, education, vocational guidance and training, social casework, employment counseling, physical development and strengthening of moral character, in accordance with the individual needs of each prisoner, taking account of his social and criminal history, his physical and mental capacities and aptitudes, his personal temperament, the length of his sentence and his prospects after release.

From the foregoing recommendations of the United Nations, it could be noted that much emphasis is laid on humane handling of prisoners as opposed to punishment method. Prison symbolizes full total institution among other total institutions where restrictions are the norms. One of the major functions of such institutions is to transform their inmates to become better and more useful in society. Hospitals are expected to turn out inmates in better health conditions, boarding schools are expected to turn out better educated persons and prisons are expected to turn out reformed persons. Other total institutions are achieving significant level of good performance in their goals of turning out their inmates better than they went in. Why is it different with the prison? Could it be the way prison inmates are handled?

Inmate subculture: The third terminology that is central to this study is 'inmate subculture'. The term 'subculture' suggests the existence of the 'main culture' within which it (subculture) is found. In view of this, inmate subculture exists and operates within a prison cultural setting. Culture itself can simply be defined as a total way of life of a group of people or a society. It is a system of norms and procedures which determines the behaviour and other activities of members of a given group. A subculture is a segment of the mainstream culture which shares a distinct pattern of norms and values which differ from the pattern of the wider culture. It is a variation on the general cultural themes that permit members of a subgroup to survive under conditions different from those faced by the dominant group. Most subcultures are counter in their activities in that they are not only different from the mainstream culture but they also fiercely challenge it. They provide alternative life styles to those who cannot conform to the dominant culture.

In prison, like in any other formal organization, informal organizations of both staff and inmates exist to help the members achieve certain aims. In an attempt to survive within forced

hardconditions, whilst maintaining some form of self-dignity, prisoners resort to instinctual community development methods and create their own subculture within prison walls which focuses on important inside issues such as relations amongst prisoners, and their interaction with staff members. Therefore inmate subculture is an informal organization of inmates which helps them to adapt to the hard and deprived conditions of imprisonment.

The fundamental question is: why did inmate subculture sprout up in the first place? In answering this question, two theoretical perspectives emerged. The indigenous origin theory championed by Goffman (1061) and Sykes (1971) maintained that penal incarceration subjects inmates to a highly restrictive environment, devoid of personal freedom and satisfaction of essential human needs. Under the deprived conditions, inmates fraternize with one another and a value system emerged which strengthens their solidarity and insulates them as a group from prison management and staff. According to Sykes and Messinger (1960), it is the deprived conditions that provide the energy for the society of captives as a system of action. This theoretical perspective therefore holds internal factors within the prison responsible for the emergence of inmate subculture- a defensive and coping strategy. The Importation theory, associated with Irwin and Cressey (1962), surfaced in the early 1960s as a challenge to the deprivation theory by presenting a radically different explanation to the origin of inmate subculture. It attributed the origin of the subculture to external factors which include the pre-prison socialization experiences of inmates, their contacts with the outside world while in prison and their perception of their post-prison life chances.

It could be noted that none of the theoretical perspectives is wholly correct or wrong but it depends on the part of the universe and the manner of handling of inmates by the custodians. For

instance, the importation theorists dismissed the deprivation theory on the ground that it has outlived its usefulness since it is applicable to traditional closed prison system. The advocates such as Jacobs (1977) maintained that recent correctional reforms (which include more liberal visitation privileges, permission to wear street clothes and hairstyles, and permission to bring television sets and radios into prison) and U.S supreme court decisions in the 1960s and 1970s which extended certain basic rights to inmates, mean that inmates are no longer isolated from the outside world. They concluded that these and similar reforms enable prisoners to retain their attachments to reference groups beyond the prison walls.

In as much the above contention put forward by importation theorists could be sustained in the U.S and other advanced countries, it could not be generalized. Up to date, most third world countries operate traditional closed prison system where inmates still live in their isolated world. There is no doubt that their subcultural activities would be greater influenced by internal factors than external ones. Correctional reforms as experienced in the advanced countries are yet to be implemented in the developing countries and inmates are continually deprived, even their fundamental basic rights. One can equally argue that the so-call liberal reform policies are not better option to achieve the reformation and rehabilitation of inmates. The policies promote the ugly activities of criminal gangs in prison since some of its liberalities such as relaxed visitations, use of telephone and uncensored mails keep gang members in prison in constant contacts with their members on the street. This makes nonsense of the aims of imprisonment since inmates are negatively reinforced by their peers outside the walls on daily basis. The above submissions notwithstanding, none of the theories could be entirely dismissed since the origin of inmate subculture could be attributed to both internal and external factors.

Inmate subculture has been found to possess certain peculiar features which include inmate code and argot. These features determine the behaviour and other activities of inmates within the walls. According to Ajayi (2012), the day-to-day experiences of inmates are not only shaped by the official, formal organization of prisons; an informal organization among inmates—known to criminologists as the inmate subculture—is equally influential. The inmate subculture consists of a distinctive set of informal norms, attitudes, beliefs, values, statuses, and roles that give prisoners a different perspective from people on the outside world. Inmate code is a set of values and beliefs distinctive to inmates which binds the subculture together. It is an unofficial rule book for the inmates which dictates their conducts and actions.

Academic accounts of the inmate code emphasize its oppositional values to conventional society in general and to prison authorities in particular (Sykes and Messinger, 1960). The most serious offense is to cooperate with officials as a prison informer who *snitches, squeals,* or *rats* on other inmates in exchange for parole, favorable work details, or other considerations. Other values in the inmate code noted by Sykes and Messinger (1960) include "don't trust the guards," "maintain yourself" (as a tough *real man* who shows no sensitivity, emotion, or weakness), and "don't quarrel with fellow inmates" (*do your own time* by keeping your "nose out of other people's business").

Argot is a special language or slang of inmates. It is used as a means of communication and status allocation among the inmates. Njideka (1984) in his study of Onitsha Prison noted that a mere mention of ‘eke’ (royal python) in a ward is an information that a warder is around for every inmate to be careful. Sykes (1970) maintained that argot roles within the subculture evolved to compensate for loses of liberty, heterosexual relationship, material goods and

services, autonomy and personal security. For instance, he claimed that ‘merchants’ and ‘gorillas’ emerged to provide for inmate world goods and services which are available in the free world and that ‘wolves’ and ‘punks’ came into existence to compensate for loss of heterosexual outlets. In view of the foregoing roles, there is no doubt that inmate subculture is an adaptive device that helps inmates to survive the hard conditions of incarceration.

Operational Definition of Terms

Handling of inmates is hereby defined as all the measures adopted by the prisons to deal with, exercise control over and manage inmates under their custody for purposes of their custody, reformation, rehabilitation and reintegration. The measures embrace how inmates are dealt with in terms of their admissions, classification and accommodation; clothing, feeding, provision of facilities for personal hygiene and medical treatment; contacts with the outside world, as well as programmes for their reformation, rehabilitation and reintegration.

Prison is hereby conceived as place or facility legally empowered to maintain the custody of convicted offenders and ensure their reformation, rehabilitation and reintegration and also for keeping suspects (including lunatics) awaiting trial. The categories of prison includeMaximum Security Prison: This is the highest security prison in Nigeria which takes into custody all classes of prisoners including condemned convicts, lifers and long-term prisoners. It hasgallows where condemned convicts are executed.

Medium Security Prison: This is an intermediate prison which takes into custody both remand and convicted inmates, with short term prisoners consisting the bulk of the inmates.

Open Security Prison: This is the minimum security prison where the inmates that are considered to be of good conduct are kept and allowed comparatively more freedom with the outside world.

Prisonisation is adaptive mechanism through which an inmate gradually replaces the internalized cultural norms and values of the outside world with those of the inmate subculture in order to fit in and survive the hard prison conditions. 'Pains of Imprisonment' refers to all deprivations inmates are subjected to in prison-loss of liberty, heterosexual relationship, autonomy, goods and services and personal security.

Inmate subculture is an informal organization of inmates which helps them to adapt to the hard and deprived conditions of imprisonment. It comprises the inmate code which dictates the behaviour and activities of the inmates and the inmate argot which is a special language/slang of the inmates. It is a well structured entity with hierarchy of inmate positions and specific roles that some inmates assume or are forced into.

2.2 Treatment Approach adopted by Uniformed Staff in Handling Inmates

Prison is a total institution where the inmates, "the undesirable elements of society" are meant to be treated, in isolation from the free society. After the treatment, the prison is expected to return its "clients" who were once the "undesirables of society" back as "fits" into the mainstream macro–society (Okunola et al, 2002). In treatment of prison inmates for purpose of curing criminality, two main ideological approaches can be distinguished, namely custodial-punitive approach and humane-treatment approach.

The custodial- punitive approach is associated with traditionists who emphasize the classical theory of the rational nature of man. They see criminals as rational human beings who prefer pleasure to pain and also who possess free will to decide on whether or not to commit crimes (Siegel, 2007). They maintained that since committing crime is pleasurable, attaching commensurate degree of pain to it will scare the offenders. Therefore in treatment of offenders,

traditionists recommend strict surveillance by the custodial officers and "making the punishment fit the crime" –just deserts (Schmalleger, et al 2001). Etzioni (1976) maintained that custodial prisons rely on coercion to maintain order, thus generating high resentments among inmates. This in turn blocks the prison's rehabilitative goals and in the long run, impedes efforts to achieve law and order as well.

On the other hand, humane -treatment -oriented approach is based on the belief that criminal behaviour is pathological, and that it is the consequence of up – bringing and social circumstances rather than the "free–will" of self-determining individuals (Barnes, 1972). The advocates see crime as an evidence of faulty development –"a kind of personal or social sickness, requiring 'treatment' in exactly the same way as physical illness" (Jones, 1965). In view of this, they maintain that it is unnecessary to subject inmates to punishment or any form of torture.

Modern prison reform aims at shifting approach from custodial – punitive approach to humane - treatment approach. The essence of prison reform is to protect the prisoners from abuse and providing non-punitive, humanitarian and decent treatment within the inevitable conditions of imprisonment (Hawkins, 1976). Instead of making the offender worse because of his contacts with the criminal justice system, prison reform is geared toward making him a good citizen on release from the prison. Championing this course of action, the United Nations, in 1955, proclaimed the Standard Minimum Rules (SMR) for the treatment of prisoners for the nations of the world to adopt. The emphasis on treatment is not surprising because it is the phenomenon which shows whether punitive or non-punitive philosophy is pursued by any prison system.

Rule 65 of the standard minimum rules maintains that the primary objective of any treatment programme shall be to establish in prisoners the will to lead law- abiding and self-supporting life after their release; and to fit them to do so, treatment must be the type that will help the prisoners to gain self- respect and sense of responsibility (UNHCR, 1955). Part I (sections 1-55) of the standard minimum rules covers nineteen topics of general application which include absence of discrimination in the treatment of prisoners, proper classification and separation of inmates according to sex, age, criminal record, the legal reason for their detention and the necessities of their treatment.

Also included in the first part are issues of accommodation, food, clothing, personal hygiene, medical services, discipline, and contact with the outside world; library facilities, religion and the outlook of the institutional personnel. Part II (sections 56-94) of the minimum rules specifies rules that apply to special categories of inmates-prisoners under sentence, the insane and mentally abnormal persons, prisoners under arrests or awaiting trial, and civil prisoners. In the treatment of prisoners under sentence, the section clearly specifies issues relating to prison labour, education, recreation, social relations and after-care.

In view of this, many countries of the world are fast embracing the system. In India, the first open prison was established in 1952 and at the end of 1980 there were up to twenty-seven open prisons in the country. In Belgium, open prisons are operated in the form of part-time imprisonment in which the convicts continue to work or study in the community, their evenings and weekends being spent in prisons. In Scandinavian countries, open prisons are operated in the form of weekend goal sentences and in the US they exist in the form of “day parole” or “work release” which stands between probation and imprisonment.

In consonance with the United Nations standard minimum rules for the treatment of offenders, Nigeria came up with her reform treatment policy of prison inmates which is evident in the provisions of the prison Act CAP 366.LFN 2004. The prison Act aims at humane rather than punitive treatment of prisoners under legal custody. Regulations 15-16 (under section 15) made provision for the separation of the inmates according to males and females, awaiting trial and convicted, juveniles and adults, non-criminals and criminal. Regulation 22 provides that every prisoner shall be allowed a sufficient quality of wholesome food, regard being had to the nature of the labour to be performed by him. It goes further to specify the scale of diet to be observed.

Regulations 24-25 made provision for the clothing of the inmates, the numbers each inmate shall receive in the first instance, and then subsequently. Regulation 26 provides that every inmate shall be provided with suitable bedding and regulations 28-32 make provisions for health and cleanliness of the inmates and their cells. Other areas include labour, religious instruction, visit and communication, education, complaints and offenses against prison discipline.

The above humanitarian regulations notwithstanding, Nigerian prisons are accused of custodial and punitive treatments of inmates by researchers and international observers/reporters. Nwezeh (2010) mentioned that there is absence of classification of prisoners as in young and old, pre-trial detainees, first time offenders and suspects who committed minor offences as they shared the prison facilities with dangerous criminals. The former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, as a political prisoner, expressed that Nigerian prisons are hell on earth. He confessed that the day he was convicted that he was given no bed, no mattress, nothing to sleep on, except the bare floor (CLO Annual Report 1998).

Amnesty International Report (February 26, 2008) maintained that the worst conditions in Nigerian prisons constitute ill-treatment. It revealed that in many Nigerian prisons inmates sleep two to a bed or on the floor in filthy cells; toilets are blocked and overflowing or simply non-existent, and there is no running water as a result disease is widespread. The report went further to maintain that most prisons in Nigeria have small clinics or sickbays which lack medicines and in many prisons inmates have to pay for their own medicines. Guards frequently demand that inmates pay bribes for such privileges as visiting the hospital, receiving visitors, contacting their families, and in some cases, being allowed outside the cells, the report maintained.

Various prison studies (such as Osaze, 1996 and Obioha, 2011) and investigative reports of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have shown that the important functions of reformation and rehabilitation are not taken serious in Nigerian prisons. Instead, the prisons serve as ware-houses for punishing and dehumanizing the inmates (Obioha, 2011). According to Osaze (1996), the Nigerian distributive justice system guidelines suggest imprisonment culture of dehumanizing, substandard, poor living environmental conditions to Nigerians. The effect is inadequate sanitization and improper reformation, rehabilitation and correctional processes for attitude change by inmates and people in the free society.

The author went further to maintain that the penal institutions subsystems: the justice, the police, prison yard and the operatives ways of administering justice are believed to bring about breeding and enhancing criminal behavior and recidivists than serving deterrence, repentance, reformatory and reconciliatory attitudes between ex-convicts and people in free society to enhance confidence in physical and conceptual security.

Osaze (1996) is of the view that the penal history in the Nigerian judicial and legal system for the deviants within the society has thoroughly been recognized as the right of societies to punish on crime committed. Thus while the Nigerian prison has been effective in confining and incapacitating interned offenders it has failed in both their reformation and ultimately more fundamental task of stemming crime'. Indeed, the prison has proved to be dysfunctional, for rather than reconciling the offender with the social order and its laws, the prison has been a center for the dissemination and exchange of criminal influences and ideas, and has usually render the prison-processed offender unable to reintegrate into society.

Obioha (2011) maintained that in Nigerian contexts, the essence of sending offenders to the prisons are not yet met because offenders are likely to be more hardened than they were, before imprisonment. The functional parts of the prisons are all broken down, thus contributing negatively in maintaining the whole structure of the prisons system. Due to the nature of Nigerian prisons, the end result of the whole process is ironically intended to the contrary. In various respects, life in Nigerian prisons in general is overly regimented to the extent that there is strict control in virtually all activities of the inmates. This often leaves the prisoners in a mentally brutalized manner with broken body and spirit, which destroys the individuals (Obioha, 2011). Therefore, instead of curing criminality, the prison institution is breeding criminals; hence the rate of crime is on the increase in the country.

From its studies, Amnesty International (2008) concluded that Nigeria does not take seriously its responsibility towards its citizens in prison. Recommendations made by national and international organizations have failed to lead to any action by the government. The recommendations of all governmental committees and commissions appear to be little more than

words, which have left the real situation in Nigeria's prisons unchanged. Inmates awaiting trial, especially those who cannot afford legal support, wait years for their trial to take place; the prisons remain overcrowded; prison authorities do not appear to receive the funds that have been allocated to improving conditions.

Civil Liberty Organization (CLO) (1995) maintained that facilities for personal hygiene are in a terrible state as those of environmental hygiene. There is hardly a male prisoner who has his bath once in two days, the source affirmed. The same report (CLO, 1995) went further to maintain that fumigation of cells is a luxury; that absence of beds and beddings made inmates to sleep on mats or bare floor if space is available; and that in many Nigerian prisons prisoners sleep in batches. The report maintained that not more than 10% of the inmates of any prison in Nigeria are affixed adequately in clean and strong clothes. Close to 80% are either half-naked or clothed in worn and torn clothes. The remaining 10% are naked but for the blankets they wrap round themselves.

If the information and reports on Nigerian prisons were anything to go by, it is obvious that there is discrepancy between the laid down treatment policy and the actual implementation in the prisons. It is worthy of note that it is the nature of the treatment that inmates receive that determines the nature of their relationships with the staff as well as their commitment in the inmate social system. According to Adelola (1991) Nigerian prisoners suffer personal "defacement"-personal clothing, combs, shaving sticks and so on are denied them. The inmates feel that the deprivation and frustration of prison life, with their implications for the destruction of their self-esteem, somehow must be alleviated.

An answer to this marks the functional significance of the inmate subculture to overcome the pains of imprisonment. Prison is one out of many total institutions as conceived by Goffman (1961); others include military camps, monasteries, nunneries, seminaries and boarding schools. Many of these sister institutions are not lagging behind in achieving their avowed objectives, their products abound as evidence. If many of these other total institutions are able to maintain discipline and impact the required training on the recipients, then the inability of the prison to do same could be traced and addressed for the good of the inmates and the society at large. It could not be ruled out that in those sister institutions that informal organizations of the trainees do exist. The difference lies on the treatment approach and level of cooperation with the official system. However, one may argue that the voluntary enrolment approach into other total institutions tends to support a culture of cooperation, unlike in the prison.

The information above with respect to the treatment of prisoners is an indication that Nigeria prisons system still operates the traditional punitive approach. However, most of the claims are based on distorted information of the press and studies were mostly based on an individual prison level and therefore lack generalization. There is the need to embark upon multi-prison-level study that cuts across the different security prisons in Nigeria for the purpose of coming with better representative findings.

Generally the key issues affecting the handling of inmates include factors like the inevitable diverse background of the inmates, the trauma of incarceration and the inmate subculture that inadvertently promotes conflicts with treatment goals and approaches. Prison inmates are usually a community of very diverse individuals forcefully brought together by offence against the state. Given the limited resources at the disposal of the state, it is not possible to uniquely treat each of

the prison inmates. An inmate centred treatment is not feasible in the prisons considering that it will entail the spending of much more resources on the inmates at the detriment of other societal goals.Besides, inmate responses to prison environments vary, but virtually all inmates will experience some degree of trauma and hopelessness. This state of mind tends to rightly or wrongly work up the inmates to see themselves as victims of the society. Hence they accommodate in their subculture a tendency to stand with one another against the agents of their perceived oppressors, usually the prison staff. So irrespective of how well intended a treatment goal for the inmates may be, if their subculture does not support it, it might not work.

2.3 The Observance of the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules (SMR) for the Treatment of Prisoners by Member Nations

On 30th August, 1955 at Geneva, the first United Nations congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders adopted the Standard Minimum Rules (SMR) for the treatment of prisoners. The SMR was approved by the Economic and Social Council by its resolutions 663c (xxiv) of July 1957 and 2076 (Lxii) of 13 May 1977. The signed document is under the custody of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and it provides the primary set of international norms by which prison conditions are evaluated.

In other words, the rules set out what is generally accepted as being primary principles and practices in the treatment of prisoners and the management of institutions; and serve to stimulate a constant endeavor to overcome practical difficulties in the way of their application, in the knowledge that they represent, as a whole, the minimum conditions which are accepted as suitable by the United Nations (UNHCR, 1955). Member nations are required to adopt and improve upon the provisions provided they are in harmony with the principles and seek to further the purposes which derive from the text of the rules as a whole.

The question then arises: to what extent do member nations abide by the rules in running their prisons? According to the Reports on International Prison Conditions (RIPC) (2012) by the United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, the majority of the world's prison systems do not function at the level of the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners. Surveys of countries' prison systems revealed that in many places relevant international obligations and standards are deliberately disregarded.

The problem of overcrowding is found to be central in prison management all over the world. In Ukraine, the report had it that overcrowding condition in at least one detention facility compelled detainees to sleep in shift in 2012. In Sri Lanka, it was estimated that the prison system routinely houses approximately three times its capacity which was believed to have contributed to the violent confrontation in November, 2012. In Serbia, there were more than 11,000 prisoners in a system designed for 6,500 and poor sanitation was a problem in many facilities (RIPC, 2012).

In Chad, the Amnesty International (June, 2012) simply described the prison condition generally as "so deplorable that they amount to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment". In Liberia, the court's difficulty in processing cases led to the extended pretrial remand of hundreds of detainees in 2012. In Bangladesh, approximately two-thirds (2/3) of the prison population were awaiting trial, contributing to 68,700 prisoners in 2012. Other countries seriously affected included Venezuela, South Sudan, Haiti, Lebanon, Ethiopia and Mexico (RIPC, 2012).

Mistreatment of prisoners physically, psychologically and sexually by prison officials was recorded in many prisons in the world. In many places the issue is persistent and pervasive. In many cases, political prisoners and prisoners of conscience are particularly vulnerable to deliberate mistreatment. In Iran, trials employed coerced confessions that are used to secure

convictions against prisoners of conscience. In 2012, in Iraq, a number of Vice President Tariq al-Hashemi's body guards were arrested and tortured by security officials to obtain forced confessions against the vice president. In North Korea, prisoners experience severe beating, electric shock, public nakedness and confinement in small cells. Other places where inmates suffer similar fates include Syria, Afghanistan and Cambodia (RIPC, 2012).

The Report on International Prison Conditions (RIPC, 2012) maintained that in the member nations that signed the document, prisoners are often denied the minimum legal protection and the legal process guarantees in the three phases of their detention or imprisonment: pretrial, trial and post-conviction (while they serve their sentences). The report affirmed that in America, 10 - 40 percentage of the entire incarcerated population is behind bars without a conviction. In Panama, the government regularly imprisons inmates for more than a year before a judge's pretrial hearing and in some cases pretrial detention exceeds the minimum sentence for the alleged crime.

In China, pretrial detention periods of a year or longer are common and police often deny detainees the access to meet with their defense counsel. In Saudi Arabia, the Minister of Interior, to which the majority of forces with arrest power report, maintains broad powers to arrest and detain persons indefinitely without judicial oversight or effective access to legal counsel or family (RIPC, 2012).

In Zimbabwe, authorities often deny detainees prompt or regular access to their lawyer or families. In Uzbekistan, specific types of prisoners including those charged with religious or extremism charges or political prisoners were often denied visitation by family. In Cuba, despite the constitutional provision of presumption of innocence until proven guilty, the authority often

places the burden on the defendant to prove innocence rather than the prosecution to prove guilt. Here, politically motivated trials are often held in secret. In Vietnam, the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) controls the courts at all levels and in many cases it determines the verdicts (RIPC, 2012). In fact, a litany of serious violations of the Standard Minimum Rules (SMRs) for the treatment of prisoners by the Member Nations abound.

The next question is: how are the rules complied with in the Nigerian Prison System? The issue here is to ascertain the extent to which Nigeria, as a member nation and one of the signatories to the document, has been abiding to the minimum rules in the treatment of prisoners. The Nigerian prisons regulation as contained in the prison Act Cap 366 law of the Federation 2004 reflects the United Nations' SMR in all its ramifications but most studies (Obioha,2011, Ogweezy, 2011) and investigative reports (Amnesty International, 2008) indicate that in actual practice the rules are thrown overboard. The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for Non-Custodial Measures stipulates that governments should use pretrial detention as a last resort in criminal proceedings, and only for the protection of society and the victim. Furthermore, governments should pursue alternatives as early as possible. Pretrial Detention should last for only as long as is necessary and should be administered humanely. The offender has the right to appeal when detained pretrial (Rules 85-93).

Contrarily, in Nigerian prisons, the Awaiting Trial Inmates (ATI) constitute up to two-thirds (2/3) of the prison population and many of them have stayed up to one to five years (Orakwe, 2011; Ogweezy, 2011). The National Working Group on Prison Reform and Decongestion reviewed 144 prisons and revealed in its 2005 report that the population of Nigerian prisons over the previous 10 years had totaled between 40,000 and 45,000 inmates, most of them concentrated

in the state capitals. Of those, 65 per cent were awaiting trial (NWGPRD, February 2005). According to a report by Amnesty International (2008), more than three of every five prison inmates in Nigeria have not been convicted of any offence; instead, they wait years for their trial in appalling conditions.

This fact was corroborated by the past Comptroller-General of the Nigerian Prisons Service (NPS), Mr. Olusola Ogundipe, while testifying during a public hearing on the proposed prisons amendment bill before the Senate Committee on Interior. Ogundipe revealed that pre-trial detainees now constitute about 80 per cent of the prison population. Most of them, according to him, are held for minor offences, for which bail is available. He added that for many of the detainees, there are no case files.

Olaolu (2012) maintained that in Nigeria, prisons overcrowding is, without doubt, a major concern of the Nigerian criminal justice system hence the agitation to decongest them. Remand prisoners account for a substantial number leading to congestion, as a greater part of awaiting trial detainees in the nation's prisons are held under the holding charge and many have spent up to 10 years waiting to be tried. Many experts have argued that one of the reasons for prison congestion is the reckless disregard of Section 35 of the 1999 Constitution and the indiscretion of judges and magistrates handling some of the offences. While the section states that "a person shall be tried within two months from the date of his detention", judges and magistrates most often give stringent bail conditions on some minor criminal offences.

In his address delivered to the member of the National Assembly on 11 August, 2004, Abdullahi Adamu (Executive Governor of Nasarawa State) maintained that our prison system does not differentiate between those who are on remand and those who are actual prisoners. The prison

authorities recently released statistics to show that of the 40,447 inmates in our prison system, 25,380 (62.7%) are those classified as awaiting trial, while 15,067 (37.3%) are those who are convicts. This proportion means that the prison authorities are forced to give more attention to the needs of the awaiting trial persons (who are not qualified for reform) than to the 37.3% who are qualified by statute for reform. The reform process of prisons is therefore seriously hampered by both over-population and the lack of attention for those who are qualified for reform.

Amnesty International (2008) maintained that Nigerian prisons are filled with people whose human rights are often violated. Approximately 66% of the inmates are awaiting trial most of whom have been waiting for their trial for years. Most of the people in Nigerian prisons are too poor to be able to pay lawyers. Although governmental legal aid exists, there are too few legal aid lawyers for all the cases that require representation. Living conditions in the prisons are appalling. They are damaging to the physical and mental well-being of inmates and in many cases constitute clear threats to health. Conditions such as overcrowding, poor sanitation, lack of food and medicine and denial of contact with families and friends fall short of UN standard for the treatment of prisoners. The worst conditions constitute ill-treatment.

The practices above in Nigerian prisons are in violation of the UN's SMR for the treatment of prisoners which requires that ATI must be brought to trial and the proceedings completed within 'a reasonable time' or released on bail. They equally contradict other principles such as that everyone charged with a crime has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty and that the deprivation of liberty must be an exceptional measure.

Rule 10 of the UN Standard Minimum Rules (SMR) for the Treatment of Prisoners provides that "*All accommodation provided for the use of prisoners and in particular all sleeping*

accommodation shall meet all requirements of health, due regard being paid to climatic conditions and particularly to cubic content of air, minimum floor space, lighting, heating and ventilation". To the utmost disregard of the provision, Amnesty International (2008) maintained that in many Nigerian prisons inmates sleep two to a bed or on the floor in filthy cells. Toilets are blocked and overflowing or simply nonexistent, and there is no running water. As a result, disease is widespread.Records show that the Kirikiri Maximum Security Prison in Lagos, for instance, is overcrowded by 250 per cent. The prison, which was built for 956 inmates, is, today occupied by over 2,600 inmates (Ajayi, 2012).

Ogweezy (2011) maintained that as a result of rampant overcrowding, inmates routinely share beds or sleep on the floor. Mattresses and bedding are inadequately provided to inmates. In most prison there are dirty, tattered foam mattresses. Others slept on mats. Many had nothing at all. According to Ogweezy (2011), it was reported that the lack of bedding was as a result that the supplies came from Abuja and they only supplied the number of the prison capacity. Consequently, in prisons that the incarcerated doubled their official capacity, half of the inmates had no beds. In Enugu prison, the author noted that the cells for inmates awaiting trial had no beds at all; as a result, up to 100 men and children per cell were sleeping on the bare floor.

Rule 8 of the UN's SMR provides that *"The different categories of prisoners shall be kept in separate institutions or parts of institutions taking account of their sex, age, criminal record, the legal reason for their detention and the necessities of their treatment."* Evidences abound that in Nigerian prisons the rule is seriously violated. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2009-2011 report) reported that the Nigeria Prison system ran contrary to several benchmarks set within the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners.

Juveniles were not separated from hardened criminals, women prisoners were jailed in overcrowded rooms with their children, and the mentally ill prisoners remained incarcerated, rather than receiving psychiatric treatment.

In his address delivered to the members of the National Assembly on September 02, 2009, Udume (member) maintained that prison congestion has caused a lot damages to our country because the prisons objective of reformation, rehabilitation and re-integration of prison inmates back to the society could never be achieved under the present condition of our prisons across the country. He opined that the system hindered proper classification of inmates, leaving the management with no option other than putting inmates of different offences together.

Amnesty International (2008) maintained that the rights of Nigerian prisoners were systematically flouted; in most prisons, children awaiting trial and mentally ill inmates - some of whom are not accused of any offence - are kept in the same cells together with convicted criminals. In practice, women and juveniles are held with male prisoners, especially in rural areas. The extent of abuse in these conditions was unknown. In most cases, women accused of minor offenses are released on bail; while, women accused of serious offenses are detained. There is no formalized procedure regarding the separation of detainees and convicted prisoners, and the method of confinement solely depends on the capacity of the facility; as a result, detainees often are housed with convicted prisoners (Ogweezy, 2011; Obioha, 2011).

Like many other Member Nations highlighted earlier, Nigeria is found wanting in observing the SMRs which it was one of the signatories. However, this investigative study is targeted at revealing the real situation.

2.4 Staff and Inmates' Perceptions of Imprisonment Goals

One of the major problems of the prison as a correctional institution is the marked discrepancy between the official goal of prison, the staff's perception of the goal and the inmates' perception. The same lack of compromise is applicable to the members of public. For some people, the essence of imprisonment is to extract a pound of flesh from those who committed crimes in society. Others see imprisonment as a means of protecting the society from evil-doers. Others advocate imprisonment as a means of deterring those who might be nursing criminal intents. Still others see the period of incarceration as the hope of society to rehabilitate the incarcerated in order to become useful members of the society. The Federal Bureau of Prisons (1948:3) cited in Ayllon (1979) submits that

> our modern prison system is proceeding in a rather uncertain course because its administration is necessarily a series of compromises. On the one hand, prisons are expected to punish; on the other hand, they are supposed to reform. They are expected to discipline rigorously at the same time they teach self- reliance.

These conflicting views will not be resolved easily since each contains sufficient truth to ensure its continued advocacy and sufficient error to ensure its continued opposition (Ayllon, 1979). Be this as it may, we cannot deny the ordinary man's conception of imprisonment as the process by which inmates are forced by the prison staff to change from their bad ways to acceptable attitude. However, what is required from inmates is true repentance to turn a new leaf and not a change borne out of force which is most likely to fail once the compelling circumstances are removed.

It is worthy of note that the prison goal(s) pursued by a country depend upon its cultural attitudes and perceptions towards crimes and criminals. According to Okunola, et al (2002), the conventional correctional principle in use in any prison is largely a function of how the administrative emphasis is laid between custody and welfare. The choice of custody as an ideal

presupposes emphasis on discipline, which in turn emphasizes group order. In such prisons, punishment is one of the techniques applied to achieve group order.

This principle which emphasizes custody, no doubt, influences the staff's perception of prison goals. Adetola (1991) maintained that in the management of a typical Nigerian prison, in order to achieve the primary objective of organization (reformation), efforts are directed toward preventing escape and checking external influence, hence most strategies are geared toward custody. In his study of Ado Ekiti prison, Adetola (1991) maintained that out of 109 staff respondents, 102 were of custodial caliber. In his study of Gusau medium prison, Njideka (2000) maintained that out of 98 staff respondents, 86 staff maintained that their major task was "to ensure that inmates do not escape".

The emphasis which the uniformed staff lay on custody eventually metamorphoses into corporal punishment since the two can hardly be separated. In order to maintain custody of the inmates, the uniformed staff are armed with guns, whips, handcuffs and shackles with which they restrain movements and command obedience of the inmates. With these weapons they become order givers and hostile to the inmates. Reporting on whether prisons are meant for punishment or rehabilitation, the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO, 1996) captured a comment by a high ranking officer at the Port-Harcourt prison thus: "you cannot be in prison and expect to enjoy all the advantages of life in the open society…..the prisoners are there for punishment". In 1985, the Prison Officers Association published a document which said

> ….the Prison service is in a parlous state…Prison industries are at a minimum. Bathing for inmates cannot be guaranteed on a weekly basis. Clothing change for inmates cannot be guaranteed weekly.Exercise has become an ad hoc provision. Sleeping arrangements in cellular accommodation cannot be guaranteed in some institutions. (Prison Watch, Jan-March, 2000)

Zimring (1973) noted that if the commands of the legal system are not reinforced with the threats of punishment, many individuals would not see the basis for believing that the system really meant what is said. The imposition of punishment therefore becomes the major task of the uniformed officers at the detriment of inmates' reformation and rehabilitation. Odekunle (1979) and Ahire (1990) have testified that the inmates are so regimented to the extent that it appears that the primary purpose of imprisonment in Nigeria is punitive. Odekunle (1979) observed that Nigerian prisons were operating on a mere custodial and punitive philosophy not taking advantage of recent penological innovations such as rational prisoner classification and segregation, work- release and parole. Ahire (1990) described contemporary Nigerian prisons as human cages with no facilities for correction, reformation and vocational training. All the above research observations point out that the interest of the penal system is on the punitive measure rather than on reformation and rehabilitation of inmates. However, it must be borne in mind that obtaining the required compliance from individuals is not necessarily through punishment.

On the part of inmates, many prison studies such as Eze and Okafor (2007) and Tanimu (2010) testify that inmates have negative views of goals of imprisonment. In their study of Kirikiri Medium Prison, Lagos, Eze and Okafor (2007) maintained that majority of inmates (58%) believed that the reason for their being incarcerated was to punish them; 37.3% attributed it to reformation; and 8.7% attributed it to the act of God. In his study of Zaria and Kaduna Prisons, Tanimu (2010) maintained that 64.4% of inmates maintained "oppression" as the objective of prison; 22.6% maintained "reformation/ rehabilitation"; and 12.8% maintained others. Njideka (1984) in his study of Onitsha Prison maintained that over 70% of the inmates believed that their incarceration was to punish them for their offenses; 20% believed that it was for their reformation/ rehabilitation; 10% were uncertain.

When President Obasnjo was imprisoned for criticizing Abacha's regime he expressed his prison experience thus: "*Our prisons are hells on earth. The day they gave me the so-called verdict, I was given no bed, no mattress, nothing to sleep on except the bare floor. I was living in a colony of criminals"* (CLO Annual Report, 1998). Bashiru Umuru, a Ghanaian, who was detained in Ikoyi Prison for eight years without trial, on release described his ordeal thus:

> I have never suffered any eye problem except the seasonal Apollo which I considered normal. While in prison, I had all kinds of diseases like rashes, ringworm, eczema, etc. I was lucky to be treated by some Christian volunteer groups who usually come to administer free treatment to us. Fever, cold, malaria and headache were also common. But after what started as a slight dizzy feeling which sometimes led to temporary blindness, I reported to the prison clinic, but there no drugs to treat me. Days later, I realized that I had gone blind completely. Since then nobody cared about me or bothered to take me to the hospital.
>
> (CLO Annual Report, 1998)

If most inmates in these prisons located in different parts of the country maintained that punishment was the reason for their imprisonment, the question is, how effective is the use of punishment in correcting offenders/criminals? Supporters of the use punishment to deter offenders (voluntarism/classical school) are of the opinion that people who commit evil acts deserve to be punished and that it is morally justified to punish wrong doing. Hall (1958) maintained that punishment is a socializing process which helps the individual to be law abiding and also observed that punishment helps to form and strengthen the public's moral code and thereby creates conscious and unconscious inhibitions against committing crime. According to Adams (1998), this view maintains that the severity of the punishment should depend on the gravity of the offence committed irrespective of the effect on the offender.

In opposition to punitive measure, various scholars have observed that instead of solving the problem, punishment tends to intensify criminal behaviour of the recipients. Zimring (1973) maintained that punishment plays no significant role in crime prevention. In citing a research

conducted by the Bureau of Social Science Research, Zimring (1973) maintained that majority of the inmates upheld the correctional system rather than the use of punishment to deter offenders. Mathiessen (1990) maintained that prisons have unjust, inhumane and harmful consequences for offenders, their families and even for staff working in them. Adams (1998) was of the opinion that there was no evidence that punitive custodial sentences beneficially affect the future offending behaviour of the sentenced offender or other offenders and the implication was that boot camps might not be effective in dealing with offenders. Bandura (1973) maintained that corporal punishment to children makes them to imitate the person who administered the punishment and makes them to be more aggressive and anxious in attitude. Alemika (1994) maintained that subjecting inmates to excessive custodial restraint and punishment strips them of their dignity and self-respect thereby militating against their constructive self- development and actualization. In view of the above negative reactions against the use of punishment in handling offenders, it is obvious that its application in prisons will never yield the much needed reformation and rehabilitation of inmates and therefore call for a better option.

2.5Nature of Inmate Subculture

Prison Culture: The nomenclature "inmate subculture" suggests that there is a prison culture in which it operates. Like other total institutions, community of individuals, groups and entities in society, a prison setting has its own cultural practices, norms and values. There are certain basic socio-cultural features that are peculiar to prison community which are not found in the conventional society. The indication of this is that prison institution has its distinct characterizations which are capable of changing the behaviour of the members for good or bad depending on the personal experience and social network action.

Clemmer (1958) explained the mechanism of "prisonization" or "deculturation" within prison culture. According to him, prisonization denotes a simultaneous process in which inmates take on "in greater or less degree…the folkways, mores, customs and general culture of the penitentiary" and at the same time discard (in greater or less degree) the cultural norms and values acquired from the culture of the outside world. The author maintained that every inmate is prisonized, however the extent varies from individual to individual. Factors that influence prisonization of inmates include length of sentence, adaptive style of inmate and nature of prison. Inmates with short-term sentences, stable personalities and recurrent interaction with people in outside world (as in open prison) are less prisonized than their counterparts with long-term sentences, unstable personalities and isolated from people in outside world (as in closed prison).

Nigeria runs about 145 convict prisons; all are closed prisons except one at Kakuri in Kaduna state. The architectural designs of the prisons and handling of inmates portray the system as based on traditional punishment-oriented culture. Obioha (1995) maintained that the concept of prisonization and building of prisons by the Colonial masters was not targeted at reforming inmates. The prisons were constructed to dump those that were opposed to their rule and as such they made it as a hell on earth for any one that goes in there. Unfortunately, post-independence leaders inherited them and carried them over. Still on Nigerian prison culture, Adetula, et al (2010) maintained that the Nigerian distributive justice guidelines suggest imprisonment culture of dehumanizing, substandard, poor living environmental conditions to Nigerians. The effect of this is inadequate sanitation, improper reformation and correctional processes for attitude change by inmates and people in the free society.

Obioha (1995) maintained that life in Nigerian prisons in general is overly regimented to the extent that there is strict control in virtually all activities of the inmates. In view of this regimentation, inmates are left in mentally brutalized manner with broken body and spirit which destroys the individual. In a nutshell, this depicts deprivation or loss of autonomy of inmates in all facets of prison life. The authority dictates and controls every aspect of inmates life—when to eat, sleep, wake up, work, play, bath, talk and be silent. This places the inmates in childlike situation, unable to make use of personal discretion and take decisions even long after discharge from prison. Therefore instead of contributing to human development as expected, imprisonment in Nigeria amounts to human development wastage (Obioha, 1995). It could be noted that the colonial masters who initiated the prison system did it in such a way to serve their purpose-dealing ruthlessly with their oppositions. The continual running of the system as the colonial masters handed it over to us means that we are yet to appreciate the value of our independence in general, and the essence of modern imprisonment, in particular.

Inmate Subculture: In any formal system, either an institution or an organization, there is bound to be an informal group of the members of the official set up. Normally birds of the same feather constitute themselves into an informal group through which they protect their interests. Sociologists use the term informal organization to refer to the casual association, cliques and friendships that form within a bureaucracy, affecting its operation (Mathiessen, 1990). In a prison setting, inmates, who see themselves as the birds of the same feather, constitute themselves into an informal organization known as inmate subculture through which they ameliorate the pains of incarceration (Goffman,1961B; Sykes, 1971; Tanimu, 2010). In addition, the inmate subculture, in most prisons, is the source of conflict and struggle for supremacy

between inmates and staff (Matheissen, 1990). Through this state of solidarity, the inmates neutralize the devastating consequences of imprisonment (Sykes and Messinger, 1960).

The concern with the origin of the inmate subculture has produced two alternative explanations. The deprivation model assumes that the inmate subculture arises in response to the nasty prison environment and the painful conditions of confinement (Schrag, 1960; Irwin, 1970). Normally, imprisonment deprives inmates of such things as material possessions, social acceptance, heterosexual relation, personal security and liberty. Okunola, et al (2002) maintained that social organization among inmates is formed to fill the gap created by the deprivation arising from custodial control. In other words, inmate subcultue is a collective reaction of inmates against their shared "deprivation". This environment of shared deprivation gives inmates a basis for solidarity (Aultman, 1978).

The inmate subculture and its code represent a functional, collective adaption of inmates to this environment (Sykes, 1971). When an offender enters the prison for the first time, having been rejected by the outside world and treated as an outcast by the correctional officials, he is socialized into the customs and principles of the inmate society, a process which Clemmer (1958) termed "prisonisation".

The inmate subculture has its culture characterized by a set of norms and values which govern the conduct of behaviour and attitudes of the prisoners. These norms and values are largely determined by the inmate code which is antisocial and anti- administration (Clemmer, 1958; Schrag, 1966; Sykes, 1971).

Inmate code refers to rules and values that have developed among inmates inside the prison social system. The code helps define an inmate's image as a model prisoner through its prescriptions of appropriate behaviour and attitude for the inmates. It emphasizes the unity of the inmates against custodial officials. The code also provides a relatively safe environment for illicit economic activities among the prisoners through promulgating laws against any form of sabotage of a fellow inmate ("grassing"). In view of the above functions of the code, it is not surprise that prisoners encourage each other to try to beat the system. They do not encourage 'grassing'; they do encourage attempts to escape or abscond; they waste considerable quantity of food and the like. All of these behaviors are in a sense subversive. They disrupt the system; but more importantly, they are contributory to the depressing paucity of prison life (Laycock, 1979).

Another important aspect of the inmate subculture is the prison argot. This refers to special slang or language which is used by prisoners to maintain secrecy among them and to indicate the life pattern of any inmate. Clemmer (1958) listed up to 383 argot terms he found to be commonly known to the majority of inmates in Menard. Argot can serve as nick name for an inmate or correctional officer. "Fish" is a name given to new arrival inmate; "punk" to homosexual inmate who plays female role; "wolf" to a violent male homosexual; and "rat" to an inmate who is involved in business activities.

However, the nomenclatures defer from prison to prison. In his study of Onitsha prison, Njideka (1984) noted that inmates nicknamed correctional officers for a purpose. When the word "eke-ukwu" (mighty Python) is mentioned in the ward, it is an indication that the superintendent of the prison is around the corner for every inmate to be cautious. The term "eke" (python) refers to

warder; “Aka-gum” (magnet) is for an inmate who steals from others; “onye – nsubo” (Saboteur) is for an inmate who leak secret to staff; and “oke – nkpi” (he- goat) is for a violent homosexual.

In summary, it could be maintained that the inmate subculture exists to help inmates to ameliorate the pains of imprisonment. It is a functional adaptive system which helps the inmates not only to overcome the pains of imprisonment but also to maintain their self-esteem and avoid converting public rejection into self-rejection. The system provides the social structure which determines the position/status of an inmate based upon the degree to which he is involved in the social system and supports to the components of the inmate code. Thus, within the inmate system, there is a hierarchy of inmate officials who command the respects of other inmates and, more often than not, are recognized and utilized by the official organization (authority).

More importantly, the inmate subculture helps to ‘prisonize’ the inmates because it is within its cultural milieu that prisonisation takes place. During this period of prisonisation, a new inmate gradually abandons the culture of the outside world in favor of the inmate culture and rejects his rejecters in order to maintain self – esteem. The end result is institutionalization which makes most inmates to prefer prison life to the life outside the walls.

The above imperative functions of the inmate subculture in maintaining discipline, orderliness, unity and solidarity among inmates cannot be neglected in any programme which is aimed at achieving reformation and rehabilitation of prisoners. The strong influence which inmate subculture has on the overall behavior and attitudes of the inmates, especially toward the prison staff and rehabilitative programme can be positively channeled.

Certain “pains of imprisonment” such as the deprivation of liberty, material goods, heterogeneous sexual relation, coupled with inhuman treatment to man, call for a banding together of inmates in order to cope with the harsh conditions of prison life. Thus, a community of inmates emerged. The community of inmates endures for a long time and as such it has its own distinct culture with its peculiar norms and values which determine the behaviour patterns of the prisoners.

Since the prison culture is different from the culture of the outside world, the survival of an inmate within the walls requires him to shed-off the cultural norms and values of the outside world and embrace those of the inmate culture. According to Sykes (1971), the power of inmates’ culture serves as a community strength which gives the inmates a degree of autonomy and control over the daily life of the penitentiary.

Once an offender is incarcerated, his ugly experiences make him to begin to reject his keepers and the society they represent. Initially, he is engaged in two simultaneous processes: putting aside the values of the free world which rejected him and at the same time gradually accepting the values, customs and general culture of the inmates. These processes are called “prisonization” (Clemmer, 1958; Williams and Fish, 1974). As his contacts with the free world diminished, the prison culture becomes more vital in determining the behaviour and attitudes of the inmate.

Prisonization, therefore is generally described as a process of moving into and accepting the normative structure of the inmate subculture (Hepburn and Stratton, 1997). The result of prisonization is “institutionalization” in which an inmate totally adjusts to prison life and loses interest in the outside world and totally defines himself within the institutional context (Bartol

and Bartol, 1974). The inmates who become acclimatize with prison life in this process are bound to be prone to recidivism, apart from having reformation and rehabilitation problems.

At this juncture, the question is: Does inmate subculture really exist in Nigeria prison? If yes, what is its modus operandi? Today, there are many inmate sub-cultures. Each institution has its dominant inmate culture and sub-cultures within. The inmate sub-culture may be positive; for example, it may give support and encourage fellow inmates in their involvement in programmes that address their criminogenic needs. In some institutions a negative sub-culture exists which makes it difficult to operate effective programs (The Correctional Service of Canada http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pblct/security/security-05-eng.shtml 26/11/12).

It is maintained in many quarters that the more custodial and tightly regimented a prison is, the more inmates seek for refuge in inmate subculture and the more they frustrate programmes meant for their reformation and rehabilitation (Sykes and Messinger, 1960; Sykes, 1970; Goffman, 1961; Williams and Fish, 1974). Despite the modern emphasis on prison reform, Nigeria still operates a traditional custodial prison system which is also a closed system (Obioha, 2011; Ogweezy, 2011).

In a large closed prison system, it is opined that rehabilitation is not likely to occur due to both the difficulty of conducting therapeutic programmes and the resistance offered by the inmate subculture (Aultman, 1978). Goffman (1961) maintained that in such a total institution which is characterized by the infliction of certain "mortification processes" on offenders, the losses offenders suffer in the process generate a loss of respect for oneself and a change of self-respect that is found to hinder successful rehabilitation. Here, the influence of inmate subculture on

individuals is detrimental to efforts to reform inmates and is considered the most powerful force in determining the behavior of an imprisoned offender (Aultman,1978).

Empirical studies have shown that because of the ugly experiences prisoners face in Nigerian prisons, they embrace inmate subculture which runs counter to the official goals. In his study of Kaduna and Zaria prisons, Tanimu (2010) noted that the relationship between the staff and the inmates was characterized more by hostility than friendship; that minor infraction of rules attracted undue and severe punishment from the staff and hostility meted to them ranged from physical torture to solitary confinement. Eze and Okafor (2007), in their study of Nigerian Medium Prison Kirikiri, Lagos, revealed that many inmates join different inmates' groups in order to overcome maltreatments from the staff and older prisoners, and harsh prison conditions such as hunger.

However, Okunola, et al (2002) presented a different picture of inmate subculture. They maintained that inmate subculture is not always anti-social and anti-administration. The authors maintained that within the inmate subculture, there is a hierarchy of inmate officials who command the respect of other inmates and, more often than not, are recognized and utilized by the prison authority. The authors went further to affirm that though the "administration" of the informal organization of the inmates has no locus standi in the prison system, it acquires some recognition to the extent that it acts as the link between the inmates and the staff.

In view of the literature review, there is a controversy over the nature of inmate subculture in Nigerian prisons. While some studies such as Tanimu (2010) maintained that the subculture is anti-prison authority as a result of hostility between staff and inmates, others such as Okunola, Aderinto and Atere (2002) maintained that it is pro-prison authority, helping the management to

maintain prison discipline and order. This multi-prison- facility study, cutting across the levels of Nigerian prisons, is geared toward resolving the controversy. Also it has been noted that inmate subculture exercise much influence on inmates both as individual and as a group. The question is: how will this subculture be exploited to play a positive role in the reformation and rehabilitation processes? This calls for changes in prison cultures of both staff and inmates- changes that will address their conceptions of and reason for imprisonment, attitudinal behaviour of both staff and inmates towards each other, the attitude of inmates towards the rehabilitation programmes and the like.

2.6 Inmates' Attitude towards Rehabilitation and Reformation Programmes

Among the functions of modern prisons, reformation and rehabilitation of inmates are the most deserved by most democratic countries of the world, and to a large extent, are used as the yardstick to evaluate whether or not the institutions are achieving their avowed responsibilities. According to Ahire (1990), 'reformation'-refers to measures calculated to impact moral improvement in a person's character so that he will be less inclined to re-offend in future. Rehabilitation refers to post release efforts made to make it easier for the offender to resettle in society. In view of the definitions, reformation seems to precede rehabilitation in the process of re-adjusting the prisoners. However, Schmalleger and Smykla (2001) maintained that rehabilitation is accomplished when an offender's criminal pattern of thought and behavior has been replaced by allegiance to society's value. They maintained that rehabilitation focuses on medical and psychological treatments and social skills training, all designed to correct the problem that led the individual to crime.

Factors militating against reformation/rehabilitation of prison inmates include the following: first, punitive treatment of the inmates by the correctional officers; second, the inhuman conditions of imprisonment to which the inmates are subjected; and third, the relevance of the programmes to the present realities of life.In Nigeria, many studies have been conducted by researchers with particular reference to inmates' attitude to and perception of their reformation and rehabilitation; some of them are hereby examined.

Omagbemi and Odunewu (2007) in their study to probe into the prisoners' perception of library information towards their rehabilitation and recreational activities noted that 38.7% of the inmate respondents used the library sparingly; 29% did not use it at all and only 12.9% used it often. The attitude of inmates towards the use of library facility seems to be negative contrary to many reports that prison inmates value library service. For instance, when a deadly prison riot occurred in 1980 in Santa Fe, New Mexico, the report had it that the prisoners destroyed most of the prison facilities but the library was not touched (Dixen and Thorsen, 2001). That singular act went on to prove inmates' interest in library as their major source of information. Therefore the inability of the inmates to make use of libraries in the prisons studied could be influenced by certain factors such as the time allocated to inmates to do so and the library stock. If the libraries were stocked with outdated books left by Colonial Masters, inmates might not be interested in making use of it. Even in our secondary and tertiary educational institutions many libraries are ill-stocked with relevant books talk less of prison libraries. There is the need to stock prison libraries with current and relevant materials that will withstand the test of time.

Ugwuoke and Ojonugwa (2014) in their study of Federal Prison in Kogi State noted that 81% of the inmate respondents advocated that their participation in vocational training programmes

(VTP) would better their lives on discharge. The authors equally observed that 92% of the inmates were undergoing vocational training programmes and only 8% were not. Ali (2011) in the study of Goron-Dutse and Central Prisons Kano State, maintained that of the inmate respondents in all categories of educational attainment reported that they were not attending class; the highest (95%) being convicts in tertiary institutions before incarceration. The negative attitude of the inmates here towards educational programmes is obvious as the author noted that teaching was done by convicts who were not professional teachers. One wonders the type of education that would be delivered by the calibre of teachers! This explains the reason why inmates in tertiary institutions of learning before incarceration constituted the highest percentage that was not attending class.

Also, the negative attitude of the inmates towards educational programmes could be attributed to their poor socio-economic and educational background. Most of the prisoners are from poor families and did not see the four walls of primary school. In view of this situation, they occupy the lowest echelon of occupational employment; many are even jobless-the condition that pushed them to crimes. Alliance for Education (2013) maintained that there is a link between lower level of education and a high rate of arrest and incarceration. Farnsworth et al (1994) maintained that unemployment has a strong relationship with criminal behaviour. Labo (2004) and Anujuru (2011) opined that most prison inmates in Nigeria are poor and up to fifty percent are recidivists. O'Mahony (1997) maintained that there is an important relationship between the pre-incarceration occupation of inmates and their position on the continuum of relative social advantage and disadvantage within the prison.

Uche, et al (2015) maintained that in Enugu prison, 100% of the inmate respondents agreed that reformation and rehabilitation programmes like adult literacy, carpentry, tailoring, arts/crafts and welding existed in the prison. In terms of the duration of the programmes, 93% of the inmates maintained that they last as long as one is in the prison. Measurement of the programmes by inmates showed that 6% of them said that the programmes were successful; 63% said they were fairly successful and 31% said that they were not successful. As regards the impact of the programmes on the inmates, 86% of them maintained that the programmes had positive impact on them; 0.7% said they had negative impact on them; and 13% said they had no impact on them. The results show that majority of inmates were interested in rehabilitation programmes and would not hesitate to take the advantage since they agreed that they had positive impact on them. The major problem in this respect seems to be the availability of meaningful rehabilitation programmes and their full implementation in our prisons. How reliable are the programmes in providing for the inmates on release? Some of the programmes are out-dated and even at that, most prisons lack personnel to handle them.

Asokhia and Asumah (2013) in the study of prisons in Edo State maintained that available rehabilitation and reformation programmes include adult and remedial education, carpentry and tailoring; religious service; furniture-making and soap-making; recreational services such as football, table tennis, ludo, card and draft. The result of the study showed that inmates preferred one rehabilitation programme to the other. The inmates showed negative attitude to all the programmes except recreational programme with a particular preference to football where 61% of them indicated interest. Their interest in football could be attributed to the fact that the game of football has gained both national and international recognition, coupled with the fact that the game allows inmates to exercise their whole body in the open. Generally, the authors noted that

the rehabilitation services in the prisons were not internationally best compliant. This could have affected the interest of inmates in other rehabilitation programmes.

From the studies above, it could be noted that, in all, majority of inmates were interested in rehabilitation programmes since they believed that they would help them gain an honest living on release from prison. However, their attitude and interests in the rehabilitation programmes varied from prison to prison depending on what were provided in each prison as reformation and rehabilitation programmes. The essence of the programmes is that when inmates are trained in them and have acquired the required skills, they could be re-integrated and live well in the outside world. In view of this fact, inmates are required to be trained in programmes that are up-to-date with the realities in the conventional society so that on their release from prisons their services would be needed but in actual practice it seems that reverse is the case. Ayinde and Opeyemi (2011) maintained that training provides skills to inmates to become more useful to themselves on discharge and afford them the opportunity to rediscover their self-respect and dignity. The implication is that if the reformation and rehabilitation programmes were outdated, inmates might not be interested in them as they could not help them to better their lives in the outside world on release.

It is equally emphasized by many authors such as Ayuk, et al (2013), Gatotoh et al (2011) and Kjelsberg, Skoglund and Rustad (2007) that education of the uniformed officers is very important in the rehabilitation and treatment approach. Gatotoh, et al (2011) maintained that officers with higher education were more likely to have positive attitude towards rehabilitation and treatment programmes. Robinson, et al (1997) maintained that there is a strong positive relationship between education, human service motivation to join corrections and rehabilitation

orientation of prison staff. This is due to the fact that the prison staff have the power to enhance or undermine the primary goals of correctional institutions (Kjelsberg, Skoglund and Rustad, 2007)

Gatotoh and Omulema and Nassiuma (2011) in the study of staff correctional attitudes in Kenya, maintained that 64% of the staffrespondents agreed that counseling helped to rehabilitate inmates while 33% disagreed with that. Again 53.8% of the staff believed that counseling helped to rehabilitate inmates more than punishment. The implication is that there were staff members who believed that counseling would rehabilitate inmates but still would prefer punishment to counseling. In principle, many staff members could maintain humane approach in dealing with inmates under their custody but in practice they adopt punitive measures.

Lariviere and Robinson (1996) maintained that one important rehabilitation strategy in the prison is the nature of relationship that exists between correctional staff and inmates. This is recognized as a potential intervention source for the development of some constructive and effective behaviour pattern. However, in spite of the value of rehabilitation programme in correcting offenders, a substantial proportion of correctional officers hold unfavourable attitude towards inmates, which makes them favour punishment (Jacobs, 1977). Chang and Zastow (1976) maintained that the typical view of inmates held by correctional officers is so poor that it may render any rehabilitative effort futile. Hence the authors maintained that the correctional officers are implicitly a factor in perpetuating the criminal behaviour which individuals are incarcerated for. Lamenting on the consequences of mal-handling inmates in Nigerian prisons, Alemika and Alemika (1994) maintained that it strips away their dignity and self-respect thereby militating against their constructive self-development and actualization.Correctional officers should be

stake holders in progress and not the other way round and therefore their training and education in that direction matter a lot.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

Normally sociological study of this kind is always guided by a theoretical framework. Two alternative theories, namely, Deprivation Theory (Indigenous Origin Theory) and Importation Theory, are usually used by criminologists to account for the origin and operation of the inmate subculture in prison. In this study, for the purpose of clarification, the two theories are separately discussed and the one that is applicable to Nigerian prison system is chosen as the theoretical framework. In addition, rehabilitation theory is discussed for the purpose of highlighting the intricacies involved in inmates' proper reformation and rehabilitation.

Deprivation Theory (Indigenous Origin Theory)

Deprivation which entails denying somebody what he/she ought to have is distinguishable into absolute and relative deprivations. Absolute deprivation includes physical abuse, starvation and poverty; relative deprivation is the discrepancy between what one expects in life and what one gets (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008). In view of this, imprisonment entails absolute deprivation. Deprivation theory is associated with the work of Sykes (1970), Sykes and Messinger (1960) and Goffman (1960A).

The basic assumption of the theory is that the depersonalizing and stigmatizing effects of legal processing and induction into the prison, coupled with the alienation effects of the coercive power exercised by prison officers in their attempt to maintain social control within the prison, minimize the relevance of other types of variables (Charles, 1977). The theory holds that prison subcultures develop as a response to a number of deprivations that prison offers.

Imprisonment necessitates a substantial curtailment of a prisoner's freedom and other basic human rights; hence deprivation is an inherent feature of being incarcerated (John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999). Once incarcerated, the prisoner stands the chance of losing his personal belongings as well as most fundamental human rights which are enjoyed by others in the free world. Hephurn and Stratton (1977) maintained that it is axiomatic that penal incarceration subjects the inmates to unusual deprivation and degradation. The loss of personal property and autonomy, the deprivation of goods and services, the isolation and boredom of confinement, the restriction of movement and heterosexual behaviour and the proximity to known and dangerous criminals are but a few of the deprived conditions.

Imprisonment places inmates in a highly restrictive environment, devoid of personal freedom and satisfaction of essential human needs. Under the deprived conditions, inmates fraternize with one another (Goffman, 1960A) and a value system emerges which strengthens inmate solidarity and insulates them as a group from administrators and staff (Clemmer, 1958; Sykes, 1971). All deprivations provide the energy for the society of captives as a system of action (Sykes and Messinger, 1960).Deprivation theory advocates use the phrase "pains of imprisonment" to sum up all deprivation experiences inmates undergo in prisons. Sykes (1971) highlighted five (5) deprivations of prison as follows:

Deprivation of liberty: In prisons, prisoner's movement is very restricted. The prisoner's loss of liberty is of two folds: first by confinement to the correctional institution and second by confinement within the institution in form of solitary confinement. Denying inmate freedom amount to denying him emotional relationships; loneliness and boredom become his

companions. Sykes (1971) maintained that confinement represents a deliberate moral rejection of the criminal by the free community which is a constant threat to the inmate's self-conception.

Deprivation of goods and services: Immediately incarcerated, the inmates are dispossessed of their personal belongings such as clothing and money. The institution can only provide them with minimum material needs like uniforms. The services of those who acquired skills before incarceration are not gainfully employed, leading to deterioration.

Deprivation of heterosexual relationships: Incarceration results to separating the inmate from family, spouse and friends. This makes it difficult for the inmate to have the usual heterosexual relationships, especially when one realizes that most prison regulations do not allow conjugal visits. Psychologically, the male status of the inmate is called into question. According to Sykes (1971), a society composed exclusively of men tends to generate anxieties in its members concerning their masculinity, regardless of whether or not they are coerced, bribed or seduced into an overt homosexual liaison.

Deprivation of autonomy: Prisoners are subjected to a vast body of rules and commands which are designed to control their behaviour in minute detail (Sykes, 1971). Many inmates, especially long-term inmates, lose their sense of self efficacy once autonomy is taken away. The loss of autonomy is total and imposed; an inmate, for instance, is told what to do, how to do it and when to do it. An inmate's discretion or initiative is not allowed. This reduces the inmates to the weak, helpless, dependent status of childhood (Sykes, 1971).

Deprivation of security: Imprisonment brings a prisoner into close contacts and intimacy with dangerous criminals which constitutes an awful experience. It is an anxiety-provoking situation

even to the hardest recidivist (Sykes, 1971). Another threat to the personal security of inmate is the possibility of contracting HIV virus from other inmates through sexual activity, sharing syringes used to inject intravenous drugs and through unsanitary tattooing practice (John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999).

Under the deprived conditions of punitive oriented prisons, inmates are subjected to inhuman treatments based on the notion that they are the architects of their own fortune. Nwolise (2010) maintained that the underfunding of corrections (prisons) in most African countries is not a product of lack of resources or funds; rather it roots from the archaic and punitive belief and perception of prison as a place of atonement by criminals and imprisonment as a process of punishing offenders. He went further to maintain that the reason for poor funding of prisons is ideological; that the leaders held the belief that imprisonment is punishment qua punishment (punishment in totality). Consequently, the prison condition must be harsh in order to mete out adequate dose of punishment to the criminals.

The highlighted deprivations above and many other inhuman treatment which inmates encounter as a result of incarceration constitute for them serious frustration and strain. The inmates, regardless of their individual differences and criminal offences, are "lumped together" and treated as criminals. They all wear the same uniforms and suffer from same deprivations and the consequent frustration. In their reaction formation, they no longer see themselves as individuals with different orientations but as a people in the same boat. They fraternize with one another (Goffman, 1960) in order to find solution to their common problems and the result is the inmate subculture. So, inmate subculture is seen as a generated response to the deprived conditions of institutionalization (Sykes and Messinger, 1960).

Aultman (1978) maintained that certain "pains of imprisonment" such as the deprivation of liberty, material goods and personal autonomy are seen to call for a banding together of inmates in order to cope with the harsh conditions of prison life. According to Sykes and Messinger (1960):

> Inmate feels that the deprivations and frustration of prison life, with their implications for the destruction of his self-esteem, somehow must be alleviated. It is, we suggest, as an answer to this need that the functional significance of the inmate code or system of values exhibited so frequently by men in prison can best be understood.

The inmate subculture has its norms and values and the earlier an inmate learns and internalizes them, the better for him. Since the cultural norms and values of the conventional society is no longer relevant for an inmate's survival in the inmate system, a new inmate embarks on a gradual process of dropping the culture of the free world and at the same time accepting the culture of the inmate world (Clemmer, 1958; Williams and Fish, 1974; and Bartol and Bartol, 1994). This process of institutionalization, as observed by Bartol and Bartol (1994), makes it difficult for many discharged inmates to adjust to the free world and therefore accounts for cases of recidivism.

As a subculture, the inmate informal organization has code which stipulates the appropriate behaviour required of inmates and the nature of relationships of the inmates with the staff. Sykes and Messinger (1960) maintained that the most important tenets of the inmate code are those that place taboo against exploiting fellow inmates and friendly relationships with the staff. Their maxims include: "don't break your word", "don't steal from cons", "don't sell favour", "don't break a racketeer", "don't weaken, be a man and be tough", "don't trust guards or the things they

stand for", "don't be a sucker, the officials are wrong and the prisoners are right" (Sykes and Messinger, 1960).

The deprivation theory has been criticized on certain grounds. It assumes the homogeneity of inmate subculture without taking into cognizance different adaptive lifestyles of the inmates, depending on their criminal orientations. It takes for granted that all inmates are loyal to the inmate leaders and inmate code and as such act like one man. Coping theorists maintain that the community of inmates is far from being homogeneous. Clemmer (1958) maintained that the prison community is not characterized by consensus among inmates and that, by and large, prisoners are isolates. Garrity (1961) maintained that the solidarity and unity of the inmates are affected by the following: competition among inmates who are striving for high status in the inmate social structure; non-compliance of some inmates; and allegiance to the official code by some inmates.

The problems of lack of consensus and unity within the inmate subculture have been attributed to different coping techniques or adaptive lifestyles adopted by inmates in prison. In his configuration of prison social types, Sykes (1971) identified the following: "rat" (inmate that gives information to the staff), "centre man" (inmate that identifies with the values of the staff rather than inmate culture), "gorilla" (inmate that steals from other inmates to alleviate poverty), "merchant" (entrepreneur in the inmate culture), "punk" (weak homosexual inmate that is forced into a feminine role), and "wolf" (aggressive homosexual inmate that always take male role).

Schrag (1966) configured the adaptive lifestyles as: "square john" / "prosocial" (inmate that maintains good relationships with the staff), "right guy"/ "antisocial" (inmate that rebels against prison rules and authority), "con politician"/ "pseudo social" (inmate that exploits social

situation and shifts alliance when it pays him to do so), and "outlaw" /"asocial" (prison troublemakers). Irwin (1970) portrayed prison adaptive modes as: "doing time" (inmate that believes that his goals can be achieved by adhering to inmate code), "jailing" (inmate that wants to make a world out of prison), "gleaning" (inmate that wants to use prison programmes to change his life), and "disorganized criminal" (inmate that lacks planning and has no definite adaptive lifestyle). Opponents of the theory such as Irwin (1960), maintain that the various adaptive lifestyles (social types) which characterize inmate subculture are the function of pre-incarceration experiences of inmates.

Finally, the opponents of deprivation theory such as Irwin (1960) and Jacobs (1977) maintained that the theory has lost its glory in modern societies where prison administration and management are liberal/humanitarian oriented and where many court decisions are in favor of prisoners. They maintained deprivation theory made meaning in out dated closed prison system which was custodial oriented but not in modern prison where the new approach to inmates' treatment has brought inmates very close to the outside world. Despite the criticisms leveled against the deprivation theory, the theory is very relevant to explaining inmates' situations in developing countries where prisons are still run as a closed system with emphases on incapacitation, retribution and punishment.

Importation Theory

The Importation Theory which was championed by Cressey and Donald (1962) surfaced in the early 1960s as a challenge to the Deprivation Theory by presenting a radically different explanation to the origin and operation of inmate subculture in prison. In its proposition, the theory maintains that pre-prison socialization experiences rather than deprivation in prison are

crucial in shaping the development of inmate subculture in prison. Other factors include contacts with the outside world during confinement and the inmates' perception of their post-prison life chances (Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Jacobs, 1976; Aultman, 1978).

According to Wright (1991), Cressey and Irwin maintained that the roles observed in these subcultures are not adjustment to confinement; rather, these roles are composites of various criminal and conventional street identities. Irwin (1962) maintained that the unusual features of inmate subcultures emerge through the association of peculiar criminal and conventional personalities imported into the prisons.

In his study of 116 male parolees from California Prison in mid 60s, Irwin was able to identify eight key inmate roles which included thieves (professional armed robbers and burglars), hustlers (petty con artists), dope fiends (opiate addicts), heads (marijuana and acid users), disorganized criminals (those definite bearing, discernable skills or specialization), state-raised youth (criminals who have most of their lives in prison since entering reformatories in their early age), lower-class men (poor people from neighborhood who find themselves in prison), and square johns

With the exception of the "state-raised youth", Irwin was optimistic that the identified inmate roles were the products of interaction and socialization that took place outside the prison. He claimed that the unusual features of the inmate subcultures emerge through the association of peculiar criminal and conventional personalities imported into the prison (Irwin, 1970).The assumption, in this regard, is that individual inmates "import" into prisons a set of characteristics, values and criminal orientations which greatly influence their behavior and adaptation (Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Irwin, 1980).

The proponents of importation theory justified their claims by citing recent studies and court decisions in favor of liberal inmate treatment. They maintained that recent studies such as one conducted by Carrol (1977), "An Analysis of Inmates in Eastern Correctional Institutions", showed that numerous recent correctional reforms (including more liberal visitation privileges, permission to wear street clothes and hairstyles, and permission to bring television sets and radios into prison) meant that inmates were no longer isolated from the outside world. These and similar reforms enabled prisoners to retain their attachments to reference groups beyond the prison walls. Also, the prison freedom of the inmates to dress and decorate their cells as they please permits inmates to interact on the basis of pre-prison identities rather than solely as convicts.

Jacobs' mid-1970s study of changes in Statesville Penitentiary (a large men's maximum security prison in northern Illinois) showed that reforms introduced by liberal prison officials and federal court decisions relieved many of the pains of imprisonment, making it easier for prisoners to retain their criminal and conventional street identities and lifestyles. Jacobs observed that the recent liberalization of visitation, telephone, and mail privileges permitted inmates far greater contact with their relatives, friends, and associates from the outside world. For example, visitation rules in many prisons today allow limited physical contact between inmates and their spouses or lovers. These contacts make it easy to smuggle drugs into prison, enabling street addicts to continue using drugs behind bars.

Jacobs (1977) equally maintained that U.S. Supreme Court decisions in the 1960s and 1970s extended certain basic rights to inmates, allowing greater access to the outside world. As one example, the 1964 *Cooper v. Pate* decision cleared the way for considerable freedom of religion

in prisons. Following this decision, Nation of Islam ministers were permitted to conduct services in Statesville Penitentiary, enabling Black Muslims to practice their faith and retain their identities in prison. Also, in the *Wolff* decision, the Court offered the opinion that although prisoners had "diminished rights," they could not be "wholly stripped of constitutional protections" and the due process of the law (Jacobs, 1983). The impact of these and other court decisions made way for influences from the outside world to creep into prisons. In view of the liberalization exercise, inmates started to enjoy certain facilities as people outside world such as listening and watching television, radio, video shows, and reading newspapers, journal and magazines.

Despite the merits of the importation theory, it lacks universal application to explain the operation of inmate subculture in many prisons, especially in developing countries of the world. In most developing countries, including Nigeria, prisons are still custodial oriented and are run as closed institutions. For example, Nigeria has over 145 convict prisons; only one (Kakuri Open Prison Camp, Kaduna) is open prison, the rest are closed prisons. Under this system, movements of inmates and their contacts with the outside world are very restricted. Prisoners experience high level of institutionalization and prisonization which are capable of eroding any characteristic feature an inmate might have imported into the prison.

Also, in most developing countries containment of prisoners and retribution are still the dominant objectives in the minds of prison administrators and the general public which frequently hinder other professed objectives like the rehabilitative ideal. Many of the prison administrators are custodial officials who rose through the ranks and therefore lack the skills and ability to run liberal oriented prisons. Moreover, governments of these countries are anti-

prisoners' welfare and therefore unwilling to shoulder any serious responsibility associated with prison system; hence their sorry states in terms of funding and necessary equipment.

Rehabilitation theory: Rehabilitation theory is hereby discussed for the purpose of proper handling of inmates to achieve the required result. The most acknowledged adherent of the theory is Jean Hampton who maintained that the aim of penal system should be treatment and correction. The basic assumption of the theory is that people are not negatively criminals and that it is possible to restore a criminal to a useful life, a life in which they contribute positively to the development of themselves and the society (Ugwuoke and Ojonugwa, 2014). The theory upholds the notion that given the proper care and treatment, criminals can be changed into productive, law-abiding citizens (Segel, 2005). Pecker cited in Ugwuoke and Ojonugwa (2014) further maintained that the offenders should be treated as individuals whose special needs and problems must be known in order to enable prison officers deal effectively with them.

The advocates of rehabilitation theory, in essence, maintained that one cannot inflict a severe punishment on inmates and expect them to be reformed and integrate themselves in the society upon release. They are of the opinion that people commit crimes through no fault of their own; instead criminals are the victims of social injustice, poverty, racism, tribalism and therefore their acts are a response to a society that has betrayed them (Ugwuoke and Ojonugwa, 2014). In view of the conceptions, the advocates of rehabilitation theory maintained that offenders be treated humanely with dignity and respect, be shown love, kindness and compassion not cruelty, contempt and hate.

Contrary to the proponents of voluntarism that argue that man's freewill is superior to reason, the proponents of rehabilitation theory allied with positivists to recognize the duality of social

inequality in human society. They opine that circumstances can constrain, if not compel and lead individuals to criminality. Therefore they reject the position of voluntarism that all individuals, regardless of their positions in the social ladder, exercise equal freedom in deciding whether to commit crime and should be punished equally.

However, rehabilitation theory does not go without criticisms. Critics maintained that rehabilitative ideal tends to be incarcerative rather than therapeutic in character to the extent that a prisoner might be kept for as long as is necessary-an open-ended incarceration- until he/she is completely rehabilitated. In view of this it leads to increased severity of penal measure, especially with juvenile justice (Dambazau, 1999). Also the critics argue that because of its incarcerative nature, prisoners that know that their duration in prison depends on their good behaviour, may fake to have been reformed only to come out and return to their normal criminal lives. However, rehabilitation theory is very much acclaimed in view of its humane approach in handling inmates with the belief that criminals could be 'cured' if adequately handled.

Conclusion: The Chosen Theoretical Framework of the Study

As noted in the fore-going discussions, both deprivation and importation theories could explain the reasons for the existence of inmate subculture, depending on the system and place of the prison in question. In some advanced countries of the world where the prison system has undergone series of revolution that witnessed the enthronement of liberal prison system, importation theory can adequately explain the nature and operation of inmate subculture. Here, open prison system operates where prisoners are allowed certain degrees of freedom to interact with people outside the world. In prison cells, they are also allowed access to televisions, radios, videos, newspapers, journals and magazines. In such places like Britain, America and

Scandinavian countries, not only that visitation has been liberalized, conjugal visits are granted. In view of these, there is constant infiltration of values and norms from outside into prisons which influence the inmate subculture.

Contrarily, in many developing countries of the world closed prison system is in operation. In some despotic countries among them, some prisoners are not granted visitation not to talk of movements outside the prison yard. In terms of handling, inmates are not adequately accommodated, fed and clothed. They lack medical attention and other basic needs of living. Incarceration laws in these countries are yet to liberalize prison visitation, inmates' access to telephones/handsets, or permit frequent inmates contact with their relatives, friends and associates from the outside world. Under such harsh conditions, prisoners are bound to present a common aggressive front to the formal organization of prison.

Nigeria, being of one of the developing countries, with its convict prisons run as closed institutions, one is confident that the deprivation theory (indigenous origin theory) is more suitable than the importation theory in offering explanation to the emergence and nature of inmate subculture in our prison system,hence its adoption. The next issue is the proper and humane way to handle inmates to achieve the desired result. The rehabilitation theory provides the solution.The relevance of rehabilitation theory to this study is that it establishes the justification behind handling of inmates by changing their attitude and behaviour so that they will choose lawful means in satisfying their needs on release from prison.

2.8 Hypotheses: The following hypotheses, in line with the stated objectives, are tested in the course of the data analysis and interpretation.

1. All categories of uniformed staff do not adopt the treatment approach in handling inmates under their custody (objective no.1);

2. The uniformed staff and inmates do not share the same conception of the major prison goal (objective no. 2); and

3. Inmates' perception of prison goal does not determine their attitude towards the rehabilitation programmes (objective no.4).

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Study Locations

The study was conducted in Kirikiri Maximum Prison Lagos, Kuje Medium Prison, Abuja and Kakuri Open Prison Camp, Kaduna, representing the three security prisons in Nigeria. The essence is to ensure that all the levels of prison in the country were represented for the purpose of coverage and reliable conclusion.

Kirikiri maximum prison is located in Lagos state with its capital at Ikeja. The state lies between latitude 6^o 2'N and longitude 4^o 20'E. Lagos state was created on May 27 1967 by virtue of state creation and transitional provisions of decree number 14 of 1967 which restructured the federation of Nigeria into 12 states under the military regime of Gen. Yakubu Gowon. It occupies a total geographical area of about 3,577 km^2 and about 787 km^2 (20%) is occupied by water. The most recent population census in Nigeria (2006) by the National Population Commission put its population at 9,113,605 people, the second most populated state in Nigeria after Kano. Lagos, the former capital of Nigeria, is now Nigeria's economic capital with over 2,000 industries located there. With two of the Nation's largest sea ports, Apapa and Tincan port, located there, Lagos accounts for about 65% of the country's formal economic activities. The major agricultural activity is fishing which is done in commercial quantity (NPC, 2014).

Kirikiri Maximum Prison which is the highest security prison in Nigeria is located within the Nigerian Prisons Service (NPS) premises at Kirikiri, a suburb in Apapa, Lagos. Other prisons within the same premises include Kirkiri Medium Prison and Kirikiri Female Prison. Kirikiri Maximum Prison, Lagos was established in July 1965 with the holding capacity of 1,056 inmates according to the prison official source. It is empowered to admit all categories of prisoners

(except female prisoners) _ condemned criminals, lifers, awaiting trial inmates and other convicts. It receives its inmates from courts and high risk inmates from other convicts prisons.

At the time of the study, the population of the inmates was 719. The breakdown of the figure showed that condemned criminals (CC) were 125, lifers 75, convicts 152 and awaiting trial inmates 367 (Kirikiri Maximum Prison lock-up board, July 18, 2013). The staff strength was 160.

The choice of Kirikiri Maximum Prison as one of the locations of the study was based on the following reasons. Apart from being the highest security prison in the country, capable of representing others in the same category, the city of Lagos provides various life opportunities to numerous people in various walks of life- white collar workers, blue-collar workers, unskilled workers, traders and businessmen. In view of this, the prison population is bound to embrace people of diverse cultures in Nigeria.

Kuje Medium Prison, Abuja is located at Kuje Area Council, one of the satellite towns which sprouted up as a result of influx of people to the National Capital Territory. Abuja replaced Lagos and became the capital of Nigeria on 12 December, 1991. It is located between latitude 9^{o} 4'N and longitude 7^{o} 29'E and occupies an area of 713 km^2. The 2006 population census by the National Population Commission put the population of the Federal Capital Territory at 1,406,239 people with a total area of 713 km^2. The population of Abuja metropolis is the fourth most populated after Lagos, Kano and Kaduna.

Kuje Medium Prison was commissioned on Monday 14^{th}, August, 1989 by Col. John Shagaya, the then Federal Minister of Internal Affairs. The original holding capacity of the prison was

eighty (80) bed space (double bunk) or 160 inmates. With the exception of female prisoners, the prison is empowered to admit all categories of inmates – condemned criminals, lifer, awaiting trial and other convicts. As at the time of the study, the holding capacity had been increased to 560 inmates due to building of more accommodations for the inmates. The total inmate population was 597; comprising 153 convicts and 444 awaiting trial inmates (Kuje Prison lock-up board 4th July, 2013).

Kuje Medium Prison was selected to represent medium prisons in Nigeria due to its advantageous location in Abuja, the capital territory of the nation. The quest for better life opportunities attracts people in spheres of human endeavour from parts of the country and majority of them settled in satellite towns of Kuje, Karu, Suleja, Gwagwalada, Lugbe, Zuba and other smaller settlements. The prison population also reflects the diverse cultures in Nigeria.

Kakuri Open Prison Camp is located in Kaduna, the capital of Kaduna state. Like Lagos state, Kaduna state was created on 27 May 1967 by Gen. Gowon's regime. It occupies an area of 46,053km^2 with the estimated population of 6,113,503 people (2006 census), the third most populated in the country. It has an area of 46,053 sq.km and population density of 130/km^2. Kaduna state is one of the education centers in Nigeria, with many specialized tertiary institutions. It lies within latitude 10^o 20'N and longitude 7^o 45'E.

Kakuri Open Prison Camp is located within Television area of Kaduna metropolis. The prison was established in 1950 by the British Colonial Administration; however it started to function as a prison camp in 1956 with Avof Anord as the first superintendent of the prison.

The original holding capacity of the prison was 445 inmates but at the time study, the total population of the inmates was 92. Presently, the admission criteria are as follows:

1. The inmates must be first time offenders; however, those who had once been in prison for minor offences, well behaved with aggregate sentences of not less than three (3) years are considered;
2. They must have completed at least six (6) months of special observation in a closed prison;
3. They must be free from infection and physically strong;
4. They must not be known to have tendency to escape during their period of observation in closed prisons;
5. They must have good human relationships; and
6. They must be willing and capable of contributing to and benefiting from the opportunities offered by the institution (CAP366 LFN,2004; NPS Lecture Manual).

The dreadful state of dilapidation of facilities and structures shows that the open prison camp is presently a shadow of its former self under the British Colonial Administration. Kakuri Open Prison Camp was selected as a case study because it is the only convict prison in Nigeria which is an open prison. It is grouped as a minimum prison in view of its minimal level of surveillance and control over the inmates. It ought to be a model prison in view of United Nations' recommendation, hence the choice in this study to represent other minimum prisons in the country such as prison camps, prison farm settlements, lock-ups and satellite prisons.

3.2Types and Sources of Data

In order to generate data to tackle the research problem and meet the research objectives, the researcher made use of primary and secondary sources.

Primary Data Sources: These data were generated through face to face interview with selected uniformed staff and inmates of the three prisons studied. Secondly, in-depth interviews were held with the following key officers of the three prisons studied:

1. The superintendent of each prison;
2. The chief warder in charge of inmates in each prison;
3. The welfare officer of each prison;
4. The head of medical unit of each prison;
5. Kitchen/store officer of each prison;
6. The unit heads in charge of reformation and rehabilitation programmes; and
7. Inmate leaders of each prison.

Observational Data: These were collected through direct observation of the prisons' environment, inmate-inmate interactions, staff-inmate interactions, inmates' accommodation (cells/wards), food, clothing, medical facility, games and sports, farms, workshops, industries, religious activities and educational programmes (see inspection/observation schedule, appendix G).

Secondary Data Sources: These data were collected from prison lock-up boards, prison documents (records and files) and reports from non-governmental organizations, government gazettes.

3.3 Techniques of Data Collection

In the course of the study, both quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection were applied. Quantitative technique that was applied was the survey method in which the researcher used questionnaires to obtain the required data from the respondents. Each questionnaire was designed in such a way that quantitative data were generated from the respondents for the

purposes of answering research questions and dealing with the research problem. The researcher designed two sets of questionnaire, one for obtaining information from the staff and the other for obtaining information from the inmates. While some questions had a minimum of two optional answers and a maximum of four optional answers from which respondents were bound to select, others were open ended to allow respondents some expressions.

Each questionnaire was divided into two sections, A and B. Section A was intended to elucidate socio-demographic data of the respondents such as sex (staff only), age group, tribe, nationality, marital status and religious affiliation for the purpose of classifying respondents. Section B contained questions bordering on the fundamental variables which include inmate admission procedure, punishment, clothing, feeding, staff-inmate relations and interactions; prison rules and regulations; inmate-inmate relations, inmate code and prison argot; and rehabilitative programmes and inmates' participation. Some of the questions (for both staff and inmates) were hypothetical in nature in order to have insight into how the respondents would react to a series of "hypothetical conflict situations" (See appendices 1 and 11).

In qualitative technique, the researcher used both structured and unstructured forms of data collection, including interviewing and observations. The researcher conducted in-depth interview with key uniformed staff members and inmate leaders, who possessed rich knowledge of the subject matters. The essence of this was to tease out data from the knowledgeable individuals in order to complement the data collected from questionnaire administered to the wide study population. The in-depth interview guide focused on the variables mentioned earlier (under questionnaire) and included probe questions to clarify issues under discussion (see appendices D,

E and F). It took the researcher over a month, from 4th July 2013 to 12th August, 2013, to collect data from the prisons.

3.4 Population, Sampling and Sample

The population of the study comprised convicted inmates and uniformed staff of the three selected security prisons in Nigeria, mainly, Kirikiri Maximum Prison, Lagos, Kuje Medium Prison, Abuja and Kakuri Open Prison Camp, Kaduna. The study population kept on fluctuating throughout the period of the study as the inmates' population was subject to changes every now and then, as a result of the admission and discharging of inmates.

In view of the constant fluctuations of the inmates' population, the researcher observed the inmates' population for a week in each prison and used the daily average as the basis of this computation. In view of this, the estimated populations of the convicts in the prisons were as follows: Kirikiri Maximum Prison, Lagos, 240 convicts (including condemned criminals, lifers long-term and short-term convicts), Kuje Medium Prison, Abuja, 153 prisoners and Kakuri Open Prison Camp, Kaduna, 92 prisoners; giving the overall sample frame of 485 convicted inmates.

The uniformed staff population included 160 in Kirikiri Maximum Prison, 156 in Kuje Prison and 90 in Kakuri Open Prison Camp, giving the overall sample frame of 406 uniformed staff members. The pre-determined sample interval by the researcher was that at least one element was included in the sample out of every three elements. Since the prisons differ in terms of their populations, stratified sampling technique was used to ensure proportional representation of the prisions in the sample. In each prison, sample size was drawn from the sample frame of inmates or staff using systematic sampling technique. The nominal rolls of inmates and staff in the prisons provided the sample frames. Sample size of each prison was determined

thus**:**Staff/Inmate population of a prison × Overall required sample size **T**otal Staff/Inmate population of all the prisons

The samples of inmates drawn from prisons are as follows:

Kuje Medium Prison: $\frac{153 \times 162}{485} = 51$

Kakuri Open Prison: $\frac{92 \times 162}{485} = 31$

Kirikiri Max. Prison: $\frac{240 \times 162}{485} = 80$

The samples of uniformed staff drawn from prisons are as follows:

Kuje Medium Prison: $\frac{156 \times 135}{406} = 52$

Kakuri Open Prison: $\frac{90 \times 135}{406} = 30$

Kirikiri Max. Prison: $\frac{160 \times 135}{406} = 53$

Note: The pre-determined sample interval by the researcher was that at least one element was included in the sample out of every three elements. However, at least one (1) respondent was drawn from any category that was less than three (3) in number to represent the category in the sample, hence minor differences in the actual staff respondent samples in the prisons.

Sampling of Staff Respondents

Table 3.1 explains how the staff respondents were sampled from each prison. In each prison, the nominal roll of the uniformed staff hierarchically arranged provided the sample frame from which the sample size was drawn. Each rank had its sample frame from which its sample size was drawn based on the pre-determined sampling interval. This ensured that all categories of uniformed staff were duly represented in the sample. Systematic sampling technique was applied to obtain the required sample size from the nominal roll of the uniformed staff of each prison. Based on their ranks, uniformed staff respondents (men and women) were sampled from each prison as follows:

Kuje Prison: ACP=1, CSP=1, SP=2, DSP=4, ASP=9, CIP=4, DCIP=2, ACIP=6, IP=11, PA=11, Total=51

Kakuri Open Prison: CSP=2, SP=4, DSP=4, ASP=6, CIP=2, DCIP=1, ACIP=5, IP=8, PA=6, Total=38

Kirikiri Max. Prison: DCP=1, ACP=2, CSP=4, SP=7, DSP=10, ASP=6, CIP=3, DCIP=5, ACIP=1, IP=6, PA=10, Total=55.

Overall uniformed staff sample size=51+38+55=144

Table 3.1: Sampling of the Uniformed Staff Respondents from the three Prisons studied

Name of Prison	Sex	Uniformed Staff Ranks												Category Total		Grand total		Grand total	
		DCP		ACP		CSP		SP		DSP		ASP		CIP		DCIP		ACIP		IP		PA							
		SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS
Kuje Prison	Male	-	-	2	1	3	1	3	1	9	3	13	4	3	1	7	2	19	6	22	7	16	5	97	31	156	51	156	51
	Female	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	3	1	14	5	10	3	-	-	-	-	12	4	17	6	59	20				
Kakuri Prison	Male			-	-	1	1	6	2	2	1	17	6	6	2	3	1	6	2	18	7	10	4	69	26	90	38	90	38
	Female			-	-	1	1	3	2	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	2	1	5	2	21	12				
Kirikiri Prison	Male	1	1	4	2	10	3	16	5	20	7	13	4	10	3	11	4	3	1	10	3	14	5	112	38	160	55	160	55
	Female	-	-	-	-	2	1	5	2	9	3	6	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	8	3	16	5	48	17				
Category total	Male	1	1	6	3	14	5	25	8	31	11	43	14	19	6	21	7	28	9	50	17	40	14	278	95	406	144	406	144
	Female	-	-	-	-	3	2	11	5	17	7	20	7	10	3	2	1	5	3	22	8	38	13	128	49				
Grand total	Male & Female	1	1	6	3	19	7	36	13	49	18	63	21	29	9	23	8	33	12	72	25	78	27	406	144				

SF= Sample Frame (total number of uniformed staff in the nominal roll of a prison)

SS= Sample Size drawn from the sample frame.

Sampling of Inmate Respondents

The nominal rolls of the convicted inmates in prisons studied provided the sample frame from which the sample sizes of the inmate respondents were drawn. Table 3.2 clearly shows how the convicts of the prisons were officially categorized and respondents were

drawn in that manner. From the same table it could be noted that Kakuri Open Prison Camp did not admit condemned criminals (CC) and short term convicts, going by the act that established it.All the prisons studied admitted only male inmates. Systematic sampling technique was applied by the researcher. The categories of convicts sampled, prison by prison, were as follows:

Kuje Medium Prison: CC=3, Lifers=7, Long-Term=24, Short-Term=17, Total=51

Kakuri Open Prison: Lifers=6, Long-Term=25, Total=31

Kirikiri Max. Prison: CC=12, Lifers=17, Long-Term=40, Short-Term=11, Total=80

Overall Inmate Respondents=51+31+80=162.

Table 3.2: Sampling of Inmate Respondents from the Prisons Studied

Inmate Respondents	Sex	Condemned Criminals		Lifers		Long-Term Inmates		Short-Term Inmates		Category total		Grand total	
		SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS	SF	SS
Kuje Prison Inmates	Male	10	3	21	7	72	24	50	17	153	51	485	162
Kakuri Prison Inmates	Male	-	-	17	6	75	25	-	-	92	31		
Kirikiri Prison Inmates	Male	35	12	52	17	120	40	33	11	240	80		
Convict category total	Male	45	15	90	30	267	89	83	28	485	162		

The technique was self-administration. The respondents were issued with questionnaires and asked to fill in and return on the spot. Biro pens/pencils were given to them to facilitate that. However, those who could not carry out the instruction, especially staff, due to one reason or the other, were allowed to return theirs the next day.

Some of the sampled inmate respondents could not read and write in English language. To solve this problem, research assistants who shared common language with them attended to them one by one: interpreted the questions for them and recorded their answers in English in their questionnaires. This was done after they had been convinced that the exercise was for their own betterment. In this way the impact of the presence of the researcher and his assistants was ameliorated.

Finally, 50 answered questionnaires were collected back from sampled inmates of Kuje Medium Prison, 28 from Kakuri Open Prison and 73 from Kirikiri Maximum Prison; losing 1, 3 and 7 questionnaires to the inmate respondents of the prisons respectively. Also, 48 answered questionnaires were collected back from the sampled uniformed staff of Kuje Medium Prison, 38 from sampled staff of Kakuri Open Prison and 48 from sampled uniformed staff of Kirikiri Maximum Prison; losing 3 questionnaires to the staff of Kuje Medium Prison, none to the staff of Kakuri Open Prison and 7 to the staff of Kirikiri Maximum Prison. The quantitative data analysis was based on the questionnaires collected from both sampled uniformed staff and inmates.

Qualitative data obtained through in-depth interview and observations were recorded using biros and writing pads only. The researcher and his research assistants were not allowed to enter the prison yards with cameras, cell phones and tape-recorders since they were against the prison rules and regulations.

3.5 Techniques of Data Analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected in the course of the study to ensure that data collected using different instruments were used to validate one another and provide solution to the research problem.

Quantitative Analysis

Questionnaire was the instrument used by the researcher to collect quantitative data from the sampled respondents. Two sets of questionnaire were designed; one set for the uniformed staff and the other for the sampled inmates. Each set of questionnaire was uniformly coded and fed into computer, processed and analyzed, using SPSS statistical package which is relevant to social science data. The data analysis was carried out at two levels, namely, univariate level and bivariate level. At univariate level, the opinions and responses of the respondents were presented in descriptive form and also statistical measures such as tables, figures and percentages were used for the presentation of data.At bivariate level, cross-tabulations were used to compare and establish the relationships between views and responses of uniformed staff of different prisons, inmates of different prisons and staff and inmate respondents on issues/variables under discussion. Consequently, focal issues such as staff and inmate perceptions of the major prison goal, staff perception of inmates' attitude, inmate perception of staff's attitude, staff and inmates' opinions on prison observance of the UN's SMR, inmates' attitude towards rehabilitation programmes and the like were cross-tabulated and their similarities and dissimilarities were established.

Qualitative Analyses

Qualitative data required for the study were collected through in-depth interview (making use of check-list) and non-participant observations (using observation guide). The researcher initially

proposed to collect qualitative data by means of tape recorder, camera, field pads/notes and biro pen. Unfortunately, the prison rules and regulations did not allow the use of tape recorder and camera; even cell phones were not allowed into the prison yards. Therefore, the researcher and his research assistants were restricted to the use of field pads and biro-pen only.

The guides for in-depth interviews with prison key officials (listed earlier) and inmate leaders focused essentially on the same issues and variables contained in questionnaires designed for staff and inmate respondents. This assisted the researcher to compare and contrast data from the different instruments for the purpose of establishing areas of convergence and divergence. On each matter, both majority and minority opinions were noted. Data generated from this source was used to corroborate the quantitative data generated by means of questionnaires; thereby ensuring triangulation. Field pads used to gather information/data in different prisons were carefully and properly coded to avoid mix-up during analysis.

Non-participant observation by the researcher was another source of qualitative data for the study. Observation schedule (see appendix G) was prepared and used by the researcher to ensure that relevant issues were noted. In order to avoid the effect of the researcher' s on –the- spot recording on the objects, things observed, including events, were recorded immediately the researcher retired to his lodge at the end of the day. Things under observation included staff and inmates' interactions, interactions among inmates, inmates performance in different workshops, inmates working in farms and gardens, inmates in games and sports, inmates worshipping in chapels, churches and mosques, inmates' court sessions, inmates under punishment, sick inmates in clinics, inmates having their rations and events/episodes that took place at the period of the

study (Appendix G: Inspection/Observation Schedule). These were meant to complement the data gathered from the larger population through questionnaire.

3.6 Challenges Encountered

In an investigative study of this nature, it is not always easy for the researcher to obtain the required information hitch-free. The first problem encountered by the researcher was to obtain approval from the relevant authority to study the selected prisons. Several futile attempts were made by the researcher to be allowed access to the prisons concerned at the local level. In the long run, the researcher went to the National Headquarter of Prisons, Abuja, where he was directed to forward an application for consideration. It took more than a month before the approval was granted by the Comptroller General of Prisons (See appendix A).

The approval from the prisons headquarters, Abuja, notwithstanding, gaining access into the prison yards was not an easy task because of high level of insecurity generated by Boko Haram insurgents, especially in prisons where they frequently invaded to forcefully release their interned colleagues. In view of this, the researcher and his research assistants were subjected to rigorous questions and searching throughout the period of the study in the prisons.

The study locations, Kirikiri maximum prison, Lagos, Kuje medium prison Abuja and Kakuri open prison camp, Kaduna are far from each. Much money was involved in the movement of research assistants and materials for study from one prison to another.

Some of the inmate respondents could not read and write in English language. It took extra time and effort to attend to them. Research assistants who shared a common language with

thematttended to them one after the other, interpreted the questions in the language and recorded their answers in English in their questionnaires.

Inmates' population kept on changing throughout the study period. This posed a serious problem in determining the sample frame from which the sample size was drawn. However, the researcher noted the inmates' population of each prison for the first week of the study and used the daily average as the estimated population on which sampling and sample were based.

Finally, the researcher and his research assistants were not allowed to enter the prison yards in possession of cell phones, cameras and tape recorders as it is against the rule of the place to do so. However, the researcher obtained the services of a research assistant who recorded interview proceedings fast in shorthand and later transcribed into English language.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of data generated from questionnaires administered to staff and inmates, interview conducted with inmate leaders and prison staff and non-participant observation on structural facilities, rehabilitation programmes/facilities functionality and inmates condition of detention. In this section, data generated are presented in six sections namely: Socio-demographic data of inmates and staff, the treatment approach of uniformed staff in handling inmates in the prisons, staff-inmates perceptions of the goals of imprisonment, treatment of prisoners in view of the United Nations standard minimum rules, nature of inmate sub-culture in the prisons, the attitude of inmates toward reformation and rehabilitation programmes.

4.2 Socio-Demographic Data of Convicts and Uniformed Staff

The socio-demographic data give a profile of convicts and staff in the prison. The following variables were examined: age, religion, marital status, inmate occupation before imprisonment, inmate type of residence and highest educational qualification. The first section of the analysis is focused on inmates profile while the second delved on staff profile.

Table 4.2.1: Socio-Demographic Attributes of the Convicts

Variables	Names of Prisons						Category total	
	Kuje Medium Prison		Kakuri Open Prison		Kirikiri Max. Prison		No	%
	No	%	No	%	No	%		
18-35 yrs	33	66	20	71.4	49	67.1	102	67.5
36-53 yrs	14	28	7	25	19	26	40	26.5
54 and above	3	6	1	3.6	5	6.8	9	6
Category total	50	100	28	100	73	100	151	100
Marital Status: Single	20	40	9	32.1	40	64.7	69	45.6
Married	27	54	17	60.7	20	27.7	64	42.4
Divorced/Separated	3	6	2	7.1	13	17.9	18	12
Category total	50	100	28	100	73	100	151	100
Education: No formal education	5	10	3	10.7	17	23.3	25	16.6
First sch. L/Cert.	22	44	21	75	38	52.1	81	53.6
WASC/Diploma/NCE	9	18	4	14.3	10	13.7	23	15.2
HND/B.SC/Ph.D	14	28	0	0	8	10.9	22	14.6
Category total	50	100	28	100	73	100	151	100
Occupation: Unemployed	19	38	10	35.7	16	21.9	45	29.8
C/Servants/A/Forces	11	22	2	7.1	20	27.4	33	21.9
Skilled workers	7	14	0	0	10	13.7	17	11.3
Self-employed	13	26	16	57.1	27	37	56	37
Category total	50	100	28	100	73	100	151	100
Religion: Christianity	38	76	4	14.3	61	83.6	103	68.2
Islam	10	20	23	82.1	11	15.1	44	29.2
Tradition	2	4	1	3.6	1	2.6	4	2.6
Category total	50	100	28	100	73	100	151	100
Type of residence: Mud/thatched	18	36	12	42.9	10	13.7	40	26.5
Single room	22	44	15	53.6	39	53.4	76	50.3
Flat-system	6	12	1	3.5	9	12.3	16	10.6
Bungalow/story bui.lding	4	8	0	0	15	20.5	19	12.6
Category total	50	100	28	100	73	100	151	100
offence: Property crime	22	44	20	71.4	45	61.6	87	57.6
Person crime	5	10	3	10.7	22	30.1	30	18.9
Local act crime	16	32	4	14 3	2	2.7	22	14.6
Other crimes	7	14	1	3.6	4	5.5	12	7.9
Category total	50	100	28	100	73	100	151	1
Previous conviction: None	36	72	9	32.1	58	79.5	103	68.2
Once	12	24	6	21.4	13	17.8	31	20.5
Twice/more	2	4	13	46.4	2	2.7	17	11.3
Category total	50	100	28	100	73	100	151	100

The age distribution of inmates as captured in Table 4.2.1 reveals that the prison population is a mixed population of both youthful and middle aged inmates. The most represented age category is age 18-35 years which is highest in Kirikiri Maximum Prison while none of the inmates was less than 18 years in all the prisons sampled.Marital status of the inmates indicates that most inmates are married although a slight majority of inmates are single. Single inmates are highest with 65% in Kirikiri Maximum Prison. Few respondents are divorced/separated with the highest of this category 17.9% in Kirikiri Maximum Prison.

The level of educational attainment of inmates is very low as Table 4.2.1reveals that majority of inmates had first school leaving certificate with Kakuri Open Prison having the highest 75% while very few had higher education with Kuje Medium Prison having the highest 28%. Inmates' occupation prior to imprisonment depicts that they are in a relatively disadvantaged socio-economic class. Majority of inmates were self- employed as commercial drivers, artisans, farmers and petty trader before incarceration. The highest number of self-employed inmates 57.1% are in Kakuri Maximum Prison, while very few inmates were skilled workers employed in private companies and the highest in this category are inmates in Kuje Medium Prison constituting 14%. The high concentration of inmates in self- employment can be attributed to their low educational attainment.

In terms of religion, Christianity and Islam are the dominant religion of inmates. A slight majority of inmates practice Christianity with the highest 83.6% in Kirikiri Maximum Prison while very few indicated that they practice traditional religion with the highest 4% in Kuje Medium Prison. Given the nature of inmate residence as presented in Table 4.2.1, it is glaring that majority of inmates are from low socio-economic class as single room apartment and

mud/thatched building were the common forms of residency. Most inmates resided in single room apartment and Kakuri Open Prison inmates were the highest 53.6% while few inmates resided in Bungalow and Story building with inmates in Kirikiri Maximum Prison being the most represented as shown by 20.5%.

As regards nature of crime, majority of inmates committed property crime and the highest of this type of crime was among inmates in Kakuri Open Prison as shown by 71.4% while very few inmates committed other crimes with the highest 14% in Kuje Medium Prison. Table 4.2.1 reveals that majority of inmates are not recidivists as overwhelming majority had no previous conviction. Inmates with no previous conviction are highest in Kirikiri Maximum Prison with 79.5% but few inmates have been convicted twice or more with Kakuri Open Prison having the highest 46.4%.

Table 4.2.2: The Socio-Demographic Profile of the Staff Respondents

Variables	Names of Prisons						Category total	
	Kuje Medium Prison		Kakuri Open Prison		Kirikiri Maximum Prison			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Sex:								
Male	29	60.4	23	60.6	38	79.2	90	67.2
Female	19	39.6	15	39.5	10	20.8	44	32.8
Category total	48	100	38	100	48	100	134	100
Age:								
18-28yrs	10	20.8	3	7.9	6	12.5	19	14.2
29-39yrs	22	45.9	12	31.6	16	33.3	50	37.3
40-49yrs	16	33.3	19	50	15	31.3	50	37.3
50 and above	0	0	4	10.5	11	22.9	15	11.2
Category total	48	100	38	100	48	100	134	100
Marital status:								
Single	13	27.1	11	29	9	18.8	33	24.6
Married	35	72.9	26	68.4	38	79.2	99	73.9
Divorced/separated	0	0	1	2.6	1	2	2	1.5
Category total	48	100	38	100	48	100	134	100
Education:								
First sch. L/cert.	5	10.4	4	10.5	3	6.4	12	9
WASC/Diploma/NCE	17	35.4	15	39.5	12	25	44	32.8
HND/B.Sc/Ph.D	26	54.2	19	50	33	68.6	78	58.2
Category total	48	100	38	100	48	100	134	100
Religion:								
Christianity	40	83.3	37	97.4	37	77.1	114	85.1
Islam	8	16.7	1	2.6	11	22.9	20	14.9
Tradition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Category total	48	100	38	100	48	100	134	100

The sex distribution of staff as presented in Table 4.2.2 indicates that majority of prison staff are male. Kirikiri Maximum Prison has the highest 79.2% while the few female staff were most represented in Kuje Medium Prison as shown by 39.6%. The dominance of male in the prison is not surprising given the nature of prison work environment and sex composition of prison population. Majority of staff are adult in the age category 40-49 years and Kakuri Open Prison has the highest number of staff in this age group as shown by 50%. The least represented age category is those in 50 years and above and Kirikiri Maximum Prison has the highest (22.9%) of its staff in this age category.

The marital status of staff shows that majority of the staff are married. The highest number of married staff (79.2%) is in Kirikiri Maximum Prison while the least represented marital status are the separated/divorced. This marital status is most represented in Kakuri Open Prison and Kirikiri Maximum Prison as shown by 2.6% respectively. The educational attainment of staff reveals that majority have attained degree with the highest 68.6% in Kirikiri Maximum Prison. Very few staff have first school leaving certificate and the most represented prison with this qualification is Kakuri Open Prison as shown by 10.5%.

In terms of religion, Christianity and Islam are the religion practiced by staff. Majority of staff practiced Christianity with Kakuri Open Prison having the highest as shown by 97.4% while none of the staff indicated that they practiced traditional religion. Table 4.2.2 equally reveals that majority of the staff have been in the service for less than five years. The highest is in Kuje Medium Prison with 48%. Few staff have been in the service for less than a year with the majority of them in Kakuri Open Prison.

In summary, inmates' socio-demographic profile reveals that they are mostly in their youthful age, and are single, with low educational attainment, either unemployed or self-employed (or

apprentice) in the lowest occupational ladder. Majority of the inmates are convicted for committing property-related crime. Thus, it is clear that a typical Nigerian convict is a member of the lower socio-economic class. The synopsis of staff socio-demographic profile reveals that they are predominantly adult males with high educational qualifications and have not spent less than one year in the service.

4.3 The Role of some Demographic Attributes on the Attitudinal Behaviour of Inmates and Staff

Here, the researcher examined the impact of certain demographic attributes of inmates on their attitudinal behaviour. The demographic attributes examined include age, educational qualification and pre-prison occupation of inmates. Also, the impact of educational qualification on the attitude of staff is examined.

Table 4.3.1: Relationship between Ages of Inmates and number of times involved in Crimes

Age brackets of inmates	Number of times convicted for crime before						Category total	
	None		Once		Twice& more			
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
18-35 years	65	63.7	21	20.6	16	15.7	102	100
36-53years	29	72.5	10	25	1	2.5	40	100
54 and above	9	100	0	0	0	0	9	100
Category total	103	68.2	31	20.5	17	11.3	151	100

Table 4.3.1 above shows that most of the respondents, on the whole, claim that they have not been convicted before with all the ones that are 54 years and above as the highest.However, those within the age bracket of 18-35 years are mostly convicted with16% of them having been convicted ‘twice or more’ before.

Table 4.3.2: Relationship between Educational Qualification of Inmates and their Perception of Major Prison Goal

Educational Qualification of Inmates	Major Prison Goals				Category total	
	To punish inmates for their offences		To train and rehabilitate inmates			
	No	%	No	%	No	%
No formal education	21	84	4	16	25	100
First sch. l/certificate	62	76.4	19	23.3	81	100
WASC/Diploma/NCE	18	78.3	5	21.7	23	100
HND/B.sc/Ph.D	13	59.1	9	40.9	22	100
Category total	114	75.5	37	24.5	151	100

Table 4.3.2 shows that most of the inmates, irrespective of their educational qualification, believe that the major goal of imprisonment is to punish inmates with the highest (84%) being those with no formal education and the lowest (59%) with HND/B.Sc/Ph.D. This implies that their perception of prison goal, to some extent, is influenced by their educational qualifications.

4.3.3 Relationship between Pre-Incarceration Occupation of Inmates and the Question "Have you acquired any skill in the Prison"

Occupation of Inmates	Have you acquired any skill in the prison?				Category total	
	Yes, I have		No, I have not			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unemployed	10	22.2	35	77.8	45	100
C/servants/forces	5	15.2	28	84.8	33	100
Skilled workers	10	58.8	7	41.2	17	100
Self-employed	32	57.1	24	42.9	56	100
Category total	57	37.7	94	62.3	151	100

Table above shows that only skill workers (59%) and those that are self-employed (57%) claim to have acquired some reasonable skills in the prison. Most of other categories including the

unemployed and civil servants/forces maintain that they have not acquired any reasonable skills. The implication is that pre-prison work experiences influence their interests and attitude towards the rehabilitation programmes. Lack of interest in the programmes by the civil servants/forces could be attributed to the nature of their occupations which are mostly clerical and maintenance of law and order respectively.

Table 4.3.4: Relationship between Educational Qualification of Uniformed Staff and the Question on whether Imprisonment is enough Punishment in Itself

Educational qualification of uniformed staff	Imprisonment is enough punishment in itself						Category total No. %
	Agree No. %		Disagree No. %		Uncertain No. %		
First sch. L/certificate	4	33.3	7	58.3	1	8.4	12 100
WASC/Diploma/NCE	12	27.3	23	52.3	9	20.4	44 100
HND/B.sc/Ph.D	53	68	20	25.6	5	6.4	78 100
Category total	69	51.5	50	37.3	15	11.2	134 100

Table 4.3.4 above shows that 68% of uniformed staff with HND/B.sc/Ph.D maintain that imprisonment is enough punishment in itself and only 33% of those with First school Leaving certificate feel the same. The implication is that the level of education of the uniformed staff plays an important part in the modern approach of handling inmates which emphasizes humane treatment.

4.4: Treatment Approach adopted by the Uniformed Staff in Handling of Inmates.

The perception of prison staff on their inmate treatment approach reflects their reasons for being correction officers, and their views on whether imprisonment is punishment in itself and the staff-inmate relationship. This section presents the above issues.

Table 4.4.1 Function of Prison as Valued by the Uniformed Staff

Name of Prison	Function of prison valued most by Staff								Category total	
	Inmates do not escape		Inmates receive commensurate punishment (just deserts)		Inmates are punished as directed by court		Inmates are well trained and rehabilitated			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kuje Medium prison	13	27	5	10.4	9	18.8	21	43.8	**48**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	10	26.3	4	10.5	7	18.5	17	44.7	**38**	**100**
Kirikiri Maxi. Prison	16	33.3	3	6.3	6	12.5	23	47.9	**48**	**100**
Category total	**39**	**29.1**	**12**	**9**	**22**	**16.4**	**61**	**45.5**	**134**	**100**

Table 4.4.1 above shows that more staff (46%) indicate that their most valued function of prison is that inmates be well trained and rehabilitated with the highest being in Kirikiri maximum prisons (47.9%). However, only few staff (9%)feel that inmates should receive commensurate punishment for the offence they have committed. This perception is most expressed in Kakuri open prison as indicated by 10.5%. The major view expressed by respondents in the survey corroborates with the dominant views of staff during the interview. Staff mostly felt that criminals were victims of poor upbringing and social circumstances as such they need help and treatment. Therefore, reformation of prisoners is prison's major function. These quotes below capture the general views of staff. According to an officer in Kuje medium prison:

> Inmates are helpless victims of circumstances which might be rooted in improper parental care in childhood. To a large extent it is not their fault that they are criminals. So there is the need to help them re-discover themselves and this is what prison is all about.

An officer in Kirikiri maximum prison further added thus:

> Criminals are maladjusted individuals who need to be corrected. The purpose of their incarceration is to reform them to be good so that they will contribute positively to the society.

Also, the desire to reform inmates was a reoccurring theme during the interview as the reason why staff joined Nigeria Prison Service and none of the staff was after punishing criminals. Their

emphases were centered on helping them to become good citizens. On this, here are the views of some prison staff:

> I do not believe that any body was born a criminal. It is some circumstances that pushed some people into crimes. So I believe that criminals can be made right if exposed to appropriate treatment programme. It is my desire to help in this regard (staff in Kuje Medium Prison).

Another staff in Kakuri Open Prison added thus:

> I am a psychologist by profession and I know that many prisoners need my help to re-adjust to normal life. It is to help in this capacity that prompted me to join the service.

Another staff of Kirikiri Maximum Prison also said:

> I believe that working as a prison staff is a vocation. It is a call for self-sacrificing; just like the military service. If one were naturally called for the service the amount of money earned is not the issue but the souls one has helped to save.

However, some staff, on the contrary, laid much emphasis on custody of inmates and making them to realize their evil deeds. They were of the view that custody of inmates takes pre-eminence over any other consideration. It is only when the custody of inmates is maintained that anti-dotes to their problems would be administered. Some equally maintained that prison should not be a bed of roses for inmates who had done much harm to the society. This view was more expressed by staff of Kirikiri Maximum Prison which equally testified their interest in maintenance of security and punishment, probably, due to high risk inmates in the prison.

One of the staff of Kirikiri Maximum Prison maintained thus:

> Prison institution plays a significant role in the control process without which anarchy will be the order of the day in society. Criminals violate the societal social order and therefore must be made to regret their evil deeds. This is of great importance before any meaningful rehabilitation can be achieved.

However,the perception of the majority staff on rehabilitation being the most important function of prison is supported by the finding in Table 4.3.2 below on whether imprisonment is punishment in itself and prisoners should not be subjected to further punishment.

Table 4.4.2: Staff Indication of whether Imprisonment is Punishment in Itself

Name of Prison	**Imprisonment is punishment in itself**						**Category total**	
	Agree		Disagree		Uncertain			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Kuje Medium Prison	36	75	9	18.7	3	6.3	**48**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	31	81.6	5	13.2	2	5.2	**38**	**100**
Kirikiri Maxi. Prison	38	79.2	10	20.8	0	0	**48**	**100**
Category total	**105**	**78.4**	**24**	**17.9**	**5**	**3.7**	**134**	**100**

Data from Table 4.4.2 reveal that over 78% of staff were of the view that imprisonment is punishment in itself. This view was most expressed in Kakuri open prison as indicated by 82%. However, few staff about 18% disagreed and this view was highest in Kirikiri maximum prison as shown by 21%. The interview data corroborate the major view expressed in the survey as all prison staff interviewed felt imprisonment is enough punishment. This quote from a senior staff in Kirikiri maximum prison captured the general views expressed by the staff:

> Imprisonment, for me, is protecting the public, as in you're keeping them away from the public, and that is doing what the Courts want you to do and reforming them to be good citizens. You see being away from their family and friends locked back in a cage is suffering enough. As imprisonment affects prisoners self-respect and they experience the denial of all liberty. I believe this is punishment enough.

The perception of staff to a large extent does not reflect harsh punitive measures for inmates and their position is an indication that most staff will not be inclined to maltreatment and unnecessary punishment of inmates.

Furthermore, to probe staff treatment orientation in dealing with inmates, their social relationship with inmates and attitude toward them were examined. Table 4.4.3 below captures the views of staff and inmates with regard to their attitude toward each other.

Table 4.4.3 Distribution of Responses on Attitude of Inmate Toward Staff and Vice Versa

	Inmates attitude toward Staff					**Staff attitude toward Inmates**				
	Very cordial No (%)	Cordial No (%)	Hostile No (%)	Very hostile No (%)	**Total No (%)**	Very cordial No (%)	Cordial No (%)	Hostile No (%)	Very hostile No (%)	**Total No (%)**
Kuje Prison	5(10.4)	34(70.8)	7(14.6)	2(4.2)	**48(100)**	2(4)	27(54)	15(30)	6(12)	**50 (100)**
Kakuri Prison	10(26.3)	28(73.7)	0(0)	0(0)	**38(100)**	10(35.7)	18(64.3)	0(0)	0(0)	**28 (100)**
Kirikiri Prison	8(16.7)	38(79.2)	2(4.7)	0(0)	**48(100)**	32(43.8)	29(39.7)	12(16.4)	0(0)	**73 (100)**
Total	**23(17.2)**	**100(74.6)**	**9(6.7)**	**2(1.5)**	**134(100)**	**44(29.1)**	**74(49)**	**27(17.9)**	**6(4)**	**151(100)**

There is a positive attitude between staff and inmates as data from Table 4.4.3 show that majority of staff (75%) and 49% of inmates indicate that the attitude of both staff and inmates is cordial. This view was highest among staff in Kirikiri maximum prison (79%) and 64% among inmates in Kakuri open prison. But less than 2% of staff adjudged inmates attitude as very hostile and 4% of inmates think staff attitude is very hostile. This view is highest in Kuje medium prison among the staff and inmates as indicated by 4% of staff and 12% of inmates. Interview with staff further corroborates the survey's major finding as a rehabilitation officer in Kakuri open prison had this to say:

> Gone are the days when inmates were seen purely as criminals who must be kept at arm's length. Nowadays, we staff sympathize with their unfortunate condition, see and take them as members of the same family. We stay and interact with them year in year out. The only difference is that we go home at the end of the day, if not on night duty while they stay.

Similarly, views of inmates interviewed concurred with the survey finding:

> I will not tell you lie; they are treating us like their own. Sometimes they even help inmates with little things. They advise us well. In fact, they are good unless if one looked

for their problem by doing anything against the rules (an inmate leader in Kirikiri maximum prison).

You know, all the staff members are not same. Some are good and others are high-handed in handling inmates. Generally, we have good relationship with them. Sometimes, you see them joking and talking friendly with inmates. They are good to us. (an inmate leader in Kuje medium prison).

On the contrary, another inmate in Kirikiri Maximum Prison aired his view thus:

Personally, I feel that many staff are not fair in the way they treat inmates. Slightest mistake or miss-behavior earns one punishment from them. This is something they can correct verbally.I have been punishedunnecessarily for many times. It is only that I want to play cool, if not I would have fallen out with some of them.

Table 4.4.4:Views of Inmates on Treatment Received from the Warders

Name of prison	**Treatment received by inmates**				**Category total**	
	Very good	**Good**	**Bad**	**Very bad**		
	No %	No %	No %	No %	**No.**	**%**
Kuje Medium Prison	7 14	24 48	14 28	5 10	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	8 28.6	15 53.6	5 17.9	0 0	**28**	**100**
KirikiriMax. Prison	10 13.7	37 50.7	19 26.0	7 9.6	**73**	**100**
Category total	**25 16.6**	**76 50.3**	**38 25.2**	**12 7.9**	**151**	**100**

Inmates' views on treatment received from the warders are mostly adjudged to be good. Most inmates (50%) felt the treatment received from warders is good and inmates in Kakuri prison were highest (54%). Few inmates (8%) felt they were treated very badly and inmates in Kuje medium prison (10%) were the highest among the few that felt they were badly treated. The implication of the treatment received by inmates directly influence the way they adapt to the prison environment and respond to rehabilitation.Staff were further asked if inmates must be always wrong in a quarrel between staff and inmates. Their responses are captured in Table 4.3.6 below.

Table 4.4.5: Staff Indications on Whether Inmates must Be Wrong in a Quarrel with Staff

Name of Prison	Inmates must be wrong in a quarrel with staff				Category total	
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No.	%
Kuje Medium Prison	3 (6.3)	13 (27.1)	24 (50)	8 (16.7)	48	100
Kakuri Open Prison	2 (5.3)	18 (47.4)	15(39.5)	3 (7.9)	38	100
Kirikiri Maxi. Prison	2 (4.2)	9 (18.8)	30(62.5)	7 (14.6)	48	100
Category total	**7(5.2)**	**40(29.9)**	**69(51.5)**	**18(13.4)**	**134**	**100**

Most staff disagreed that inmates must be always wrong if they have misunderstanding with fellow staff as shown by 52% and this view was highest in Kirikiri maximum prison (63%). Nonetheless, few staff about 5% strongly agreed that inmates must be wrong and staff in Kuje medium prison (6%) were the highest. It is important to note that when staff have positive inclination toward inmate, tension, strain and conflict in the prison community will be significantly ameliorated. Still on the social climate in the prison, the researcher asked staff whether they would approve that inmates be represented in a panel to investigate a quarrel between a staff and inmate. Their responses in Table 4.3.7 below indicate that they approve of inmates being represented in the panel.

Table 4.4.6: Staff' Indication of Inmates Representative in Panel to Investigate Quarrel between Staff and Inmate

Name of Prison	Staff approval of Inmates representative in a Panel to investigate a quarrel between staff and inmate				Category total	
	Strongly Approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No.	%
Kuje Medium Prison	13(27.1)	15(31.3)	12(25)	8(16.7)	48	100
Kakuri Open Prison	7(18.4)	21(55.3)	6(15.8)	4(10.5)	38	100
Kirikiri Maxi. Prison	3(6.3)	21(43.8)	16(33.3)	8(16.7)	48	100
Category total	**23(17.2)**	**57(42.5)**	**34(25.4)**	**20(14.9)**	**134**	**100**

A slight majority staff constituting 43% approved the representation of inmates in an investigative panel on quarrel between staff and inmate and staff in Kakuri prison were highest (55%). However, few staff (15%) strongly disagreed and staff in both Kuje medium prison and Kirikiri maximum prison were highest (17%). In as much as the majority of staff would support inmates' representation in a panel that concern them for fairness on the affected inmates, many still are opposed to it as that might mean bridging the social distance between them and the inmates as well as uplifting inmates' social status. This is understandable if one realized that some uniformed staff still embrace punitive measures of handling inmates with its segregative tendencies, especially in strict closed prisons.

Table 4.4.7: Staff Responses on the extent they approve bridging the Gap between Staff and Inmates

Name of Prison	Extent of staff approval of bridging the wide social gap between staff and inmates				Category total	
	Strongly Approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No.	%
Kuje Medium Prison	5(10.4)	27(56.3)	8(16.7)	8(16.7)	48	100
Kakuri Open Prison	11(28.9)	22(57.9)	5(13.2)	0(0)	38	100
Kirikiri Maxi. Prison	8(16.7)	36(75)	4(8.3)	0(0)	48	100
Category total	**24(17.9)**	**85(63.4)**	**17(16.7)**	**8(6)**	**134**	**100**

Majority of staff in Table 4.4.7 approve for the bridge of wide social distance between staff and inmate as shown by 63.4% of staff and staff in Kirikiri maximum prison most approved as shown by 75%. Nonetheless, few staff (6%) strongly disapproved and staff in Kuje medium prison disagreed most shown by 17%.

One way to bridge the wide social distance was organizing games between inmates and staff. The researcher had the opportunity to watch a game between junior staff and inmates teams in Kirikiri maximum prison. The football match took off at 4:00pm on a Sunday. Before the commencement of the match, the referee called the teams to order and gave them his instructions. The first half of the game was very impressive as each team made serious but futile efforts to score the opponent. During the second half of the game, the battle became fiercer than before. Five minutes to the end of the match, it happened! The inmate team scored a goal against their opponent. All the efforts the opponent made to equalize proved abortive and the match ended in 1: 0 against the staff team.

The essence of such games, according to a staff of the prison, was to enhance social interaction between inmates and staff. This is what he had to say:

> Games like this are often organized to bridge the gap in interaction between staff and inmates. Normally inmates tend to see staff negatively but through this form of interaction, inmates have started to understand that we meant well for them.

Based on the findings, it can be concluded that most staff in the prisons studied were oriented towards humane treatment approach in handling inmates under their custody. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that humane treatment orientation of staff do not always translate into action. Also, the minority opinion of staff that feel that inmates deserve punishment for their evil

deeds and that of inmates that feel that staff are high handed, especially in Kirikiri Maximum Prison, tend to suggest disparities in treatment of inmates in the prison types.

4.5 Perceived Goals of Imprisonment by both Staff and Inmates

Presented in this section is the perceived major goal of imprisonment held by staff and inmates, the extent inmates accept fault for offence committed and their views on the justification of their imprisonment. In the first place the researcher compared the major goal of imprisonment as indicated by staff and inmates. Table 4.5.1 below shows their responses.

Table 4.5.1: Comparison of Staff and Inmates' Indications of the Major Goals of Imprisonment

Name of Prison	Staff indication of major goal of imprisonment		Category total	Inmates' Indication of major goal of imprisonment		Category total
	Punish inmates for their offences No. %	Train and rehabilitate inmates No. %	No. %	Punish inmates for their offences No. %	Train and rehabilitate inmates No. %	No. %
Kuje Medium Prison	8 16.7	40 83.3	48 100	37 74	13 26	50 100
Kakuri Open Prison	4 10.5	34 89.5	38 100	18 64.3	10 35.7	28 100
Kirikiri Max. Prison	11 22.9	37 77.1	48 100	58 79.5	15 20.5	73 100
Category total	23 17.2	111 82.8	134 100	113 74.8	38 25.2	151 100

Table 4.5.1 above shows that majority of staff in the prisons indicate that the goal for imprisonment is to train and rehabilitate inmates with Kakuri Open Prison being the highest (89.5%) and Kirikiri Maximum Prison being the lowest (77.1%). On the side of inmates, majority of inmates in the prisons indicate that the major goal of imprisonment is to punish inmates for their offences with Kirikiri Maximum Prison being the highest (79.5%) and Kakuri Open Prison being the lowest (64.3%). The results are very revealing. They show that the higher the security of a prison the more it is punishment-oriented and the lower the security of a prison the more it is training and rehabilitation-oriented.

The trend of data from the survey is represented in the interview. Among inmates that feel imprisonment is for punishment, one of them in Kuje medium prison bluntly stated that "the reason for imprisonment is simply to punish convicts. Punishment, no doubt, is the wage of an offence; though I must confess that warders are lenient nowadays". The reasons why most inmates consider imprisonment as punishment varies, for some it is the stigma attached to ex-convict as an inmate in Kuje medium prison stated that:

> No right-thinking person wants to be associated with prison. Prison is a bad place. If you were sent to a prison as a convict, your own is finished. You will have an ugly indelible mark till you die and ever after. You cannot raise your face in your community because of the bad tag---ex-convict. What punishment is more than that?

For some inmates, confinement and poor prison condition were considered as punishment. According to an inmate in Kirikiri maximum prison,

> You see … being away from your family … locked back in a cage is punishment enough. But to make your life difficult due to the poor condition here and make you suffer even more ... that will turn a man angry and make him come out and do bad things. This is why so many people end up back in prison, because prison turns them mad. Prison is supposed to be a place to show them, look, there's a different way of life. You know, do this, don't do this … this is right, this is wrong, make you recognize things like that, but they don't.

Inmates often recalled experiences of lack of care as punishment a view that captured this feeling is presented by an inmate in Kuje medium prison as follows:

> I know a lot of people might think maybe it's a little bit silly of me saying that it's nice to hear somebody say "Good morning" when you wake up. When you're prisoner there's a lot that you have to face, you might have a bad dream about your family, and you wake up in the morning and ... to hear somebody say "hello" to you, or for you to turn round and say "hello" to somebody, but in the prison you miss all this and it is punishment.

The dominant view of staff on imprisonment from the interview agrees with the findings in the survey too. The emphasis of staff during interview indicated that criminals were threat to society and needed to be incarcerated for their rehabilitation. Therefore, imprisonment was mainly seen

as a means of reforming inmates and not for punishment. In Kuje medium prison a staff stated that:

> Criminals are threats to the free society. Many of them are hardened. To protect the society from their evil activities they must be removed from circulation and quarantined for treatment.

In Kirikiri maximum prison a staff had this to say:

> Lions and sheep do not stay together. Criminals are inimical to lives and property. When captured and brought to prison, their menace to the society is ceased for the time being; having them reformed will bring it to an end.

A staff in Kakuri open prison maintained thus:

> Most prisoners are very poor right from on-set and were pushed to lives of crime due to the ugly situation. Their incarceration is to rid them of criminal behavior and empower them with means of livelihood before their discharge from prison.

The conclusion drawn on the perceived reason for imprisonment by staff and inmates is that most inmates disagree with the reformation and rehabilitation goal of imprisonment which staff concur to. The implication of this difference in perception of prison goal by staff and inmates is that conflict is bound to exist between the groups. The inmates, through their subculture, would thwart the rules of the place, as well as efforts of the staff to reform and rehabilitate them. In view of this reformation and rehabilitation of inmates is unlikely to take place.

Furthermore, the researcher sought to find out the extent inmates accept fault of the offences they were convicted for since that is likely to affect their general attitude in prison. Table 4.5.2 below shows their responses.

Table 4.5.2: **Extent Inmates Accept Fault for Offence Committed**

Name of Prison	**Extent Inmates accept fault for offence committed**			**Category total**
	All your fault	Partly your fault	Not your	**No.** **%**

	No.	%	No.	%	fault No.	%		
Kuje Medium Prison	13	26	15	30	22	44	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	16	57.1	6	21.4	6	21.4	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Maxi. Prison	22	30.1	18	24.7	33	45.2	**73**	**100**
Category total	**51**	**33.8**	**39**	**25.8**	**61**	**40.4**	**151**	**100**

Data on Table 4.5.2 show that most inmates indicated that the offence committed was not their fault. This view was most expressed by inmates in Kirikiri maximum prison as shown by 45%. Few inmates constituting 26% accepted that offence committed was partly their fault. Inmates in Kuje medium prison shared this view most as shown by 30%. Interview with inmates showed similar trend with findings from the survey as some inmates claimed not to be at fault. An inmate in Kakuri open prison maintained thus:

> I am sentenced to ten years imprisonment for manslaughter. A quarrel broke out between me and my neighbor in the same yard. He started the insult and even the attack but when we started fighting and I gave him a blow, he fell down and died. For the past four years, I have been rotting away here. All efforts by my people to bring me out on the ground that what happened is not intentional proved abortive.

Similarly, in Kirikiri maximum prison another inmate claimed not to be at fault. He narrated thus:

> I had an accident with my car during which the lives of two school pupils were lost. I was charged to court for manslaughter and sentenced to five years of imprisonment despite the fact that it was not established that I was under the influence of anything. It was a mere accident which could happen to anybody.

Contrary to the above claims of being innocent by most inmates, an inmate in Kuje Medium Prison accepted his fault and said:

> I was caught in the very act of burglary. I was mercilessly beaten up, disgraced, prosecuted and found guilty. I am not a criminal but was pushed to do it by hunger since I am jobless.

Since most inmates did not accept fault for crimes committed, the implication is that they are very likely to be resentful to prison orders and treatments. Not accepting fault for crimes equally

suggests their belief that their imprisonment is not justified and therefore would not see prison as a right place for them. The inmates' justification of their imprisonment is presented in Table 4.5.3 below

Table 4.5.3: Inmates' Indication of Justification of their Imprisonment

Name of Prison	**Inmates' Views on the justification of their Imprisonment**						**Category total**	
	Unjustly imprisoned		Justly imprisoned		Uncertain		**No.**	**%**
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Kuje Medium Prison	28	56	11	22	11	22	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	14	50	10	35.7	4	14.3	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Maxi. Prison	43	58.9	11	15.1	19	26	**73**	**100**
Category total	**85**	**56.3**	**32**	**21.2**	**34**	**22.5**	**151**	**100**

Majority of inmates perceived their imprisonment to be unjust. This view was shared by 56% of inmates with the highest (59%) in Kirikiri maximum prison. Although few inmates (21%) believe they were justly imprisoned. This view was highest among inmates in Kakuri open prison as 36% of them believed they were justly imprisoned. The data from the interview support survey finding as most inmates claimed to be innocent of the crime they were incarcerated for. Among the few inmates that believed that they were justly imprisoned was in Kakuri open prison according to him, "I was caught in the act of breaking and entry and sentenced to a year and six months imprisonment. I do not blame anybody but myself". Inmates that claimed to be unjustly imprisoned believed it was malicious and their narratives captured subordinate position in the power relationship with those involved in the case. According to an inmate in Kuje medium prison:

> I served my Oga a business man for six years without being found wanting in discharging my duties. On three occasions, I suffered in the hands of robbers in my business trips but did not lose a kobo to them. In the seventh year my Oga was supposed to settle me as agreed instead he accused me of stealing his money and ordered me to home. All the efforts by my people to make him settle me proved abortive. Finally my poor parents gathered some money for me to start business. My Oga came and had me arrested and

> detained. I was tried and sentenced to three years imprisonment and my shop ceded to my Oga.

Another inmate in Kirikiri prison had this to say:

> I was one of the soldiers in charge of training Nigerian youth service corps. I was dating a female youth corps member who happened to be dating my Oga at the same time. At a point she brought the issue of marriage but I turned down the offer. She went and reported to our Oga that I raped her. Before I knew it I was court marshaled and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment.

When asked what he had done so far to prove his innocence, he maintained that the Army General in question did not allow his appeal to see the light of the day, even when the girl later confessed the truth. Unfortunately, the girl died in a motor accident two years ago.

Despite the overwhelming perception of imprisonment as punishment, few inmates believe that imprisonment is to train and rehabilitate them. An inmate in Kuje prison maintained thus:

> Initially I thought I would die in prison because of corporal punishment. Then I strongly believed that imprisonment was for punishment. In the contrary I have realized that it is not, provided one abides by the rules and regulations of the place. In fact my life has changed for good due to training I receive here.

The above inmates' dominant view of punishment as the major reason for imprisonment has a far-reaching implications for both inmates' behaviour and inmate subculture. As said earlier, it could lead to inmates' negative attitude towards the entire prison. Moreover, the inmate subculture is likely to be at loggerheads with the prison authority.

4.6: Extent to which Handling of Inmates in the Prison meets the UN Standard of Minimum Rules of Treatment of Prisoners

Data on the treatment of prison inmates investigated the following variables: inmates' accommodation, classification, feeding, clothing, personal hygiene, contact with outside

worldand discipline. Table 4.6.1 below shows categories inmates ought to be separated for purpose of their accommodation in view of the UNs' SMR and responses of staff and inmates.

Table 4.6.1 Practice on Separation of Categories of Inmates in the Prisons

UNs' Rules	Prisons	Staff Views				Inmates Views			
		Yes **No %**	**No** **No %**	**Uncertain** **No %**	**Total** **No %**	**Yes** **No %**	**No** **No %**	**Uncertain** **No %**	**Total** **No %**
Inmates are separated according to offences	Kuje Prison	33(68.8%)	12(25%)	3(6.2%)	**48(100%)**	13(26%)	35(70%)	2(4%)	**50 100**
	Kakuri Prison	30(72.9%)	3(7.9%)	5(15.2)	**38(100%)**	7(25%)	20(71.4%)	1(3.6%)	**28 100**
	Kirikiri Prison	34(70.8%)	14(29.2%)	0(0%)	**48(100%)**	17(23.3%)	48(65.8%)	8(10.9%)	**73 100**
	Total	**97(72.4%)**	**29(21.6%)**	**8(6%)**	**134(100%)**	**37(24.5%)**	**103(68.2%)**	**11(7.3%)**	**151 100**
Convicts and awaiting trial inmates are separated.	Kuje Prison	48(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	**48(100%)**	43(86%)	5(10%)	2(4%)	**50 100**
	Kakuri Prison	NA	NA	NA	**NA**	NA	NA	NA	**NA**
	Kirikiri Prison	48(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	**48(100%)**	62(84.9%)	10(13.7%)	1(1.4%)	**73 100**
	Total	**96(100%)**	**0**(0%)	**0 (0%)**	**96(100%)**	**105(85.4%)**	**15(12.2%)**	**3(2.4%)**	**123 100**
Young offenders and habitual criminals are separated.	Kuje Prison	23(47.9%)	20(41.7%)	5(10.4%)	. **48(100%)**	4(8%)	46(92%)	0(0%)	**50 100**
	Kakuri Prison	16(42.1%)	17(44.75)	5(13.1%)	**38(100%)**	11(39.3%)	17(60.7%)	0(0%)	**28 100**
	Kirikiri Prison	41(85.4%)	7(14.8%)	0(0%)	**48(100%)**	11(15.1%)	62(84.9%)	0(0%)	**73 100**
	Total	**80(59.7%)**	**44(32.8%)**	**10(7.5%)**	**134(100%)**	**26(17.2%)**	**125(82.8%)**	**0(0%)**	**151 100**
Young and adult offenders are separated	Kuje Prison	13(27.1%)	28(58.3%)	7(14.6%)	**48(100%)**	0	50(100%)	0(0%)	**50 100**
	Kakuri Prison	11(28.9%)	21(55.3%)	6(15.8%)	**38(100%)**	8(28.6%)	20(71.4%)	0(0%)	**28 100**
	Kirikiri Prison	30(62.5%)	14(29.2%)	4(8.2%)	**48(100%)**	6(8.2%)	67(91.8%)	0(0%)	**73 100**
	Total	**54(40.3%)**	**63(47.0%)**	**17(12.7%)**	**134(100%)**	**14(9.3%)**	**137(90.7%)**	**0(0%)**	**151 100**

The UN standard of minimum rule 8 on separations of categories states that, the different categories of prisoners shall be kept in separate institutions or parts of institutions taking into account their sex, age and criminal record. Untried prisoners shall be kept separate from convicted prisoners; Persons imprisoned for debt and other civil prisoners shall be kept separate from persons imprisoned by reason of a criminal offence; young prisoners shall be kept separate from adults. Data presented in Table 4.6.1 is on the views of prison staff and inmates on the prisons' practice on separation of categories of inmates.

Among the four items examined in Table 4.6.1, data reveal that the prisons are leading in the area of separation of convicts and awaiting trial inmates. All staff respondents in Kuje and Kirikiri prisons maintain that these categories of inmates (convicts and awaiting trial detainees) are separated. Similarly, inmates' view is in line with staff's view as most inmates (85%) affirmed that convicts were separated from awaiting trial detainees compared to 2.3% that were uncertain. This view was most shared by inmates in Kuje medium prison (86%).

The interview with staff and inmates presents the same picture as captured by a staff in Kirikiri maximum prison as thus:

> Inmates are grouped into convicts, awaiting trial, lifers, condemned criminals, VIP/political prisoners and privileged inmates in terms accommodation. All the groups are accommodated in different wards sections of the prison yard.

On these two items (separation of inmates by offence and separation of young offenders and habitual criminals) there was discrepancy in the data as staff views differed from inmates views and the researcher's observation. The survey data from staff reveal that the prisons separate inmates according to offences as indicated by majority of prison staff (72%). The highest (73%) is in Kakuri open prison. However, most inmates disagreed as 68% opined that inmates are not

separated by offence while very few (7.3%) were uncertain. Inmates in Kuje medium prison (71%) most indicated that inmates are not separated by offence. Similarly, interview with a staff in Kuje medium prison confirms this as he stated that "*apart from VIP prisoners, lifers and condemned, all convicts are mixed up irrespective of their age, nature of offence or whether they are first timers"*. In Kakuri Open Prison, a staff of the prison maintained thus:

> This is a special convict prison in which inmates were admitted based on recommendation of good behavior from the superintendent of their former prisons. Here the emphasis is on empowering them to be useful to themselves and society out there on release.

Another area which staff affirmed to be practicing is separation of young offenders and habitual criminals as indicated by 60% of staff. This view was highest (85%) in Kirikiri maximum prison. In contrast majority of inmates (83%) indicated that young offenders are not separated from habitual criminals. This view was highest (92%) among inmates in Kuje medium prison.

The least area practiced by the prisons is separation of young and adult offenders. Most staff (47%) were of the view that it is not practiced and this view was highest (58%) in Kuje medium prison. Similarly, overwhelming majority of inmates (90%) indicated that young and adults offenders are not separated while 10% disagreed. This view was highest among inmates in Kuje medium prison as all of them indicated that young and adult offenders are not separated. In an interview, a staff in the Kirikiri maximum prison maintained thus:

> Originally, separate wards were meant for first offenders (stars) and habitual criminals. The ward called "Mgbolomgbo" was meant for only habitual criminals and the other one there was meant for first offenders only. Presently, both categories of inmates are mixed up in the two wards due to lack of proper data on inmates history.

Similarly, an inmate in Kirikiri maximum prison captured the main views of inmates on separation of inmates as interviewed as follows:

> There is no separation of any kind. As you see me, I am a driver by profession. I was convicted for reckless driving and manslaughter. Here I am sharing the same ward with all manners of offenders like rapist, robbers, drug peddlers and swindlers.

The researcher's observation and inspection of the inmates' accommodation concur with survey and interview data to a large extent. In Kirikiri Maximum Prison, the researcher noted there were separate accommodations for lifers, convicts, condemned criminals, political/VIP prisoners, privileged inmates and inmates awaiting trial. Convicts comprised inmates convicted for various offences (property crime, person crime, local act crime) were mixed up in two wards meant for them. The researcher observed that the wards were fairly congested as the space between one double bunk bed and another was too small for inmates' free movement. The same situation was the case in wards for inmates awaiting trial. Each inmate was given a bed and mattress for sleeping. Political/VIP prisoners had a separate accommodation. Each inmate in this category occupied a well-furnished room of 8ft by 8ft with a single bed, personal water-system toilet, a chair and a table. The same was the accommodation for the privileged inmates except that they were two in a room. Lifers and condemned criminals had their separate section on the prison yard. They were accommodated in different buildings and were four prisoners in each room of 8ft by 10ft. Lifers were allowed to move freely in the yard but condemned criminals were not allowed such movements for they constituted the highest security risk prisoners.

In Kuje medium prison the researcher observed that awaiting trial detainees were accommodated in the old dormitory-system blocks and the convicts were accommodated in the new room-system blocks. The inspection was carried out when inmates were locked up in order to determine the level of congestion. There were two blocks of dormitory system accommodation and each accommodated 120 inmates-60 double bunk bed spaces. Inmates were provided with a

bed and blanket each. The wards were fairly congested. However, the wards were well ventilated as there were windows on both sides. Toilets in the wards were water-system and there was regular water supply. Convicts were accommodated in room-system accommodation. Each of room 12ft by 12ft in size accommodated eight inmates-four double bunk bed spaces. Special/political prisoners were accommodated in single rooms of 8ft by 8ft.

In Kakuri Open Prison the researcher noted that inmates' wards were in bad condition; they were old and dirty with broken floors and windows. All the inmates were convicts of various offences and they were mixed up in wards. Two wards were empty and at verge of collapsing. Only three wards were scantily occupied by inmates since the population of the inmates was far below the prison capacity.

Generally, the observation of the researcher revealed inadequate provision of beddings to the majority of inmates in the prisons. Providing iron beds and blankets without mattresses and pillows is more or less a punishment and inimical to their health, hence many of them complained of serious backache whenever they woke up from sleep. Therefore, the provision fails to comply with the Standard Minimum Rule 19 which requires that all inmates shall, in accordance with local or national standards, be provided with a separate bed, and with separate and sufficient bedding which shall be clean when issued, kept in good order and changed often enough to ensure its cleanliness.

Table 4.6.3: Clothing of Inmates (Inmates' Uniforms)

	Staff's view					Inmates' view				
	None No %	One pair No %	Two pairs No %	Three pairs No %	**Total** No %	None No %	One pair No %	Two pairs No %	Three pairs No %	**Total No %**
Kuje Prison	43(86%)	7(14%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	**48(100%)**	43(86%)	7(14%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	**50 100**
Kakuri Prison	23(82.1%)	5(17.9%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	**38(100%)**	23(82.1%)	5(17.9%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	**28 100**
Kirikiri Prison	66(90.4%)	7(9.6%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	**48(100%)**	66(90.4%)	7(9.6%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	**73 100**
Total	**132(87.4%)**	**19(12.6%)**	**0(0%)**	**0(0%)**	**134(100%)**	**132(87.4%)**	**19(12.6%)**	**0(0%)**	**0(0%)**	**151 100**

With regard to clothing provided for inmates, the Table 4.6.3 above reveals that both inmates and staff agreed that inmates are not provided with uniforms. Most staff (87%) indicated that inmates were not provided with uniform. This view was most expressed in Kirikiri prison as shown by 90%. While majority of inmates (87%) indicated that they were not provided with any. This view was highest among inmates in Kirikiri maximum prison (90%). The survey data from both staff and inmates corroborate with the interview data. According to an inmate in Kakuri open Prison *"uniform is hard to come by, what you see me wearing now was brought by my family members during the last visit three months ago because what I was wearing was tattered"*. Similarly, the interview with staff supports the survey findings as staff complained of lack of uniform for inmates. According to an administrative officer in Kakuri Open Prison, "*for a long time now, the issue of inmates' uniforms has been a serious problem. It is not peculiar to this place but in all prisons in the federation"*. Similarly, a staff in Kirikiri Maximum Prison, had this to say:

> Normally all inmates ought to appear in their uniforms every time. Convicts ought to be in blue shirts upon blue trousers and ATIs, in green shirts upon green trousers. For more than six years now, the authority concerned had failed to make provision for inmates' uniforms despite their importance. Any inmate that escapes in mufti will be difficult to identify by law enforcement agents. We have made frantic efforts but no positive results yet.

In Kuje medium prison the situation was not different from the other two prisons as the superintendent had this to say:

> Since I came to head the prison, barely one year now, I have been pestering the authority concerned with requests for inmates' uniforms but to no avail. You can see few of them wearing uniform; I made the uniforms with my personal money when I noticed that the inmates were almost going naked. Well, I will keep on making efforts until my request is granted.

With regard to clothing of inmates, the researcher observed as follow:

In Kirikiri Maximum Prison, inmates appeared in their personal clothes. Only an insignificant number of them wore inmate uniform (blue shirt upon blue trousers). However, the inmates appeared neat in their personal clothes. In Kuje Medium Prison, the situation was more worrisome. It was hard to see an inmate in the normal uniform of blue shirt upon blue trouser. However, they were not looking tattered as some writers tend to exaggerate. The situation was the same in Kakuri Open Prison, except that inmates in the prison appeared rough and dirty, probably because of the fact that their major rehabilitation programme isfarming.

Table 4.6.4: Number of Times Inmates are Fed and the Quality of Inmates' Food

Numbers of time inmates are fed										
	Staff views					**Inmates views**				
Prison	No regular ration No %	One meal daily No %	Two meals daily No %	Three meals daily No %	**Total No %**	No regular ration No %	One meal daily No %	Two meals daily No %	Three meals daily No %	**Total No %**
Kuje Prison	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	48(100%)	**48(100%)**	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	50 100	**50 100**
Kakuri Prison	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	38(100%)	**38(100%)**	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	28 100	**28 100**
Kirikiri Prison	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	48(100%)	**48(100%)**	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	73 100	**73 100**
Total	**0(0%)**	**0(0%)**	**0(0%)**	**134(100%)**	134(100%)	**0(0%)**	**0(0%)**	**0(0%)**	**151 100**	**151 100**

Perceived Quality of Inmates' Food

	Staff views					Inmates view				
	Very adequate No %	Adequate No %	Inadequate No %	Very inadequate No %	**Total No %**	Very adequate No %	Adequate No %	Inadequate No %	Very inadequate No %	**Total No %**
Kuje Prison	0(0%)	3(6.3%)	32(66.7%)	13(27.1%)	**48(100%)**	0(0%)	1(2%)	23(46%)	26(52%)	**50 100**
Kakuri Prison	0(0%)	1(2.6%)	26(68.4%)	11(28.9%)	**38(100%)**	0(0%)	2(7.1%)	12(42.9%)	14(50%)	**28 100**
Kirikiri Prison	0(0%)	2(4.2%)	37(77.1%)	9(18.8%)	**48(100%)**	0(0%)	1(1.4%)	31(42.5%)	41(56.2%)	**73 100**
Total	**0(0%)**	**5(3.7%)**	**98(73.1%)**	**33(24.6%)**	**134(100%)**	**0(0%)**	**4(2.6%)**	**66(43.7%**	**81(53.6%)**	**151 100**

The UN standard minimum rule 20 states that every prisoner shall be provided by the administration at the usual hours with food of nutritional value adequate for health and strength, of wholesome quality and well prepared and served. Drinking water shall be available to every prisoner whenever he needs it. Data on Table 4.6.4 reveal that there is consensus between inmates and staff on the number of times inmates are fed as they all indicated that they are fed thrice. With regard to the quality of food, both staff and inmates view is on the negative. Majority of staff (73%) indicated that the food quality is inadequate. This view is highest in Kirikiri

maximum prison as indicated by 77%. Majority of inmates(54%) considered the food quality to be very inadequate and this view was the highest (56%) among inmates in Kirikiri maximum prison. Interview data support the survey findings as inmates revealed that they were served three meals daily but the quantity and quality are poor. These quotes from inmates in the three prisons reveal that feeding is a challenge in the prison.In Kuje Medium Prison an inmate leader stated that:

> To say the truth, the food they give us is too small and tasteless too. A ration cannot satisfy a small child, not to talk of an adult. Moreover, it is not well prepared; no condiments at all. We are only surviving by the grace of God.

An inmate in Kakuri Open Prison, maintained thus:

> We are normally served garri, rice and beans but they are always the poorest grades one can find in any market. The food is not only poorly prepared, a ration for an inmate is too small. Thank God that relation brings food to many inmates often.

In Kirikiri Maximum Prison an inmate had this to say:

> Here, we eat any food given to us. It is badly prepared and too small. Many inmates do not depend on it, especially those that have concerned relations nearby. 'Big inmates' do not eat the food, they are on 'self-feeding'. Poor ones, that constitute the majority, have no option.

In Kirikiri Maximum Prison, the researcher observed thatthe modern kitchen was messed up with an untidy environment. There were caterers with inmates attached to the kitchen to assist them in one way or the other. The inmates were seen running errands such as fetching water, making fire, washing plates and pots. The researcher noted that ration for each inmate was too small and that the meals were poorly prepared as he tasted the food.The same was applicable to Kuje Medium Prison and Kakuri Open Prison.The kitchens and their environs were too dirty with flies everywhere. Meals for inmates were prepared in unhygienic environments. Inmates attached to the kitchen to assist the caterers were seen doing things like washing plates and pots, cutting

vegetables, fetching water and pounding one thing or the other. Meals or rations given to inmates were not only too small but were poorly prepared, lacking in food condiments.

The findings of the study indicate that all the prisons fail to comply with the UN standard minimum rule of providing inmates with food of nutritional value adequate for health and strength, nonetheless, the prisons to a large extent complied with the requirement of providing water for inmates. Food is one of the essential needs of life that is important to inmates, however, food served for inmates is poor. The implication of poor feeding is poor health for prisoners as they become susceptible to communicable diseases due to weak immune system. Also, poor feeding is a significant motivation for inmates' unrest. This view is concurred by Omale's (2013) study on jail break in prison in Nigeria.

Table 4.6.5: Frequently Used means of Punishing Inmates

	Staff views						**Inmates views**					
Prison	Flogging	Solitary confinement	Forfeiture of meal	Forfeiture of remission	Others	**Total**	Flogging	Solitary confinement	Forfeiture of meal	Forfeiture of permission	Others	**Total** **No %**
Kuje Prison	13(27.1%)	21(43.8%)	0(0%)	8(16.7%)	6(12.5%	**48(100%)**	24 (48%)	16(32%)	1(2%)	4(8%)	**5(10%)**	**50 100**
Kakuri Prison	6(15.8%)	15(39.5%)	0(0%)	14(36.8%)	3((7.9%)	**38(100%)**	12(42.9%)	12(42.9%)	0(0%)	3(10.7%	**1(3.6%)**	**28 100**
Kirikiri Prison	16(33.3%)	24(50%)	0(0%)	5(10.4%)	3(6.3%)	**48(100%)**	5(6.8%)	66(90.4%)	0(0%)	2(2.7%)	**0(0%)**	**73 100**
Total	**35(26.1%**	**60(44.8%**	**0(0%)**	**27(20.1%**	**12(8.9%**	**134(100 %**	**41(27.2%)**	**94(62.3%)**	**1(0.7%)**	**9(6.0%)**	**6(4%)**	**151 100**

The UN minimum standard rules note that discipline and order shall be maintained with firmness, but with no more restriction than is necessary for safe custody and well-ordered community life. In administering punishment on inmates, UN minimum rules 31 and 32 specified that corporal punishment, punishment by placing in a dark cell, and all cruel, inhuman or degrading punishments shall be completely prohibited as punishments for disciplinary

offences. Punishment by close confinement or reduction of diet shall never be inflicted unless the medical officer has examined the prisoner and certified in writing that he is fit to sustain it. Punishments and withdrawals of privileges are the instruments for enforcing regulations in the prison.

Data from Table 4.6.5 above reveals that inmates and staff indicated that flogging and solitary confinement were commonly used to punish erring inmates. Nonetheless, solitary confinement was most practiced as indicated by 45% of staff and 62% of inmates. Solitary confinement is most practiced in Kirikiri maximum prison as shown by 50% response for staff and 90% for inmates. The least practiced form of punishment is forfeiture of meal as indicated by less than 1% of inmates. Interview data revealed that serious violation of the prison rules, such as an attempt to escape or challenging constituted authority are amongst offences that inmates are punished through solitary confinement. In Kirikiri maximum prison, the researcher was made to understand that solitary confinement was frequently applied as a disciplinary measure due to very stubborn inmates in the prison. According to a chief warder in Kirikiri maximum prison,

> The essence of imprisonment nowadays is not to punish but to revive criminals interned. However we have many inmates who derive pleasure in violating rules with impunity. Such hardened inmates deserve nothing short of solitary confinement. That is the only way to bend them.

Commenting on the inhumanity of solitary confinement, an inmate in Kuje Medium Prison captured it thus:

> Every offence committed by an inmate has awaiting punishment. Theworst punishment an inmate can face is solitary confinement; though it is rarely applied. Entering the cell is like entering a hell. As long as one is in the punishment cell, one cannot see or interact with anyone. One can only stand or squat throughout the period. In fact, thepunishment is not only unbearable but also inhuman.

On inspection in Kirikiri Maximum Prison and Kuje Medium Prison, the researcher found out that the solitary confinement or what is called punishment cell is a very small cell which givesthe

occupant no space to do anything. An inmate confined there is totally isolated from the rest for the period of the punishment. He eats food, defecates and urinates there.

The practice of solitary confinement is a digression from the UN minimum standard treatment with regard to discipline of inmates. This practice affects inmates' well-being specifically psychological as increased suicide risk, uncontrollable rage and fear are some of the effects commonly identified with solitary confinement, specifically prolonged confinement.

Rule 22 sub sections (2) of the UN minimum standard treatment states that sick prisoners who require specialist treatment shall be transferred to specialized institutions or to civil hospitals. Where hospital facilities are provided in an institution, their equipment, furnishings and pharmaceutical supplies shall be proper for the medical care and treatment of sick prisoners, and there shall be a staff of suitable trained officers.

Table 4.6.6: Staff and Inmates' Indication of whether Prison Clinic is Well Equipped with Drugs and Other Medication

Prison clinic is well equipped with drugs and other medication						
	Staff views			**Inmates views**		
Name of prison	Yes	No	**Total**	Yes	No	**Total**
	No %	No %	**No %**	No %	No %	**No %**
Kuje Prison	26 54.2	22 45.8	**48 100**	21 42	29 58	**50 100**
Kakuri Prison	0 0	38 100	**38 100**	6 21.4	22 78.6	**28 100**
Kirikiri Prison	21 43.8	27 56.3	**48 100**	33 45.2	40 54.8	**73 100**
Category Total	**47 35.1**	**87 64.9**	**134 100**	**60 39.7**	**91 60.3**	**151 100**

There is consensus in the views of both inmates and staff that prison clinics are not well equipped with drugs and other medications. About 65% of prison staff and 60% of inmates shared this view. This view was highest among staff and inmates of Kakuri open prison as shown by 79% of inmates and all staff in the same prison indicated that their prison clinic is not well equipped. The general views of staff and inmates interviewed pointed out inadequate drug supplies. In Kuje Medium Prison, medical officer in-charge maintained thus:

> We have well qualified staff----doctors, nurses, pharmacist and other health workers. Each department is well staffed…Well, like any other government hospital, we always run short of essential drugs to be candid. Under such cases, we either prescribe the drugs for the inmates to buy or refer them to bigger government hospital. Sometimes, some of us end up buying the prescribed drugs with our own money for them since we cannot watch those without money to buy drug deteriorating in health.

An inmate in the same prison agreed with the above view thus:

> Yes we have clinic but no sick inmate can receive anything more than Paracetamol. It is only a consulting clinic; there are no drugs there. If inmates are sick, they will only give prescription; imagine that! If one is sick and has no money to buy drugs, the person is in trouble. Sometime when inmates are referred to hospitals, to take them there becomes a problem; either the ambulance is not in order or there is no fuel.

However, in Kuje Medium Prison, the researcher observed that the prison has a fine modern clinic. The clinic was made up of general ward, surgery, pharmacy, out-patient and emergency. Medical personnel such as doctor, nurses and pharmacist were seen attending to sick inmates. In Kirikiri Maximum Prison, the researcher also observed that there was a prison clinic which comprised offices of the medical personnel and ward for sick inmates. The health personnel were seen attending to sick inmates. In Kakuri Open Prison, the researcher noted that the sickbay was an old small one-bed-room flat. The researcher met only a matron and two health workers attached to it. Medical doctor was on call since there was no resident doctor.

The provisioning for the health of inmates especially pharmaceutical supplies fall short of what is expected based on the UN minimum standard treatment. The poor provision of drugs has negative implications on the quality of inmates' health as shown in Table 4.6.7 below.

Table 4.6.7: Inmates' Indication of their Health Situation since Incarceration

Name of prison	Health situation of inmates since incarceration						Category total	
	Worsened		Remained the same		Improved			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No.	%
Kuje Medium Prison	21	42	21	42	8	16	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	19	67.9	7	25	2	7.1	**28**	**100**
KirikiriMax. Prison	33	45.2	28	38.4	12	16.4	**73**	**100**
Category total	**73**	**48.3**	**56**	**37.1**	**22**	**14.6**	**151**	**100**

Table 4.6.7 shows that majority of inmates (48%) held the opinion that their health situation has worsened and this was highest (67.9%) in Kakuri open prison. But few (15%) believed it has improved and this was highest (16%) in Kirikiri maximum prison. The worsened health situation of inmates can be attributed to the poor quality of food and the grossly inadequate drug supplies in the prisons. Interview with inmates buttressed the finding of the survey. According to an inmate in Kirikiri maximum prison;

> Before my imprisonment, I rarely take any medication because I was strong and healthy. But since I came to prison, it is from one illness to the other, if not malaria, it is dysentery. This is not happening to me alone because my fellow inmates complain of their failing health with some having serious conditions like asthma.

Another inmate in Kuje Medium Prison maintained thus:

> Since I came here it is either one sickness or the other. See how bony I look.The food we eat is too poor. Recently there was an outbreak of dysentery here and it was by special grace of God that it was controlled. All these are due to poor feeding and medication. Government must do something to save us from this ugly situation.

UN standard minimum treatment rule 37 states that prisoners shall be allowed under necessary supervision to communicate with their family and reputable friends at regular intervals, both by correspondence and visitation. Table 4.6.8 below indicates that all the prisons comply with this standard of treatment as inmates are allowed to receive visitors.

Table 4.6.8: Distribution of Staff and Inmates Responses on whether Inmates are Allowed to Receive Visitors

Inmates are allowed to receive visitors						
Staff views				Inmates views		
Name of prison	Yes No %	No No %	**Total No %**	Yes No %	No No %	**Total No %**
Kuje Prison	44 91.7	4 3.3	**48 100**	31 62	19 38	**50 100**
Kakuri Prison	38 100	0 0	**38 100**	28 100	0 100	**28 100**
Kirikiri Prison	42 87.5	6 12.5	**48 100**	67 91.8	6 8.2	**73 100**
Total	**124 92.5**	**10 7.5**	**134 100**	**126 83.4**	**25 16.6**	**151 100**

Majority of staff (93%) and inmates (83%) affirmed that inmates are allowed to receive visitor. All staff and inmates in Kakuri open prison affirmed that inmates are allowed to receive visitors. An inmate in Kuje Medium Prison maintained thus:

> We are allowed to receive our visitors on daily basis from 9.30am to 2.00pm.During the visits we are allowed to collect things such as food and clothes from our visitors after they have been inspected by officers on duty.

The researcher's observation result confirmed staff and inmates' claim as inmates were observed interacting with their visitors on several occasions. However, this can be denied an inmate as a form of punishment for an offence committed, especially in conniving with a visitor to smuggle in unapproved item. According to a staff in Kirikiri maximum prison, "*an inmate may be denied to see his visitor as a result of punishment due to offence he committed"*.

An important difference noted by the researcher was that in Kakuri Open Prison, inmates were permitted to go outside the prison unescorted. However, this privilege is exclusively reserved for inmates that have stayed up to six months in the prison. An inmate in Kakuri Open Prison revealed thus:

> We receive our visitors every day from 9.30 am to 2.00 pm. We are also permitted to go outside the prison with reasons but must be back at/before 6.00 pm. However, this is applicable to only inmates that have stayed up to six months in the prison.

Confirming this, a chief warder of the prison maintained thus:

> Comparing with their counterparts in other convict prisons, our inmates are admitted based on their good conduct of behavior. To some extent they are to be trusted. Therefore, apart from allowing them access to their visitors, we allow them to go outside the premises but must come back on/before 6.00pm.

Generally, inmates' contacts with the outside world are highly restricted. This was noted by the researcher in the manner in which inmates' visitors and staff members were subjected to thorough searching before being allowed entering the prison yards. In Kuje Medium Prison, the researcher observed what looked like a drama between security officers guarding the entrance to the prison yard and a staff medical doctor who came to attend to the inmates thus:

> The doctor wanted to enter the prison yard but was halted by the security officers at the post. He introduced himself to them but the security men insisted on conducting a search on him. At first, he submitted himself to be searched but became very aggressive and furious when the security men ordered him to remove his shoes. Agitations from him eventually attracted the attention of the Superintendent of the prison who intervened in the matter by inviting all to his office.

When inquired, the researcher found out that the essence was to prevent any person, visitor or staff, from passing any illegal item or information to the inmates. Also during visits, inmates were allowed access to their visitors but under the hearing and watchful eyes of prison staff members. Letters, food items, food and other materials brought to inmates from outside were well censored and scrutinized before given to the inmates concerned.

Despite the provisions for visitations and correspondences, the researcher noted the strict nature of inmates' contacts with the outside world. With the exception of Kakuri open prison (where inmates were permitted to go outside the prison unescorted), inmates in other prisons were not

allowed any other interaction with people in outside world apart from time allowed for visitation. This high restriction of inmates' contacts with the same people they are going to live with on discharge from prison, no doubt, has a serious negative implication for re-integration.

4.7 Inmate Subculture

In-depth interviews with both staff and inmates were directed towards finding out whether or not informal groups operate within the prisons. Responses gathered by the researcher revealed that the "inmate government" is the only informal group of inmates that exists and is allowed to operate in the prisons. According to a chief warder in Kirikiri maximum prison, "*We ensure that illegal gangs/groups do not operate here due to their ugly influences on inmates;we allow inmate government only".* Another officer in the prison opined thus:

> Bad gangs cannot be ruled out in an institution of this nature. However, apart from the inmate government we ensure that inmates' activities are closely monitored so that illegal and bad groups are nipped at bud. Moreover, inmate government plays a significant role in this respect.

Similarly, an administrative officer in Kuje medium prison had this to say:

> Though inmate government is not an official arm of the prison operational system, it helps in the management process. It is used in the communication process between the authority and the inmates, as well as in maintenance of law and order. The officials tackle issues of minor violation of ward rules.

In the same way an inmate leader in Kakuri open prison maintained thus:

> It is a serious offence for an inmate to indulge in any illegal act or do anything stupid. Useless groups do not exist here. Rather we all are under the inmate government.

Furthermore, the researcher investigated how inmate leaders emerge. Interview data revealed that inmate leaders are appointed by the authority through an ad-hoc committee set up for that

purpose in Kakuri open prison but through general elections of inmates in Kuje and Kirikiri prisons. In Kakuri open prison, a chief warder maintained thus:

> Inmate leaders/representatives are appointed through an ad-hoc committee set up for that purpose. Before their appointment certain things are put into consideration: years of experience in the prison, number of times of committed offence, obedience to constituted authority and ability to carry others along.

In Kuje medium prison, an inmate leader maintained thus:

> Inmates are allowed to elect their leaders but not in all cases. Some functionaries such as religious leaders (imams, pastors) and court magistrates are appointed based on experience.

In Kirikiri maximum prison, an inmate leader maintained that "*we elect our leaders in general elections under the supervision of the staff*".

With regard to the composition and function of the inmate leaders, interview with inmate leaders revealed that various positions and functions are performed by inmates. According to the "president general" of inmates in Kirikiri maximum prison;

> The positions include general Sarki (President of the state), ward Sarki, Vice ward sarki (VP), National Security Agent (NSA); ward functionaries including magistrate, police, clerk and O.C lavatory. Their functions depend on their positions. For instance, the overall president of the prison (Sarkin yari) could proclaim any law provided it was not against the prison rules and regulations and was in the interest of the prison. Ward Sarki is in charge of his ward. His order is final in the ward. He is answerable to the Chief Warder. He helps to ensure that inmates are counted after each open-out and that peace is maintained in his ward. The magistrate decides the cases of those accused of one offence or the other in the ward. The police ensure that those charged with cell duties carry them out and also maintain silent hours. Generally, the leaders in their ways help the authority to maintain peace and order in the prison.

With regard to the rules guiding conducts of behaviour of inmates, the researcher sought to find out if there were other rules of inmates than the official ones. Table 4.7.1 shows the responses of inmates.

Table 4.7.1: Inmates' Indication on whether there are Other Rules that Guide them apart from Official Rules

There are other rules that guide inmates apart from official rules						
Name of prison	**Yes**		**No**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	46	92	4	8.0	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	23	82.1	5	17.9	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	60	82.2	13	17.8	**73**	**100**
Category total	**129**	**85.4**	**22**	**14.6**	**151**	**100**

Majority of inmates (85%) affirmed that there are other rules that guide them apart from the official rules but 15% disagreed. Interview with inmate leaders in the three prisons revealed that there are cell /ward rules and regulation that guide inmates. According to an inmate leader in Kirikiri maximum prison the rules are to ensure orderliness and peaceful coexistence among inmates. The ward rule guiding inmates according to inmate leaders;

> Forbid inmates to smoke, fight, sleep with one another/sodomy, challenge Sarki or any other ward official on duty, go to another man's post uninvited and use abusive words. The leaders that make up the government see to it that inmates keep the rule and that offenders are punished accordingly.

Further interview with inmate leaders revealed that the cell rules were enforced by inmate government headed by inmate officials and the inmate government is an important tool in prison management. According to inmate leader in Kuje medium prison:

> We have our own rules and regulations which are clearly displayed in all the wards so that no one will claim ignorant of them. Any defaulter must pay the penalty attached. They help us to control inmates in our wards.

Researcher's investigation revealed that inmate code that guides the conduct of inmates in the prisons is in form of 'inmate constitution' which is displayed in every ward (see appendix J). It is derived from the official inmate rules with local contents which emanated from inmate leaders approved by the authority.The inmate constitution is divided into the following sections:

Capital Offences: These comprised behavior or acts that are mostly abhorred in the prison. Examples include attempt to overthrow the inmate government, rebelling against cell government, disobeying warders, cell leaders or any constituted authority, disclosing cell matters to the authority, homosexuality, possession of any weapon, fighting, smoking of hemps, quarrelling with a warder, or with a cell leader.

Grievous Offences: These centre on maintenance of personal and environmental hygiene. Offences here include having dirty post, unkempt hairs and finger nails, combing of hairs in cell, shaking of blanket when others are eating, farting deliberately in cell, spitting through window, leaving toilet un-flushed after use and miss-using government plates.

Misconduct: This includes all undesirable behavior. Examples are talking/playing when prayer is on, insulting another inmate, being/ moving naked in the cell, contempt of court, refusing police order, rough playing or mockery, damaging of government property, searching another person's post, instigation of any kind, bearing false witness, exchanging words with a warder in form of quarrelling, public disturbance of any kind, buying and selling of stolen property and passing of wrong information.

Also the inmate constitution specifies the punishment (days of cell duty) for every offence. The punishments applicable include fetching of water for the kitchen, sweeping the environment, washing the toilet, confiscating of post, isolating from other inmates and cleaning the iron bars. The constitution specifies that the punishments of solitary confinement and confiscation of post are the prerogative of the prison authority. (Adopted by the researcher from the inmate constitution which was found to be common to all the prisons under study. See appendix J)

Furthermore, the researcher sought to find out the application of certain maxims of conventional inmate subculture in the prisons as maintained by Sykes (1960) and Sykes and Messinger (1971). One of the maxims advocates that inmate must abide by the inmate code. The table 4.7.2 below shows the responses of inmates in this regard.

Table 4.7.2 Inmates' Indication on whether they Prefer to Obey Inmate Rules to Official Rules

Inmates prefer inmate rules to official rules								
Name of prison	**Yes** No	%	**No** No	%	**Uncertain** No	%	**Total** No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	17	34.0	21	42.0	12	24.0	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	9	32.1	19	67.9	0	0	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	32	43.8	34	46.6	7	9.6	**73**	**100**
Category total	**58**	**38.4**	**74**	**49.0**	**19**	**12.6**	**151**	**100**

Many inmates (49%) opined that they do not prefer to obey inmate rules to official rules. This view was highest (68%) in Kakuri open prison but few inmates (13%) were uncertain on which rule to obey with the highest (24%) in Kuje prison. Similarly, interview with inmate revealed that they believe that inmate rules are extension of official rules as such inmate rules cannot supersede the official rules, so it is preferable to comply with official rules. An inmate leader in Kuje medium prison maintained thus:

> All inmates are placed under the staff throughout their stay here. They monitor our behavior and keep records. They are capable of shortening or extending one's stay here. So I need to obey the official rules.

Inmates' preference to obey official rule suggests staff superiority over inmate leader in the chain of command. Inmates' preference for official rule reflects their opinion on whose command to obey as captured in Table 4.7.3 below.

Table 4.7.3:Inmates' Indication of Command Instruction they would like to Obey

Command instruction inmates would like to obey								
Name of prison	**Warder**		**Inmate leader**		**None**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	39	78.0	5	10.0	6	12.0	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	14	50.0	10	35.7	4	14.3	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	69	94.5	2	2.7	2	2.7	**73**	**100**
Category total	**122**	**80.8**	**17**	**11.3**	**12**	**7.9**	**151**	**100**

Majority of inmates (81%) indicated that they will obey the command of warder rather than that of an inmate leader. This view was highest (95%) among inmates in Kirikiri maximum prison. However, very few inmates (8%) indicated that they would not comply with both the warder's and inmate leader's instruction. The major responses in the survey are not surprising because the inmates' constitutional provisions state that disobeying warders is a capital offence. Interview with inmates revealed that inmates prefer to comply with warders' instruction because of the negative consequences (punishment) for disobeying prison officials and the superior position of prison official. An inmate in Kuje Medium Prison captured this view as follows:

> Both warders and inmate leaders are our authorities quite alright. However, power passes power. We and our leaders are under the warders and therefore, warders are superior to our leaders. Should both give orders that of the warder must be given priority.

One of the maxims of the conventional inmate code is that inmates should not take order from prison staff. On the contrary inmates in this study do not comply with the conventional inmate code.

Another maxim of conventional inmate subculture urges inmates not to trust guards or the things they stand for; not to be a sucker; and that officers are wrong and the prisoners are right. Table 4.7.4 below shows inmates' responses as regards who to run for help.

Table 4.7.4: Inmates' Indication of the most Preferred Person to Seek for Help when in Problem

Most preferred person to seek help when in problem										
Name of prison	**A fellow inmate**		**A member of prison staff**		**A relative outside**		**Yourself**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	22	44.0	8	16.0	13	26.0	7	14.0	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	14	50.0	12	42.9	0	0	2	7.1	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	29	39.7	17	23.3	17	23.3	10	13.7	**73**	**100**
Category total	**65**	**43.0**	**37**	**24.5**	**12**	**19.9**	**19**	**12.6**	**151**	**100**

Many inmates (43%) would seek help from fellow inmates with the highest (50%) in Kakuri open prison while few inmates (13%) would rely on themselves with the highest (14%) in Kuje medium prison. Similarly, interview with inmates reveals that most inmates prefer to share their problems with fellow inmates because of their closeness and perceived experience of the inmates. However, few still prefer staff because of their experience but some prefer to keep to themselves or confide in their relatives because they trust neither staff nor inmates. The quotes below capture the views of inmates.

> I share friendship with some fellow inmates; they are just like brothers. We share feelings of each other and advise one another. They are my brothers in Christ. I will always confide in them when I have a problem; I find them useful (an inmate in Kuje medium prison).

> Staff members are our teachers and also well trained in their job. I believe they are in better position to advice any inmate who needs such service. I will seek for an advice from a staff (an inmate in Kakuri open prison).

> There are some issues one needs not to confide in staff members for fear of exposing oneself to them. In confidential issues I will prefer to confide in a good fellow inmate to a prison staff (inmate in Kirikiri prison).

Variations in the above responses of inmates notwithstanding, it could be noted that majority of them prefer confiding in their fellow inmates to confiding in prison staff. With this confidence in one another, inmates are bound to socialize with each other positively or negatively. The danger of this cannot be underestimated when one realizes that convicts with different criminal orientations and non-criminals are accommodated in the same wards. More importantly, the table shows that the least percentage (13%) of the inmates maintains that they would rely on themselves. This shows that inmates have very low self-esteem which cannot be divorced from our prison culture which, among others, deprives inmates their individual autonomy and therefore cannot rely on themselves as fully developed adults.

Table **4.7.5: Inmates' Indication on whether a Staff must be Wrong whenever there is a Quarrel between an Inmate and Staff**

A staff must be wrong whenever there is a quarrel between an inmate and staff										
Name of prison	**Strongly agree**		**Agree**		**Disagreed**		**Strongly disagree**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	6	12.0	9	18.0	22	44.0	13	26.0	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	4	14.3	10	35.7	13	46.4	1	3.6	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	7	9.6	6	8.2	40	54.8	20	27.4	**73**	**100**
Category total	**17**	**11.3**	**25**	**16.6**	**75**	**49.6**	**34**	**22.5**	**151**	**100**

One half of inmates(50%) disagreed that staff must not always be wrong whenever there is a quarrel between inmate and staff. This opinion was highest (55%) in Kirikiri maximum prison. However, few inmates (11%) strongly agreed and this view was highest (14%) in Kakuri open prison. The major view expressed by inmates does not conform to conventional inmate subculture maxim which encourages inmates to believe that prison officers are always wrong while inmates are right. This could be attributed to good rapport between the prison authority and the inmate leaders. In addition to performing the role of an

intermediary between the management and the inmate body, the leaders are empowered by the authority to help maintain discipline, rules and regulations of the place. This exchange solution to the problem of prison order, on the one hand, empowers the inmate leaders to perform their control functions; on the other hand, helps the authority to win the support of the inmate subculture through the cooperation of the leaders.

Based on the data analyzed so far, it can be concluded that inmates in the prisons, to a large extent, do not accept the conventional inmate subculture maxims. Inmate subculture exists in the prisons as inmate government. Its operation differs from conventional inmate subculture as it provides supportive function to prison management contrary to the conventional inmate subculture which is anti-administration.

4.8 Inmates Attitude Toward Reformation and Rehabilitation Programmes

The various programmes available for inmates' rehabilitation and reformation, skill acquired by inmates and attitude of inmates toward the programmes are explored in this section. The terms rehabilitation and reformation are often used jointly; however, they have different connotations.

Rehabilitation programmes are post release efforts made by prison to make it easier for the offender to re-settle in society. The programmes include agriculture (fish-pond, prison farm, poultry, piggery); prison industry (tailoring, shoe-making, rope-making, mat-making, woodwork, leather work, soap making and carpentry) and education (primary education, SSCE/GCE Certificate and tertiary education).

Table 4.8.1: Staff and Inmates' Responses on the Major Rehabilitation Programmes Available in the Prison

Prison	Staff views				Inmates views			
	Vocational skill acquisition programs No %	**Vocational skill acquisition programs and Educational programs** No %	**Vocational skill acquisition programs, Educational programs and Agricultural programs** No %	**Total** No %	**Vocational skill acquisition programs** No %	**Vocational skill acquisition programs and Educational programs** No %	**Vocational skill acquisition programs Educational programs and Agricultural programs** No %	**Total** No %
Kuje Prison	26 (54.2)	13(27.1)	8(16.7)	48(100)	27(54)	16(32)	7(14)	50(100)
Kakuri Prison	15 (39.5)	6 (15.8)	17(44.7)	38(100)	6(21.4)	4(14.3)	18(64.3)	28(100)
Kirikiri Prison	27 (56.3)	16 (33.3)	5(10.4)	48(100)	41(56.2)	21(28.8)	11(15.1)	73(100)
Total	**68 (50.7)**	**35(26.1)**	**30(22.4)**	**134(100)**	**74(49)**	**41(27.2)**	**36(23.8)**	**151(100)**

Table 4.8.1 shows that various rehabilitation programmes exist in the prison but majority of staff (51%) and inmates (49%) opined that vocation skill acquisition programs were major rehabilitation programmes available in the prison. The vocational programmes are acquired through the prison industry.

Inspection of rehabilitation facilities by the researcher showed that carpentry, shoe making, soap making and tailoring were in operation in Kuje medium prison and Kirikiri maximum prison. Kakuri open prison lagged behind due to the fact that rehabilitation programmes such as carving and carpentry, leather work and mat/rope-making have been abandoned. The dilapidated buildings still bore the labels up to date. As at the time of this study, only tailoring unit exists and it lacks facilities, it had one staff and two inmates attached to it. The tailoring unit had three sewing machines; only one was in good condition. An inmate leader in the prison had this to say "*we have tailoring workshop but it is not functioning well. Inmates are not learning much from it. Other programmes such as fishery, poultry, piggery, are at the point of winding up"*.

Interview with staff and inmates in the three prisons revealed that, the existing rehabilitation programmes were not functioning effectively due to non-availability of fund, inadequate instructors and equipment. The views of staff across the three prisons are presented below:

In Kakuri open prison the superintendent had this to say:

> I am barely six months here; in other words, I inherited the dilapidated facilities from my predecessors. Well I cannot blame them; it is all the fault of the government that chose to neglect the prison in terms of funding. There is no money to maintain the workshops, service the equipment and purchase the needed materials. Since I came I have been trying my best to see that the facilities are renovated but to no avail.

In Kuje medium prison a rehabilitation officer maintained thus:

> Many inmates are interested in the work. The problem is that there are only four functioning machines and there are over thirty inmates that indicated their interest. We normally get contract works from other establishments but due to lack of machines we cannot deliver in time. Many of them have withdrawn their patronage.

Another rehabilitation officer in Kirikiri maximum prison maintained thus:

> In this unit (fashion and design) we have up to fifty inmates but only four sewing machines and two design machines are functioning. Tell me how this number of interested inmates could use these machines. We equally have problems of shortage of instructors. We are two staff only handling this unit.

In Kuje Medium Prison, the researcher observed inadequate rehabilitation facilities thus:

> At 10.30am, inmates were opened out from their wards and they went to their various rehabilitation programmes. Those that were registered in the tailoring unit gathered in the workshop which was an attachment to one of the wards. They were twenty-five inmates in number. Shortly their two instructors appeared. There were three functional sewing machines to be used. One of the instructors called out the numbers of inmates whose turn it was to operate the machines and they took their seats. Others clustered around the three operators watching what they were doing and the instructors moved about to inspect and give instructions.

Education programme in the prison is meant to achieve the dual purposes of personality development and inmate empowerment. In the prison, adult education, continuing education and Open University Programmes were meant to serve the purposes. Concerning educational rehabilitation programmes, the researcher observed that Kuje and Kirikiri prisons had various education programmes whereas Kakuri open prison had none. In Kakuri open prison, the researcher was only shown a small building under construction which would be for adult education when completed. In Kuje medium prison and Kirikiri maximum prison, there were adult education programme (primary 1-6) for prisoners who had no basic formal education;

SSCE/GCE programme for secondary school dropouts and Open University programme (only in Kirikiri maximum prison) for inmates capable of benefiting from it.

There was also computer programme and library for the inmates. The researcher observed categories of inmates receiving lessons in their various classrooms. Their teachers comprised warders with educational background, volunteer teachers from outside and inmates with teaching background. The researcher equally inspected the prison library and noticed that there were only few relevant books to meet the needs of the inmates especially those preparing for WASC/GCE examinations. Also, the researcher inspected the computer room and noted that it was well equipped with computers and computer accessories.

Examination of the records on educational programme in Kuje medium prison for the past three years showed that twenty one (21) inmates had acquired GCE/SSCE certificates and sixteen (16) had trade test certificates in various crafts. In Kirikiri maximum prison, for the past two years, thirty (30) inmates had completed primary education; fifteen (15) had acquired GCE/SSCE certificates and twenty three (23) had trade test certificate. While commending the efforts, the researcher felt that the number of beneficiaries was very small compared with the total number of inmates.

The researcher noted that prison industry and vocational education were not functioning adequately in the prisons. Examples include carving, woodwork and pottery in Kirikiri prison; carpentry, metalwork, woodwork, soap making, rope/mat making in Kakuri open prison; and metalwork, carving and rope making in Kuje prison. An inquiry into what led to the present state of inadequate functioning made an officer in Kirikiri prison to open up thus:

> The prison industry was thriving until the year 2007 when Obansajo regime down-sized the number of staff. The exercise witnessed disengagement of experienced instructors who were teaching inmates most of the programmes on the ground that they lacked relevant certificate. Although, most inmates' instructors were experienced in the job as they acquired their skills through apprenticeship. Up to date, no replacement of the officers has been made.

With regard to agricultural programmes, the researcher noted that Kirikiri Maximum Prison neither had a farm nor garden. In Kuje prisons there was no prison farm for the inmates within the premises. However, the superintendent of the prison maintained that there was a prison farm attached to his command in the interior part of Kuje Area Council. The researcher observed small vegetable gardens kept by some inmates of the prison within the prison yard. In Kakuri open prison, farming is given priority by the Act that established the prison camp. According to the second-in-command officer of the prison,

> Going by the decree that established the open prison, farming as a rehabilitation programme is to be given a priority. The essence is to make good farmers of the inmates so that on discharge they will be self-reliant and also contribute to the societal well-being.

Similarly an inmate leader maintained thus:

> The main thing we are doing here is farming. There are inmate farms and government farms. We, inmates, grow vegetables in our farm from which we get money to help ourselves.

The researcher noted that there were two types of farm in Kakuri open prison, namely government farm and inmate farms. Government farm occupied a very extensive land within the prison premises. Normally, beans and groundnuts were planted in the farm; crops that might obscure views were not planted. Interview with programme officer revealed that "*all the inmates were required to work in the government farm at the time and days meant for it. Proceeds from the farm were meant for government treasury".* Concerning the management of inmates' farm, the officer-in-charge maintained thus:

> Each inmate is given a piece of land to farm; the number of hectares or size of the farm given to an inmate is dependent upon the number of interested inmates. Normally inmates grow vegetables in their farms which they water and harvest from time to time. The proceeds from inmate farms witnessed the establishment of vegetable market within the prison premises which attracts many buyers on daily basis from different parts of Kaduna metropolis.

The interview with staff also revealed that the money each inmate realized from sales of farm produce was meant for their upkeep and resettlement when discharged. According to the progamme officer;

> Inmates realize money from the produce of their farms. We help them to save part of it. When they are discharged, their savings and whatever assistance from authority will be given to them to re-settle in society.

In Kakuri Open Prison, the researcher observed one of the farming activities of inmates thus:

> The day was Friday. As early as 8.00am, inmates were opened out and they went to their farms to harvest their vegetables. By the next thirty minutes, they were in the vegetable market within the prison premises with their produce. Villagers, both men and women, were seen trooping into the premises and within a space of time the vegetable market was full to the brim. Inmates were watched as they bargained and sold their farm produce, mainly vegetables, to their customers. Within an hour the buying and selling were over.

Also, the researcher noted that there were piggery, poultry and fish pond in Kakuri prison but they were not functioning adequately. Inspection of the facilities by the researcher revealed that the piggery had three pigs and four piglets. No inmate was attached to the unit. The poultry had five chickens which the attendant said was for staff; only one inmate was attached to it to provide water for the birds. The fish pond was abandoned and had dried up.

Despite variations in emphasis and implementation of rehabilitation programmes in the prisons studied, the prison industry had suffered a serious setback especially in Kakuri Open Prison and were functioning below expectation due to lack of materials, machine, tools and personnel.

Table 4.8.2: Staff Responses on whether Rehabilitation Programmes are Adequate for Inmates

Rehabilitation programs are adequate for inmates								
	Yes No	%	**No** No	%	**Uncertain** No %		**Total** No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	17	35.4	29	60.4	2	4.2	**48**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	2	5.3	35	92.1	1	2.6	**38**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	30	62.5	17	35.4	1	2.1	**48**	**100**
Category total	**49**	**36.6**	**81**	**60.4**	**4**	**2.9**	**134**	**100**

Rehabilitation programmes are inadequate for inmates as indicated by most staff (60%) with the highest (92%) in Kakuri open prison. Interview with staff reviewed that the numbers of rehabilitation programmes are not enough and are not functioning effectively to meet the needs of inmates. This view was captured by an administrative staff in Kakuri open prison as follows:

> Some rehabilitation programmes such as craft and metal works are not available, agriculture is limited to farming leaving out poultry and fishery that are good sources of income and are not back breaking like farming. Even the available ones, the modern tools needed by inmates are not there to train and even materials needed for training are hard to come by. This is worrisome because most times the inmates are idle. What is needed is for the prison administration to improve upon the existing programs by providing adequate fund, equipment and instructors. By so doing, more inmates will participate and their level of training will not be limited to the basic stages in producing the various items being produced presently in the prison.

Similarly, inmates interviewed concurred with the views of staff that rehabilitation programmes were inadequate. According toan inmate in Kuje prison, "*Inmates are interested but due to the few sewing and designing machines, before it gets to one's turn, one has forgotten what was learnt earlier*". An inmate in Kirikiri maximum prison, apart from indicating that programmes

are not adequate, went further to identify the various programmes needed. This is what he had to say;

> The existing programmes are not adequate and it will be difficult for most inmates to sustain themselves outside. We need more computer trainings and other rehabilitation programmes that will help develop our talents. If they can add make-up, catering, event decoration, how to install and repair decoders it will go a long way in rehabilitating inmates instead of concentrating on carpentry, shoemaking and tailoring.

The researcher went further to inquire from the staff the most effective rehabilitation programme and their responses are as provided in Table 4.8.3 below:

Table 4.8.3: Distribution of Staff Responses on the Most Effective Rehabilitation Programme

Most effective Rehabilitation programme for inmates										
	Prison industry		**Agricultural**		**Vocational education**		**Others**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	15	31.3	8	16.7	23	47.9	2	4.2	**48**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	11	28.9	4	10.5	21	55.3	2	5.2	**38**	**100**
KirikiriMax. Prison	16	33.3	6	12.5	25	52.1	1	2.1	**48**	**100**
Category total	**42**	**31.3**	**18**	**13.4**	**69**	**51.5**	**5**	**3.7**	**134**	**100**

Table 4.8.3 above reveals that most staff (52%) opined that educational and vocational rehabilitation programs are the most effective. Vocational education training is essential instrument for social and attitudinal change among inmates in the prisons. For Ayinde and Opeyemi (2011) the training provides skills for inmates to become more useful to themselves on discharge and afford them the opportunity to rediscovering their self-respect and dignity. Similarly, interview with staff is in agreement with survey data as a staff revealed thus:

> The education improves their labour force participation while vocational training enables them to be self-employed. The combination of these two training if adequately put in place will help keep inmates from returning to prison and improves their job prospect

The researcher sought to find out whether inmates had gained from the rehabilitation programmes and the responses obtained from them are shown in Table 4.8.4 below.

Table 4.8.4: Distribution of Inmates Responses on whether they Acquired Skills from Rehabilitation Programmes

Have you acquired skills from rehabilitation programmes						
Prison	**Yes**		**No**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	26	52	24	48	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	5	17.9	23	82.1	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	57	78.1	16	21.9	**73**	**100**
Category total	**88**	**58.3**	**63**	**41.8**	**151**	**100**

Table 4.8.4 shows that many inmates have acquired skills but a reasonable number of them have not. Inmates constituting 58% indicated that they have acquired some skills but 42% differed. The highest numbers of inmates that have acquired skill are in Kirikiri maximum prison (78%) while among those that have not acquired any skill, inmates in Kakuri open prison are the highest (82%).

Further investigation by the researcher revealed that participation in rehabilitation programme is not compulsory as an inmate in Kuje medium prison indicated that "*there is school for WAEC/GCE; workshops for tailoring, carpentry, soap-making, laundry-services and shoe-making. Inmates are requested to register with the programmes of their choice; though it is not compulsory*". Since participation in rehabilitation programmes is not compulsory for inmates, this could have contributed to the low enrollment of inmates in rehabilitation programmes.

Aside farming, inmates in Kakuri open prison have not acquired any skill as revealed from interview with inmates. Among those that have acquired farming skill, an inmate in Kakuri open prison had this to say: "*I believe that here is a special prison for training. Since I came here I am able to be a good farmer; my farm is one of the best".* Apart from farming, inmates have not

acquired other skills. An inmate attached to the tailoring unit in Kakuri open prison, maintained thus:

> I am in the tailoring unit because I have knowledge of sewing before coming to the prison. Sincerely I am not learning anything new here. I only amend torn clothes from fellow inmates and staff and receive anything they can offer me.

However, account from inmates in the other prisons showed that they have acquired different skills. An inmate in Kirikiri maximum prison in the shoe making unit, opined thus: "*I have learnt how to make foot wears very well; what I need, if discharged, is monetary support to be on my own"*. Similarly, an inmate in Kirikiri maximum prison had this to say:

> I entered the prison as a secondary drop-out. Then I could hardly understand anything in English language. Here I registered in SSCE/GCE program. Last year I wrote GCE and was able to credit six subjects, including Math and English. I have also acquired some skills in computer. I hope to further my education if discharged in about six months' time. I have learnt a lot from the prison.

.
In Kuje medium prison, an inmate maintained thus; "*I have learnt how to make both bathing and washing soap. If given the necessary materials I can make it through the production of soap when discharged".* Likewise, an inmate in Kuje prison participating in carpentry unit had this to say:

> I have been able to master the work well. My interest is in cabinet making. I can make cabinet chairs and beds well. All the same, what they give us after suffering to produce good and quality works is very small. My only hope is that with this I will make it outside.

The type of skill acquired by inmates that have participated in rehabilitation program is presented below on Table 4.8.5.

Table 4.8.5: Distribution of Responses on Types of Skill Acquired from Rehabilitation Programme

Type of skill acquired from rehabilitation programme								
	Vocational		**Educational**		**Farming**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	19	73.1	5	19.2	2	7.7	**26**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	0	0	0	0	5	100	**5**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	49	85.9	8	14.0	0	0	**57**	**100**
Category total	**68**	**77.3**	**13**	**14.8**	**7**	**7.9**	**88**	**100**

The finding on Table 4.8.5 on the type of skill acquired by inmates reflects the major forms of rehabilitation programme available in the prison. Majority of inmates (77%) acquired vocational skills while very few (8%) acquired farming skills. Inmates that acquired vocational skills are highest (86%) in Kirikiri maximum prison while all inmates that acquired farming skill were highest in Kakuri open prison.

Table 4.8.6: Distribution of Staff views on Inmates' Attitude Toward Rehabilitation Programmes

Name of Prison	**Inmates' attitude to rehabilitation programmes**								**Category total**	
	Very positive		Positive		Negative		Very negative			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	**No.**	**%**
Kuje Medium Prison	11	22.9	31	64.6	4	8.3	2	4.2	**48**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	6	15.8	16	19.0	10	26.3	6	15.8	**38**	**100**
Kirikiri Maxi. Prison	8	16.7	37	77.1	2	4.2	1	2.1	**48**	**100**
Category total	**25**	**18.7**	**84**	**62.7**	**16**	**11.9**	**9**	**6.7**	**134**	**100**

Table 4.8.6 reveals that most staff (63%) believed that inmates' attitude is positive while few (7%) indicated that inmates' response is very negative. Staff that believe that inmates' response is positive are the highest in Kirikiri maximum prison (77%) while the few that felt inmate attitude is very negative are highest in Kakuri open prison (16%). The negative view being dominant in Kakuri open prison is not surprising as the prison grossly lack rehabilitation

programmes except farming. This situation, according to a staff in tailoring unit, is not encouraging. This is what he had to say:

> I am only trying to manage the workshop so that it will not be dilapidated like others. We have only three sewing machines here; but only one is fairly okay. I have only two interested inmates; others have abandoned the programme due to lack of facilities for training.

However, staff and inmates in other prisons indicated that inmates were interested in rehabilitation programmes despite the challenges being encountered. Likewise, a staff in Kuje medium prison in charge of carpentry unit revealed thus:

> The inmates are very interested in the programme. Up to forty inmates registered under the programme. The problem is that we lack space and essential tools. The available tools are outdated but we are managing them to teach them.

Similar view was shared bya staff in Kirikiri maximum prison as follows: "*the inmates are interested in learning the work; in fact many of them have mastered the work. Our major problem is insufficient designing and sewing machines"*. Likewise, one inmate interviewed in Kirikiri prison shared similar view as follows:

> Some inmates are interested and others are not. The problem is that machines and tools available for the programmes are very few in number. They cannot even serve those that are interested. Some of the machines and tools are old and out-dated.

Reformation programmes are measures calculated to effect moral improvement in a prisoner's character so that the prisoner will be less inclined to re-offend in the future. The cardinal reformation programmes in the prisons are **religion, counseling, discipline and literary education**. The researcher observed that in all the prisons, religious programme was thriving and is a major reformation programme. Prison inmates were allowed to practice religion of their choice; groups of inmates practicing the same religion were provided with representatives of their religious sects such as priests, pastors and imams, in addition to inmate religious

functionaries. Adoption of religion as a reformation programme is important in the prison because it reflects the attitudes and adjustment of inmates in reference to prisonization. They take up religious teachings because they are prisonised only to a mild degree and the adoption of religion, in turn, prevents further prisonization. The relevance of adopting religious education as a measure to reform inmates according to an officer in Kakuri open prison is that "*Many Inmates need total overhauling of their lifestyles and religion is one of the measures to achieve that. Many of them need it to revive their dead conscience".*

Interview with inmates revealed that religious education have impacted positively on some inmates while some are adamant. Among those that were positively impacted, an inmate in Kakuri open prison maintained thus:

> Frankly, my coming to the prison has been a blessing in disguise. Before, I hated preachers with passion; I did not want to see them not to talk of listening to them. Everything about God used to irritate me. But now I am a 'born again Christian' by the special grace of God. I thank God for making me a changed person.

On the contrary, an inmate in Kirikiri maximum prison, held the opinion that prison religion has no impact on him. His view is as follows:

> I am the same person as I was when I came here since three (3) years ago. I have never been a criminal; my being here is very unfortunate. I have been practicing my faith since childhood and I do not need any person to educate me on that.

In terms of discipline, there were laid down rules guiding the behavior of all inmates. These rules were embodied in the inmate constitution and it was the responsibility of each ward president to see that inmates in his ward abide by the rules. Those found guilty of contravening ward rules were made to face the stipulated punishments. However, serious offences were handled by the prison authority. According to a chief warder in Kuje medium prison,

> The essence of prison discipline is to correct the ills of inmates. The rules guiding the conducts of inmates are displayed in all the wards and the leaders ensure that inmates

observe them. Solitary confinement as a disciplinary measure is only applied in serious violation of rules.

Guidance and counseling was also another instrument of inmate reformation in the prison. There were professional counselors (staff) whose duty is to counsel the inmates, individually and in groups, from time to time. Also, representatives of religious groups of inmates provided the service to the inmates. In the in-depth interview, a staff in Kakuri open prison maintained thus:

> Inmates are provided with guidance and counseling services as a means of reviving them. Many of them got into what they are now due to bad associations or factors beyond their control. So they need guidance and counseling.

Confirming this, an inmate leader interviewed concurred with the staff thus:

> There is a counseling office where inmates consult staff counselors for personal problems. Some of the staff providing the service have been transferred. Presently, representatives of the various religious groups such as priests, pastors and Islamic scholars provide the service to their inmate members.

The researcher sought to find out from staff whether inmates were benefiting from the reformation programmes and their responses are shown in Table 4.8.7 below

Table 4.8.7: Staff Responses on whether Inmates are Benefiting well from the Reformation Programmes

Inmates are benefiting well from reformation programmes								
	Yes		**No**		**Uncertain**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	29	60.4	13	27.1	6	12.5	**48**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	12	31.6	19	50.0	7	18.4	**38**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	36	75.0	9	18.8	3	6.2	**48**	**100**
Category total	**77**	**57.5**	**41**	**30.6**	**16**	**11.9**	**134**	**100**

Table 4.8.7 shows that most staff (58%) opined that inmates are benefiting well from the reformation programmes and this view was the highest (75%) in Kirikiri maximum prison. Nonetheless, about 31% of staff disagreed that inmates are benefiting from the programmes, this view was highest (50%) in Kakuri open prison. Similarly, interview with inmates that participate

in reformation programmes in Kuje and Kirikiri prisons indicated that they are benefiting from the reformation programmes. An inmate in Kirikiri maximum prison maintained thus:

> Before I came to the prison, I had no formal education at all. Here I am undergoing adult education and very soon I will be through with it. I can read and write now. I am determined to go further if given the opportunity.

Similarly, another inmate in the prison indicated that he has benefited from the reformation programme. This is what he had to say:

> I was a secondary school dropout. Presently, I have passed my GCE Examination and enrolled in the Open University Programme in pursuit of legal studies. With such empowerment I hope to contribute positively to the society.

In Kuje Medium Prison, an inmate interviewed had this to say: "*Before my imprisonment I used to smoke weeds much. Here preaching and pieces of advice I receive from our spiritual directors have changed me".*

Re-integration programme is aimed at re-uniting discharged inmates with their immediate families, communities and society at large. It is all about re-settling discharged inmates in the conventional society which rejected them due to their undesirable behaviour. One of the major expectations from prison is to see that after treatment/ training of inmates, they should be resettled in the society. Resettlement of inmates is the duty of the welfare department. The major functions of the welfare department as gathered from the prisons included the following:

1. To ensure that inmates are rehabilitated and resettled in society;
2. To ensure that discharged inmates are assisted (with money, machines, or tools) to earn a living in society
3. To reconcile discharged inmates with their families and communities; and
4. To maintain regular contacts with discharged inmates to encourage them to earn honest living.

The researcher's interview with both inmates and welfare personnel in the prisons revealed that the welfare unit has not been able to assist discharged inmates to resettle in the society due to lack of fund. A welfare officer in Kirikiri Maximum Prison captured the general views of staff as follows:

> We owe discharged inmates many obligations but we are frustrated by lack of funds. Many a time discharged inmates hang around the gate because they do not have transport fare. They beg money from people to enable them travel home. Sometimes we help them through aids from non-governmental organizations. If the unit were not in the financial position to help inmates get home on discharge, how then can it carry out the task of visiting them from time to time to ensure that they are doing well?

Similarly, an inmate in Kuje medium prison said that "*we do not see any help they are rendering to discharged convicts. Some are even stranded when discharged. To go home is problem because of transport fare"*. However, in Kakuri open prison, the inmates were better off due to the farming rehabilitation programme. According to an officer of the prison, "*Every inmate is expected to save from the proceeds of his farm. When discharged, an inmate is given his savings to go home; that is all"*.

In view of the above findings as regards reintegration of discharged inmates into the mainstream society, it could be maintained that the prisons are found wanting in discharging their avowed responsibility. However, their problem emanates from the negligence and inability of the government to fund prisons adequately. Prison system plays an important security function and therefore no society can afford to overlook it. The role of the after-care-service unit of prison must be well appreciated and facilitated.

The researcher equally sought to find out perception of inmates as regards their post release employment and their responses are shown in Table 4.8.8 below.

Table 4.8.8: Distribution of Inmates' Indication of their Post Release Employment Chances

Inmates views on their post release employment								
Prison	**Very remote**		**Somewhat remote**		**Not at all**		**Total**	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Kuje Medium Prison	28	56	16	32	6	12	**50**	**100**
Kakuri Open Prison	19	67.9	6	21.4	3	10.7	**28**	**100**
Kirikiri Max. Prison	44	60.3	19	26.0	10	12.7	**73**	**100**
Category total	**91**	**60.3**	**41**	**27.2**	**19**	**12.6**	**151**	**100**

Most inmates (60%) were of the view that their prospect for post release employment is very remote. This view was the highest (68%) amongst inmates in kakuri open prison. Nonetheless, very few (13%) felt no challenge concerning their post release employment with the highest (13%) in Kirikiri maximum prison. Views of majority of inmates from the interview are in line with the survey data. Among those that feel their employment prospect after release is remote was an inmate in Kakuri Open Prison who said:

> I am very much worried about what to do when released from here.
>
> Nigeria suffers from a huge unemployment problem. Thousands of better people are without jobs. Who will dream of employing or patronizing ex-convicts?

Another inmate in Kuje Prison had this to say:

> My problem, I think, is when I get out, you know, I would have done everything that's been required of me, you know? I would have served my time for the crimes that I committed at the time and I'm going to be hoping for a fresh start. But if I had a company, I don't think I would employ somebody like me, and I think that hundreds of other people would do the same. I think that's what the problem is, when you actually come out of prison — what are you going to do? How are you going to get employment? And then after, say, after a few months of trying to get work all the time you're going to probably start to slip back into the old mentality

Among the few that maintained that their post release employment was not remote, an inmate in Kuje Medium Prison had this to say: "*Before my imprisonment I was doing nothing. Here I am trained as a shoe maker. I believe that if given the necessary tools I will be able to make it out there".*

The researcher also inquired from the inmate respondents the fears they were entertaining if released from the prison. Many of the inmates interviewed maintained that it would not be easy for them to resettle in society, especially long-term inmates. Some claimed that if discharged from the prison that they did not have any place to go as their homes. An inmate in Kakuri Open Prison maintained thus:

> Before I came here ten years ago, I lived with my old father in our mud house in my village. A year after my imprisonment I receive the sad news of my father's death. By now what I used to know as my house might have been over-grown by weeds. So, where do I go from here if discharged?

Some inmates expressed concern about discriminating attitude of the public. This view was captured by an inmate in Kirikiri Maximum Prison as thus:

> Frankly, it will not be an easy task for one to re-settle in one's community after spending years in jail. One has lost all contacts and will find it very hard to make new ones as a result of the ugly tag associated with imprisonment. No one will like to associate with ex-convict. The hostile attitude of members of public towards inmates and rejection by family, relations and friends is a challenge for ex-convict.

From the findings above, it could be seen that majority of inmates were afraid of unemployment on their release from prison. Their fear is not that they are not capable of handling jobs but majorly due to the tag "ex-convict" and the consequent discriminatory public attitude.

4.9 Testing of Hypotheses

Table 4.9.1: Chi-Square Test of the Treatment Approach in Handling of Inmates Adopted by Categories of Uniformed Staff (objective 1)

Categories of uniformed staff	Handling approach most valued by uniformed staff						Category total
	Maintain custody of inmates		Mete out commensurate punishment to inmates		Ensure that inmates are trained and rehabilitated		
	Oi	Ei	Oi	Ei	Oi	Ei	
Junior staff	10	7.8	8	6.5	17	20.7	35
Intermediate staff	12	13.4	10	11.2	38	35.4	60
Senior staff	8	8.7	7	7.3	24	23	39
Category total	30		25		79		134

Calculated value = 2.2055; Tabulated value (χ^2) = 9.488; df = 4; α = 0.05%

Decision: Since calculated value is less than critical value the null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore, the conclusion is that all categories of staff do not apply the same treatment approach in handling inmates under their custody.

Table 4.9.2: Chi-Square Test of the Relationship between Staff and Inmates' Indications of the Major Goals of Imprisonment (objective 2)

Name of Prison	Staff indication of major Goal of imprisonment		Category total	Inmates' Indication of major goal of imprisonment		Category total
	Punish inmates for their offences Oi Ei	Train and rehabilitate inmates Oi. Ei		Punish inmates for their offences Oi Ei	Train and rehabilitate inmates Oi Ei	
Kuje Medium Prison	8 8.2	40 39.8	48	37 37.4	13 12.6	50
Kakuri Open Prison	4 6.5	34 31.5	38	18 20.9	10 7.1	28
Kirikiri Max. Prison	11 8.2	37 39.8	48	58 54.6	15 18.4	73
Category total	23	111	134	113 74.8	38	151

Calculated value = 4.7621; Tabulated value (χ^2) = 12.592; df = 6; α = 0.05%

Decision: Since calculated value is less than critical value, the null hypothesis is accepted. Therefore the conclusion is that staff and inmates do not share the same perception of the major goal of imprisonment

Table 4.9.3: Chi-Square Test of the relationship between Inmates' Perception of the Major Prison Goal and their Attitude towards the Rehabilitation Programmes (objective 5)

Name of Prison	Inmates' perception of the major prison goal		Inmates' response to acquisition of skills		Total
	Punish inmates for their offences Oi Ei	Train and rehabilitate inmates Oi Ei	Yes, I have Oi Ei	No, I have not Oi Ei	
Kuje Medium Prison	37 37.42	26 29.14	13 12.58	24 20.86	100
Kakuri Open Prison	18 20.95	5 16.32	10 7.05	23 11.68	56
Kirikiri Max. Prison	58 54.63	57 42.54	15 18.37	16 30.46	146
Category total	113	88	38	63	302

Calculated value (χ^2) = 27.3497; Tabulated value (χ^2) = 12.592; df = 6; α = 0.05%

Decision: Since calculated value is greater than tabulated value at 6 degree of freedom and 0.05% level of significance, the null (H0) hypothesis is rejected hence the conclusion drawn is that inmates' perception of the main prison goal determines their attitude towards the rehabilitation programmes.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In the study, the data on the socio-demographic profiles of inmates revealed that inmates within the age bracket of 18-35years ranked the highest in number and those that clocked up 54years or older were the least in number. Further examination revealed that inmates that had been convicted for 'twice and more before' were the highest in number within the age bracket of 18-35years. This finding corroborates Farrington (1986) and Loeber and Leblanc (1990) who provided a useful review of the role of age and developmental stages in a criminal career. It is also in line with Sykes and Matza's (1957) explanation of a phenomenon known as 'aging-out process' or 'maturing out of crime' in which people drift out of criminal behaviour as they grow older and embrace conventional patterns of behaviour.

At youthful age, individuals justify and neutralize guilt which enables them to feel good about themselves but at older age they forgo crimes and subterranean behaviour and drift back to conventional patterns of behaviour. Moreover, the stark realities of life in Nigeria leave many youth with little or no option but to take to crime in order to survive. Nigeria's economy is dwindling and unemployment, especially among the youth, has reached its peak. In a growing population, the youth constitute the largest sector of the population and without adequate planning for their employment and welfare, especially after graduating out of school, rate of crime will be on the increase..

Furthermore, the data on inmates' profiles revealed that majority of inmates came from poor socio-economic background as that was evident in their little or no formal educational attainment in view of their fathers' occupations, type of residence and the lowest echelon of pre-incarceration occupational employment. This finding corroborates the Alliance for Education

(2013) which maintained that there is a link between poor family background, lower level of education and high rates of arrest and incarceration.

The World Bank (1996) reported that about 71% of Nigerian households are poor with half of this classified as 'core poor'. The poor are always at the receiving end of the cost of social change which often leads many to lives of crime in order to survive. In Nigeria, under the policy of Urban Renewal Project, the poor who have 'illegal structures' in cities and urban areas in forms of houses and shops are mostly affected. The demolition of Umoroko settlement in Lagos is a case in point. The same is obtainable in other states in the federation. The situation explains the reason why the prisons are mostly inhabited by the wretched, the uneducated, the destitute, the trodden and the powerless as the socio- economic background, education and occupations of the inmates testified.

The data on the socio-demographic profiles of the uniformed staff revealed that males outnumbered females and that majority of the uniformed staff members had acquired university degrees/equivalents in relevant disciplines. With reference to handling of inmates, the data analysis revealed that majority of the uniformed staff members were humane and rehabilitation-oriented in the manner they handled inmates. However, the chi-square test of the techniques adopted by categories of staff in handling inmates shows that there a significant difference in the ways categories of staff handle inmates. While majority of senior staff members indicated rehabilitation approach, some intermediate staff and junior staff members preferred custodial punitive measures. This finding is in line with Gatotoh et al (2011) which maintained that officers with higher education were more likely to have positive attitude towards rehabilitation and treatment programmes. The finding is also consistent with Gulleng (2011) which indicated

that the highest number of junior staff and majority of intermediate staff showed their support for the effectiveness of punishment in correcting offenders.

The corollary of the finding is that since the junior uniformed staff members are the ones that carried out instructions and are in more frequent contact with the inmates than senior officers, the rehabilitation objectives are unlikely to be met. Moreover, conceptual acceptance is different from the practical reality. The Nigerian Prisons Service (NPS) pays lip service to rehabilitation objective and does everything possible to ensure that custodial principles are carried out to the latters. The introduction of the uniformed staff armed squad in the prisons buttresses the point. This is the reason Okunola, et al (2002) maintained that in order to pursue the primary objective, in a typical Nigerian prison efforts are geared towards preventing escape and checking external influence, hence most strategies are directed toward custody.

Staff and inmates perceptions of the goals of imprisonment are explored as the second objective of the study. The findings of the study revealed that staff and inmates' views on imprisonment goal are in opposition. Majority of staff believed that the goal of imprisonment is to train and rehabilitate inmates instead of punishment. This finding is contrary to previous studies such as Adetola's (1991) study of Ado-Ekiti prison which found that out of 109 staff respondents, 102 identified custodial goal of imprisonment. Njideka's (2000) study of Gusau Medium Prison revealed that out of 98 staff respondents, 86 maintained that imprisonment goal is to ensure that inmates do not escape.The reason for this incongruity is not far-fetched. In the recent time, serious unemployment in Nigeria has pushed graduates of universities and other tertiary institutions to many fields of work they were rejecting before, including the Nigeria Prisons Service (NPS). This has boosted the calibre of prison staff with high qualified personnel that

really understand and appreciate the essence of humane treatment in rehabilitation of inmates. Hence, their orientation and attitude towards inmates and prison work generally differ considerably from those of earlier warders with little or no sound education.

On the part of inmates, this study found that overwhelming majority of inmates perceived the goal of imprisonment to be punishment rather than rehabilitation. This finding is in line with Eze and Okafor's (2007) view that most inmates consider prison as a place for punishment than rehabilitation. It is a terrible punishment to remove one from one's natural environment and confine one in a place where movement is highly restricted for months or years. Therefore irrespective of the treatment approach adopted by the uniformed staff in handling inmates, they must perceive the goal of their imprisonment as punishment; more so when many of them claimed that they did not perpetrate in the crimes they were jailed for.

The third objective of the study examined the treatment of prisoners in view of the United Nations standard minimum rules. With regard to the UN SMR 8 on separations of categories, the study revealed that the prisons performed well in the area of separation of convicts and awaiting trial inmates only.The least area practiced by the prisons, in view of the study, is separation of young and adult offenders. Also, the prisons failed to separate inmates by nature of offence and frequency of crime convictions. This finding corroborates the findings of previous studies such as Obioha (1995), Abiodun (1998) and Nwezeh (2010) that found that classifications of inmates in Nigerian prisons do not take into consideration ages, criminal records and terms of prison being served by inmates.

The implication of improper classification of inmates is cross-fertilization of minor and first time offenders by the hardened criminals. This explains the reason why convicts are said to be more

hardened on release than when they went in and also accounts for high rate of recidivism as observed by Labo (2004) and Anujuru (2011) that nearly fifty percent of prison inmates in Nigeria are recidivists.

The study shows that in all the prisons majority of inmates were always in mufti instead of the normal prison uniform. The finding concurs with Obioha (1995), Amnesty International (2008), Winslow (2001) and Ugwuonye (2011) who maintained that Nigerian prisoners were not given uniform. This result is contrary to the requirement of the UN Standard Minimum Rule 17. However, unlike what some authors such as Tanimu (2010, Olanrewaju, Waheed and Olabulo (2011) and Amnesty International (2008) claimed, inmates were neither naked nor half-naked; rather they appear in their personal cloths.

In the same manner it has been discovered that the prisons failed to comply with the UN standard minimum rule of providing inmates with food of nutritional value adequate for health and strength, though inmates have three meals daily. This finding is in line with Amnesty International (2008) report on Nigeria prison, Osaze (1996), Winslow (2001) and Obioha (2011). Nonetheless, the prisons to a large extent complied with the requirement of providing water for inmates. The finding reveals that in the prisons, inmates are regularly supplied with water for drinking, bathing and other personal hygiene. This contradicts the report of Amnesty International (2008) which maintained that in many Nigerian prisons toilets are blocked and overflowing or simply nonexistent and there is no running water.

In terms of health care delivery, the prisons studied had clinics/sick bays. They had resident medical doctors (except in Kakuri open prison where the doctor was on call), qualified nurses and other health workers. However, with regard to health care delivery of inmates especially

pharmaceutical supplies, all the prisons studied fell short of what is expected based on the UN minimum standard treatment of inmates. More often than not, sick inmates were given prescriptions to go and buy the drugs. This finding is in line with Osaze (1996), Nwezeh (2010), Tanimu (2010) and Obioha (2011), findings that prison clinics were starved of drugs and other essential medicaments. With regard to frequently used means of inmate punishment, the study found that the practice of solitary confinement is common and this is contrary to the UN minimum standard treatment with regard to discipline of inmates. With regard to contact with the outside world, the prisons studied complied with the UN minimum standard treatment rule 37 as inmates were allowed to receive visitors.

Concerning accommodation and sanitation, Kirikiri maximum and Kuje medium prisons have good structures and maintained a fairly clean environment with exception of Kakuri open prison that has unkempt dilapidated buildings. The prisons are not congested as frequently claimed by some reports such as Amnesty international report (2008) and Orakwe (2011) which maintained that the prison buildings, in their decay, now house over three times the number of prisoners the colonial administrators would have accommodated in them. Ajayi (2012) maintained that records showed that Kirikiri Maximum Prison was overcrowded by 250%; the prison which was built for 956 inmates was then occupied by over 2,600 inmates, he claimed. However, the study revealed that there is provision of more accommodations for inmates. For instance, Kuje Medium Prison, Abuja was initially established to hold 160 inmates (80 double – bunk – bed spaces). At the time of the study, the holding capacity of the prison was 560 inmates due to provision of more accommodation for inmates. In Kirikiri Maximum Prison, there are new hostel blocks built for inmates awaiting trial. Without proper investigation one would run into erroneous conclusion of gross congestion of the prisons based on the initial holding capacities.

The study shows that in the prisons awaiting trial inmates' population is far greater than the convicts except in Kakuri Open Prison where awaiting trial inmates are not applicable. The finding corroborates the report of Amnesty International (2008) that Nigerian prisons are filled with people whose human rights are often violated and that approximately 66% of the inmates are awaiting trial detainees most of whom have been waiting for trial for years in vain. Okweezy (2011) and Orakwe (2011) maintained that awaiting trial inmates constitute up to two-thirds of the prison population and many of them have stayed up to one to five years. The National Working Group on Prison Reform and Decongestion (NWGPRD) (2005) maintained that out of about 45,000 prison inmates, 65% of them comprised awaiting trial. This fact is also corroborated by the past Comptroller-General of Nigerian Prisons Service, Mr. Olusola Ogundipe, who testified during public hearing on the proposed prison amendment bill before the Senate Committee on Interior that pre-trial detainees constitute about 80% of the prison population; most of them are held for minor offences for which bail is available, he affirmed.

The fourth objective of the study explored the nature of inmate sub-culture in the prisons. The findings of the study revealed that inmate subculture exists in the prisons in form of Inmate Government. The study further revealed that the subculture was not operating underground or secretly as documented by Clemmer (1958), Sykes (1971), Sykes and Messiner (1960) but was recognized and manipulated by the prison authority to its own advantage. This finding corroborates Okunola, et al (2002) who maintained that inmate subculture in prison is not always anti-social and anti-administration; that there is a hierarchy of inmate officials who command the respects of other inmates and more often than not are recognized and utilized by the prison authority.

Furthermore, the study shows that inmate government plays supportive functions in prison administration aimed at ensuring law and order within the prison, inmates' compliance with the orders of the superintendent, inmates' respect and obedient to constituted authorities, and that erred inmates are brought to justice. The finding of the study is in line with Okunola, et al (2002) observation as they noted the same cooperation of the inmate subculture and the prison authority. They maintained that though the administration of the informal organization had no locus standing in the prisons studied, it acquired some recognition to the extent that it acted as the link between inmates and staff. According to them, the officials of the subculture had been found to be on the fringes such that at one time they acted as officials even to other inmates and at another time as spokesmen for the inmates.

In terms of inmate code, the rules, regulations, norms and values that governed the conducts of the inmates were enacted and operated as 'Inmate Constitution' which was very much influenced by the authority. Certain maxims which were said to be characteristics of inmate subculture in traditional custodial – oriented prison (Sykes, 1960, Sykes and Messinger, 1971) were examined and found not to be practiced by inmates in the prisons studied. For instance, majority of inmates maintained that prison officials are not always wrong and inmates are right; that they would prefer to obey a warder's order to inmate leader's order and the like. All these imply that inmate solidarity in the prisons was not against the prison authority but pro-prison administration as the prison authority involved the inmate government in its administration. The prison authority ruled the inmate government while the inmate government ruled the inmates.

The fifth objective of the study examined inmates' attitude towards rehabilitation and reformation programmes. The study found that participating inmates have positive attitude

towards rehabilitation and reformation programs. Vocational and educational programmes were in operation in Kuje medium prison and Kirikiri maximum prison. However, Kakuri open prison lagged behind in other programmes instead farming was practiced. Moreover, existing rehabilitation programmes in all the prisons were inadequate and operated below expectations due to non-availability of fund, inadequate instructors and equipment. The above finding supports the results of Ayuk, Owan and Ekok (2013) in Afokang Prison, Calabar and Asokhia and Agbonluae (2013) in Edo prisons. This finding also corroborates Uma (2004) who maintained that lack of funding appeared to be the main reason for lack of materials and failure to replace worn-out equipment and machines used for reformation and rehabilitation. Lack of qualified personnel to operate these machines and engage the prisoners in meaningful course of training has been identified as a major factor and at the end, prisoners are discharged without being reformed and rehabilitated.

Finally, the study reveals that the welfare unit or after-care service in the prisons is financially starved and as such could not carry out it avowed responsibilities which, among other things, include ensuring that discharged inmates arrived at their destinations safely; that they are properly re-united with their immediate families and communities; that they are assisted to secure genuine means of livelihood; and they are visited from time to time to encourage them to live honest lives. The result is that discharged inmates are not properly integrated into the mainstream society and therefore are exposed to ugly conditions that will push them back to the lives of crime. This finding corroborates Osaze (1996) who maintained that high recidivism in the system indicates that inmates are not prepared to come back to society as law-abiding citizens. This is because major issues about their resettlement is poorly coordinated and has failed to address social exclusion issues such as housing and addiction problems that could lead

them back into crime. Ugwuoke (2010) maintained that punishments of inmates continue after they are discharged from prison due to public attitude towards them; that the stigma "ex-convicts" is the greatest obstacle to their re-integration and that the state law so emphasized the stigma to the extent that they are prohibited from employment to certain positions and occupations of public offices.

Deprivation theory which is adopted as the theoretical framework of the study maintains that inmates suffer numerous deprivations which are collectively tagged "pains of imprisonment" (Sykes, 1958). The fundamental losses or deprivations they face in prison include deprivation of heterosexual relationships, autonomy, personal liberty, security and goods and services. It is the need to survive under the deprived condition that necessitated the formation of the inmate subculture. The study has shown that prior to incarceration, inmates were mostly deprived and relegated members of society. The synopsis of inmate socio-demographic profile reveals that before incarceration that majority of inmates have low educational attainment, either unemployed or self-employed (or apprentice) in the lowest occupational ladder. Therefore it is noted that a typical Nigerian convict is a member of the lower-socio-economic class.

In prison, the deprivation phenomenon continues unabated. Apart from depriving prisoners heterosexual relationship (since conjugal visit is not allowed), they are stripped of their personal worth and belongings and numbers and uniform assigned to them. The study shows that inmates are not properly classified. Apart from separating convicts and awaiting trial inmates, all convicts: young and adults, first offenders and habitual offenders, civil and criminal offenders are mixed up in wards thereby endangering individual prisoner's security.

It is equally established that though contacts with outside world are allowed through visits and correspondence, they are well restricted. The reason is that Nigeria runs a closed prison system in which a prisoner has little or nothing to do with the outside world. This prison culture encourages prisonization of inmates which makes it difficult for them to reintegrate into conventional society on discharge, having displaced societal norms and values with inmate world's code. All aspects of lives of inmates are regimented. There is time schedule for every activity of the inmates and how things must be done. The authority, through its rules and regulations, determines when inmates must eat, sleep wake up, work, play, talk and be silent. This deprivation of autonomy places inmates perpetually in docile situation incapable of applying personal discretion and taking decisions, even after their discharge from prison.

Deprivation of Inmates also extends to the basic necessities of life; they are poorly fed and clothed, coupled with inadequate medical care. In addition, they are deprived of important reformation and rehabilitation facilities thereby making their very existence in prison meaningless and worthless. In Kakuri open prison, inmates are only engaged in farming; vocational and industrial programmes are not provided. In Kuje and Kirikiri prisons where vocational and industrial programmes are in existence, tools, machine, personnel and materials needed for effective and efficient implementation are grossly inadequate. All these factors play major roles in militating against inmates' reformation and rehabilitation.

Apart from environmental conditions, deprivation theory equally emphasizes prison administration as another internal factor that affects inmates' behaviour and also incorporates the normative and exchange solution to the problem of order in prison (Sykes and Messinger, 1960). Administrative style differs from one prison facility to another and nature of inmate subculture in

each facility depends on the style adopted. In the prisons studied, the authorities recognize inmate subculture in form of inmate government and allow inmate leaders to exercise control over other inmates under staff control. This exchange solution to the problem of order gives the authority the leverage to win the support of leaders and hence manipulate them to pursue official goals.

At this juncture, the need for the second theoretical framework (Rehabilitation theory) calls to mind. The theory upholds that given the proper care and treatment, criminals can be changed into productive, law-abiding citizens. It is against the present despotic prison system where inmates suffer severe deprivations and punishments and at the same time are expected to be reformed and integrate themselves into society. Rather than depriving and alienating inmates, they should be treated with dignity and respect, be shown love and kindness. It is only on such conditions that they will be made to rediscover themselves and be prepared to live as law-abiding citizens.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 The Summary of Major Findings

The data on inmate profile showed that age distribution of inmates comprises a mixed population of both youthful and middle aged inmates. Data revealed that the level of educational attainment of inmates was very low as majority of the inmates (53.6%) had first school leaving certificate. Data revealed that Inmates' occupation prior to imprisonment depicted that they were in a relative disadvantaged socio-economic class and that significant number of inmates were unemployed. Majority of inmates were self- employed as commercial drivers, artisans, farmers and petty trader before incarceration. The high concentration of inmates in self- employment could be attributed to the low educational attainment of inmates. The staff profile showed that majority of them had acquired university degrees in various disciplines.

The study examined the treatment approach of uniformed staff in handling inmates in the prisons. The findings of the study revealed that most staff in the prisons were oriented towards humane treatment approach in handling inmates under their custody as they believed that criminals were helpless victims of circumstances and maladjusted persons that needed help.

The findings of the study revealed that staff and inmates' views on imprisonment goal were in opposition. Majority of the staff believed that the goal of imprisonment was to train and rehabilitate inmates instead of punishment. On the part of inmates, this study found that overwhelming majority of the inmates perceived the goal of imprisonment to be punishment rather than rehabilitation. That was not surprising as most inmates in this study claimed not to be at fault for the offence committed. In view of this, they believed that their imprisonment was unjust.

The study examined handling of inmate by the staff in line with the United Nations standard minimum rules. The result revealed that the prisons complied in the area of separating of convicts and inmates awaiting trial and erred in many other areas. Clinic/sickbays and medical personnel were provided but no drugs and other medicaments. Meals were served inmates thrice daily but of poor quality and quantity. Uniform was not adequately provided as most inmates appeared in personal clothes always. Beds and blankets were provided to inmates but no pillows and mattresses. Nonetheless, inmates were supplied with water for drinking and for personal hygiene any time they needed it.

With regard to contact with the outside world, the prisons studied complied with the UN minimum standard treatment rule 37 as inmates were allowed to receive visitors. However, the researcher noted the serious restriction on contact with the outside world which has a serious negative implication on reintegration of inmates into the mainstream society. It was only in Kakuri Open Prison were inmates, on request, permitted to go outside the prison premises unescorted but must be back on/before 6.00pm.

Concerning accommodation and sanitation, Kirikiri maximum and Kuje medium prisons had good structures and maintained a fairly clean environment. Kakuri open prison was unkempt with many dilapidated buildings. The prisons were not congested in terms of space as frequently claimed by some reports such as Amnesty International (2008) and Orakwe (2011); however they were seriously congested in terms of rehabilitation facilities as there were very few machines, tools, working materials and technical personnel to serve many interested inmates. The study revealed that there was provision of more accommodations for inmates which made

the initial holding capacities of the prisons to differ from the present and this invalidated the claims of overcrowding by many writers such as Winslow (2001) and Orakwe (2011).

The study explored the nature of inmate sub-culture in the prisons. The findings of the study revealed that inmate subculture existed in the prisons in form of Inmate Government. The study further revealed that the subculture was not operating underground or secretly but was recognized and manipulated by the prison authority to its own advantage.

Furthermore, the inmate government played supportive functions in prison administration aimed at ensuring law and order within the prison, inmates' compliance with the orders of the superintendent, inmates respected and obeyed constituted authorities, and erring inmates were brought to justice. The code that governed the conducts of the inmates was operated as 'Inmate Constitution' which was very much influenced by the authority. Certain maxims which were said to be characteristics of inmate subculture in traditional custodial – oriented prison (Sykes, 1960, Sykes and Messinger, 1971) were examined and found not to be practiced by inmates in the prisons.

In terms of rehabilitation and reformation of inmates, there were variations in the closed convict prisons (Kuje Medium Prison and KirikiriMaximum Prison) and open convict prison (Kakuri prison). In Kakuri Open Prison, emphasis was placed on farming alone. Other reformation and rehabilitation programmes such as education and industry were neglected. In Kuje Medium and Kirikiri Maximum Prison attention was focused on prison industry and educational programmes, though the facilities were not adequate. In all, the study revealed that participation of inmates in the programmes was not compulsory as a result many inmates were not participating. The demographic attributes of the inmates revealed that the unemployed and civil servants/forces

(before incarceration) were the inmates that mostly rejected reformation and rehabilitation programmes.

6.2 Conclusion

Convict prisons in Nigeria are still embroiled in the old-fashioned closed-system practice in which the inmates have little or no contacts with the outside world and are quarantined as outcasts. However, the study revealed that the calibre of uniformed staff in the prisons had improved due to their level of educational attainment. Majority of the uniformed staff members were found to possess university degrees/equivalents in relevant disciplines. As a result, they were humane-oriented in the manner they handle inmates which promoted good relationship between staff and inmates within the prison settings. Nonetheless, the prisons failed short of adhering to certain important SMRs of the United Nations for handling of inmates and this could be attributed to the inability of the government concerned to provide the much needed funds, facilities and technical instructors to actualize the dreams of the prison institution. Important areas which had to do with the well-being of the inmates were not given priority attention they required. Such areas include proper classification, feeding, clothing, medical care and recreational facilities. Prison protests and riots which had resulted from these factors in the past, especially poor feeding, cannot be underestimated and would have served as an eye-opener to all stakeholders.

Inmate subculture, the study revealed, existed in all the prisons studied as ‘inmate government’ with its code as ‘inmate constitution’. It is a structured entity with hierarchy of its leaders and other functionaries who were either elected by the inmate body or appointed by the prison authority, depending on the prison. The study revealed that the inmate government and its

leaders were given recognition, as well as responsibilities, by the prison authority and that helped to strengthen cordial relationships between the two parties-the management and the managed.

However, despite the modern emphasis on humane handling of inmates, prison inmates are still seriously deprived in many respects. They are still denied liberty, autonomy, heterosexual relationship, security and possession of goods and services. Though, imprisonment denotes deprivation of certain basic rights such as right to freedom of movement but certainly not right to life. Right to life entails right to be fed well, right to adequate medical care, right to be well clothed and right to a hygienic environment which inmates deprived. The old and traditional approach of open and lock which is only directed at ensuring safe custody does not reflect the professionalism required of staff and does not command the desired respect before the inmates. What should be paramount to prison is to ensure successful rehabilitation of inmates. It is high time the basic human rights of prisoners were restored, bearing in mind that prison is now a 'home for all' (Yongo, 2000) in the country; any person can be there any time.

6.3 Recommendations

With reference to the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made:

1. The study revealed that apart from separating convicts and awaiting trial inmates, the prisons erred in one way or the other in implementing other SMRs.The researcher recommends the establishment of Prison Monitoring Team by the Internal Affairs Ministry to monitor and supervise on regular basis inmates' classification and accommodation, food, clothing, sanitation, medical and recreational facilities. It is suggested that the team consists of members drawn from the Nigerian Medical

Association (NMA), National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), religious bodies and Nigerian Legal Aids Council.

2. The study showed that Kakuri Open Prison, the only one of its kind in the country which ought to be a model prison in line with the UNs' recommendation, is presently a shadow of its former self. Farming is the only meaningful rehabilitation programme available to inmates. The prison is highly neglected. The researcher recommends that the prison be revived in terms of infrastructure and rehabilitation of facilities. Besides, there is the need to establish more open convict prisons in the country. The abandoned programmes such as pottery and ceramics, crafts and decorative arts, carpentry and cabinet-making should be revitalized. Economically viable crafts and vocational programmes should be introduced as well. In this way the country could meet the UNs' recommendation for open prisons and make imprisonment rewarding.
3. In all the prisons studied, inadequate funding of prisons by the government has made prison administrators handicapped in managing prisons. Essential needs such as food, clothing and drugs were grossly inadequate and after care services are hampered. Regarding insufficient funding, although it is very difficult to increase the budget of prisons overnight as part of measure to make up for the insufficiency of the government budget, establishing a mechanism to generate profit inside correctional institutions is recommended. One possible way to build such a mechanism is activating the business of prison work inside correctional institutions.
4. The study revealed that many inmates when discharged from prisons are stranded because they have no money and no place to go. The welfare unit that supposed to assist them is starved of funds. The researcher recommends the establishment of half-way-

homes and reviving those established by NGOs in 1980s to accommodate such discharged inmates for a period not more than six months. During this period of time, they will be helped by the unit concerned to solve their problems of accommodation, re-union with immediate families and communities and means of livelihood.

5. The study showed that discharged inmates face various discriminations and stigmatization in outside world. In view of this, most of them have feelings of hopelessness and worthlessness concerning their release. In view of these problems, it is recommended that all stakeholders – governments at various levels, rehabilitation officers, allied government agencies and non-governmental organizations – should join forces in re-orientating members of public in their attitude towards discharged prisoners. This could include creating positive awareness programmes through radio, television, play, drama, jingles, flyers, hand-bills; conferences, workshops and public announcement; and government should review its anti-ex-convict legislations with the view of dropping those that are counterproductive to the rehabilitation and re-integration programmes.
6. The study showed that Nigeria still strictly operates the out-dated closed prison system in which prisoners are far removed from the outside world. The researcher recommends that open prisons should be introduced to give room to enough interaction between inmates and people in outside world whom they must surely meet on release.
7. The study testified that the prisons accommodate convicts, awaiting trial inmates, suspected lunatics and even persons in lieu of their wanted relations/friends. The number of awaiting trial inmates/persons held in lieu of their wanted relations/friends far outnumbers the convicts in each prison. Nigeria's constitutional provision maintains that

an accused person is regarded innocent until his case is proven beyond reasonable doubt. In view of this provision, awaiting trial inmates have no need for treatment of any nature until convicted. Having them in the same prison with convicts is not only dangerous to them but also inimical to reformation and rehabilitation of convicts. In view of the problem, it is recommended thatprisons are strictly meant for convicts and jails be established for inmates awaiting trial.

8. The study revealed that rehabilitation programmes exist in the prisons but suffice it that they are out-dated and hence cannot help inmates as expected on release. The researcher recommends that the existing programmes should be replaced with more current and viable programmes such as music, catering, event decoration, installations and painting, amongst others.
9. The study revealed that majority of the uniformed staff members in the prisons studied were university graduates of humanities, social sciences and management disciplines. They exhibited humane approach in handlinginmates under their custody. The researcher recommends to the policy makers concern to formally convert the warders to liberal treatment officials. The call for the move is in consonance with the new trends of things in prison administration and management. The conversion however, should not be a mere formality change in nomenclature, but changes in trainings and orientations of the staff concerned. Therefore the steps to be taken include re-training of the officers concerned to acquaint them with the necessary knowledge, orientation and dexterity required by their new roles as liberal/treatment officers; changing the contents and programmes of the existing prison colleges and training institutions to reflect the new desire and aspiration;

re-training the trainers and engaging more of professionals such as psychologists, social workers, psycho-therapists and seasoned administrators in prison work.

10. The study revealed that inmate government was recognized by the prison authority and given responsibilities in the prisons, not officially but for administrative convenience. The results are positive all the way—creating conducive prison environment, good rapport between staff and inmates and positive inmate solidarity for authority. Based on this cordial and harmonious intergroup existence, the researcher recommends institutionalizing participatory government in the system. This innovative system officially in the prison system will be a right step in the right direction towards achieving a therapeutic environment in prison by giving inmates more responsibilities, especially in initiatives, discretion and personal decisions.

Suggested Areas for Further Studies

The quality and reformative capacity of prison as a correctional institution could be measured by the number of discharged inmates who remain outside the prison wall after completing their terms of imprisonment, fully integrated into society and contributing positively to its progress and development. In order to properly evaluate and improve upon our prison system, there is need to be carrying out investigative studies that will be anchored towards tracing out inmates who are discharged at a specific period of time, say between 2000 and 2010, in order to find out their present situation of life. The aims should include to find out number of them in gainful employment and stayed out of crime; the number that have relapsed to criminal activities; and the number that has gone back to prison (recidivists). These periodic studies will help the government and the agency concerned to plan for and implement effectively reformation,

rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners which will help to improve the ugly security situation of the country.

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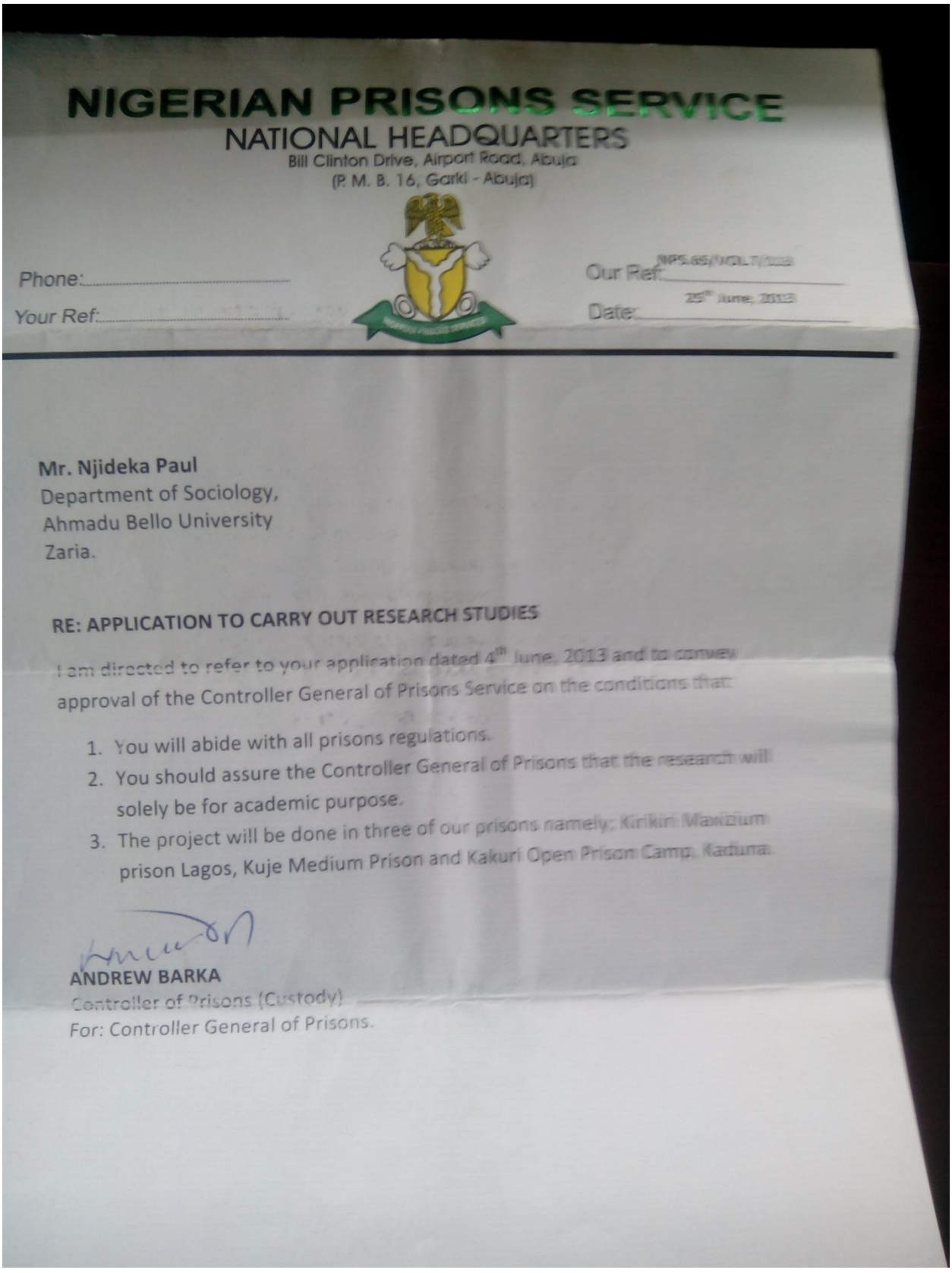
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APPENDIX A: APPROVAL PAGE



NIGERIAN PRISONS SERVICE
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Bill Clinton Drive, Airport Road, Abuja
(P. M. B. 16, Garki - Abuja)

Phone:
Your Ref:
Our Ref: NPS/65/VOL.T/[illegible]
Date: 25th June, 2013

Mr. Njideka Paul
Department of Sociology,
Ahmadu Bello University
Zaria.

RE: APPLICATION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH STUDIES

I am directed to refer to your application dated 4th June, 2013 and to convey approval of the Controller General of Prisons Service on the conditions that:

1. You will abide with all prisons regulations.
2. You should assure the Controller General of Prisons that the research will solely be for academic purpose.
3. The project will be done in three of our prisons namely; Kirikiri Maximum prison Lagos, Kuje Medium Prison and Kakuri Open Prison Camp, Kaduna.

ANDREW BARKA
Controller of Prisons (Custody)
For: Controller General of Prisons.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA NIGERIA

Vice Chancellor: Prof. Abdullahi Mustapha, B.Sc(Hons) Pharm (ABU)
Ph.D (London). FPSN

Head of Department: Dr. Abdullahi Labo
B.Sc., M.Sc.(ABU) Ph.D.(BUK)

P.M.B. 1044, Zaria-Nig
Telegrams: UNIBELL
Telephone: 069-55072

Our Ref: SF/STM/12

Date: 22/8/2013

Superintendent of Prison
Kuje Medium Prison
Abuja

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Name of Student: Nnideka Paul (PhD/Soc-SO/6850/2009/2010)

The above is a postgraduate student of this Department conducting research in the area of Treatment and Inmate Subculture in Nigerian Prisons

Any assistance you give will be much appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Abdullahi Labo
Head of Department

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
Ahmadu Bello University
Zaria — Nigeria

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
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P.M.B. 1044, Zaria-Nigeria
Telegrams: UNIBELLO
Telephone: 069-550722

Our Ref: SF/STM/12

Date: 22/05/2013

Superintendant of Prison
Kaduna Open Prison
Kaduna.

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Name of Student: Njidaka Paul (PhD/SS-SO/6860/2007/2012)

The above is a postgraduate student of this Department conducting research in the area of treatment and inmate subculture in Nigerian Prisons

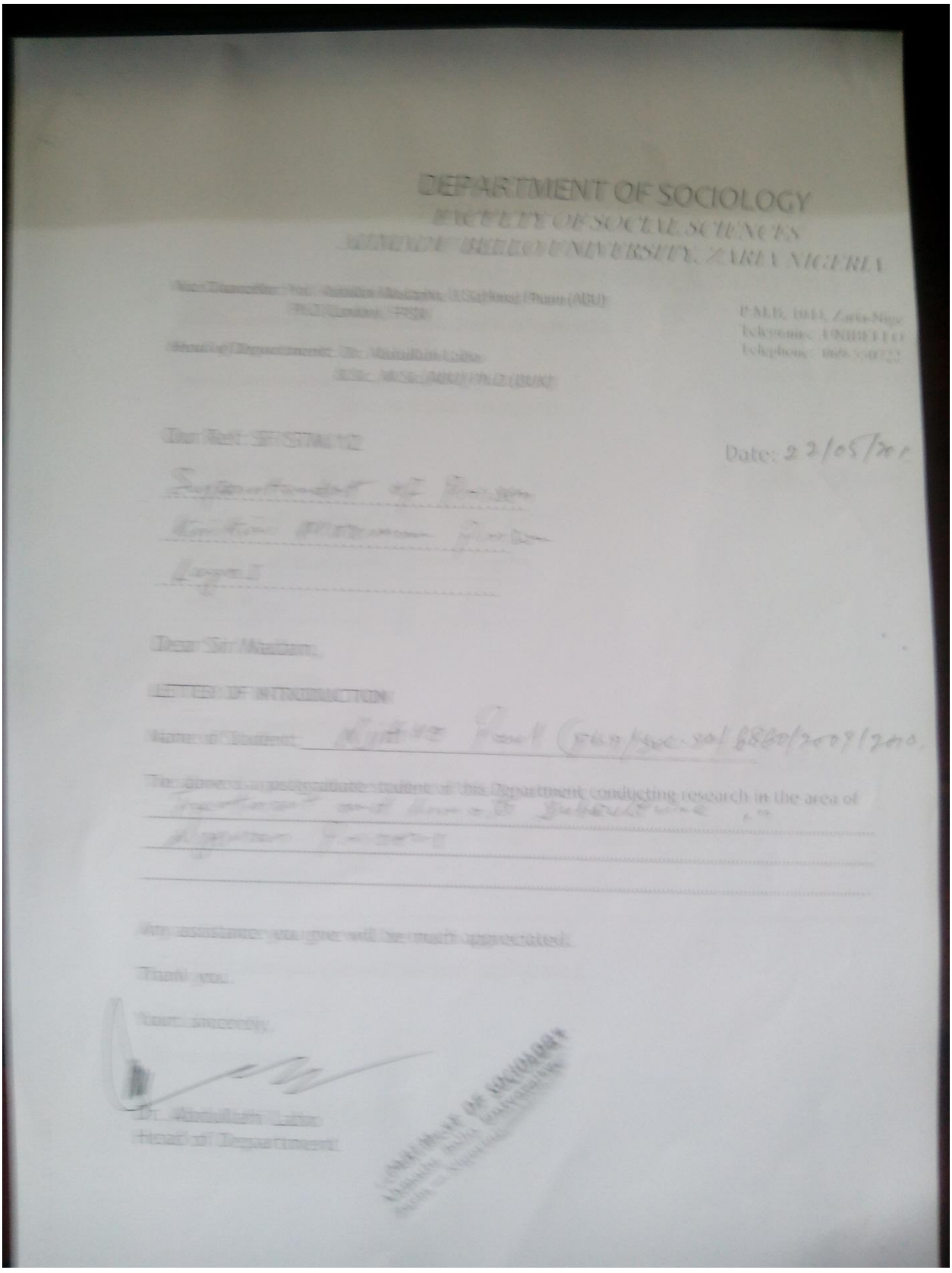
Any assistance you give will be much appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Abdullahi Labo
Head of Department

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
Ahmadu Bello University
Zaria — Nigeria



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

...

Date: 22/05/201

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

...

Any assistance you give will be much appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Abdullahi Lubo
Head of Department

Appendix B: Questionnaire for Prison Staff

Dear respondent,

I am a research student, Department of sociology; Ahmadu Bello University Zaria conducting research titled "Treatment of inmates and formation of inmate subcultures in Nigerian prisons" Kindly answer the following questions. All the information supplied will be used for research purposes and treated confidentially.

Instruction: This questionnaire is meant for uniformed staff only. Tick the appropriate answer.

Socio-demographic data

1. **Sex:** (a) Male [ ] (b) Female [ ]
2. **Age group:** (a) Below 18 years [ ]

   (b) 18-28 years [ ] (c) 29-39 [ ] (d) 40-49 years [ ] (e) above 50[ ]

3. **Marital status: (a)** Single [ ] (b) Married [ ] (c) Separated [ ] (d) divorced

Religion: Christianity [ ] (b) Islam [ ] Traditionalism [ ]

4. **Nationality:** Nigerian [ ] (b) Foreigner [ ]
5. **Rank in the service**----------
6. **Number of the years in Service**----------
7. **Rank**:----------
8. **Highest Educational Qualification**

   (a) No formal education [ ] (b) First school leaving certificate [ ] (c) Diploma/NCE certificate [ ] (c) HND/B.sc and above [ ]

Philosophy and Treatment Approach

9. As a prison staff, which of the following do you value to be the most important function of the prison establishment?

(a) To ensure that the inmates do not escape [ ]

(b) To ensure that inmates receive punishments commensurate with their offences [ ]

(c) To ensure that inmates are punished as directed by the courts[ ]

(d) To ensure that inmates are well trained and rehabilitated [ ]

10. How do you feel about the notion that "imprisonment is already a punishment; therefore inmates should not be subjected to harsh punishment."

(a) Strongly agree [ ] (b) Agree [ ] (c) Disagree [ ] (d) Strongly disagree [ ]

11. Which of the following do you consider as the major prison goal?

(a) To punish inmates for their offences [ ] (b) To train and rehabilitate inmates [ ]

12. Have you received in-service training since you joined the establishment?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

Staff-inmate relationship

15. How can you describe the attitudes of the inmates toward the staff? (a) Very cordial [ ] (b) Cordial [ ] (c) Hostile (d) Very Hostile [ ]

16. Whenever there is a quarrel between a staff and an inmate, the inmate must be wrong

(a) Strongly agreed [ ] (b) Agreed [ ] (c) Disagreed [ ] (d) strongly disagreed [ ]

17. A quarrel broke out between a warder and an inmate which nearly resulted to a prison riot. A panel comprising prison staff and inmates' representative was set up to investigate the matter. How do you feel about the inclusion of inmates in the composition of the panel?

(a) Strongly approved [ ] (b) Approved [ ] (c) Disapproved [ ] (d) Strongly disapproved [ ]

18. In a staff meeting, a staff member suggested that the wide social distance between the staff and the inmates should be bridged. How do you feel about the suggestion?

(a) Strongly approved [ ] (b) Approved [ ] (c) Disapproved [ ] (d) Strongly disapproved [ ]

Treatment of inmates

19. In the prison, are male and female inmates separated?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

20. In cells, are inmates separated according to offences committed?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

21. In cells, are convicted inmates and awaiting trial inmates separated?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

22 In cells, are first offenders separated from habitual offenders?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

23 In cells, are young offenders and adults separated?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

24. Which of the following facilities are provided to an inmate for sleeping?

(a) Bare floor [ ] (b) Mats [ ] (c) Beds and Blankets [ ] (d) Beds, blankets, mattresses [ ] (e) Beds, blankets, mattresses, pillows [ ]

25.How are the inmates fed daily?

(a) No regular ration [ ] (b) One meal daily [ ] (c) Two meals daily [ ] (d) Three meals daily. [ ]

26. How can you describe the quality of inmates' food?

(a) Very adequate [ ] (b) Adequate [ ] (c) Inadequate [ ] (d) Very inadequate [ ]

27. How many pairs of uniform are given to a convicted inmate on admission?

(a) None [ ] (b) one pair [ ] (c) Two pairs [ ] (d) Three pairs [ ]

28. List down the various ways erred inmates are punished---------- ---------

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29. Are the prisoners allowed to see their visitors?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (d) Not certain [ ]

Reformation and rehabilitation

30. List below the rehabilitative programmes available in the prison

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

31. Which of the programmes (question 30 above) do you consider most effective in achieving rehabilitation?----------

32. How will you assess the inmates' response to the programmes?

Very positive [ ] (b) Positive [ ] (c) Negative [ ] (d) Very negative [ ]

33. Do you feel that the programmes are adequate for the inmates?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain

34. Do you feel that inmates are benefiting well from the programmes?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain

35. State how the prison authority assists discharged inmates to resettle in society.

Appendix C: Questionnaire for inmates

Dear respondent,

I am a research student, Department of sociology, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria conducting research titled "Treatment of inmates and formation of inmate subcultures in Nigerian prisons" Kindly answer the following questions. All the information supplied will be used for research purposes and treated confidentially.

Instruction: Tick your answer in the appropriate box.

Socio-demographic data

1. **Sex:** (a) Male [ ] (b) Female [ ]
2. **Age group:** (a) Below 18 years [ ] (b) 18-28 years [ ]
   (c) 29-39 years [ ](d) 40-59 years [ ] (e) Above 50 [ ]
3. **Nationality:** (a) Nigerian [ ] (b) Non-Nigerian [ ]
4. **Religion:** (a) Christianity [ ] (b) Islam [ ] (c) Traditional [ ]
5. **Marital status:** (a) Single [ ] (b) Married [ ] (c) Separated [ ]
   (d) Divorced [ ]
6. **Occupation before imprisonment**----------
7. **Father's occupation**----------
8. **Nature of offense committed**----------
9. **Number of times convicted before:** (a) None [ ] (b) Once [ ] (c) Twice
   (d) Thrice and above [ ]
10. **Highest educational qualification:** (a) No formal education [ ] (b) First school leaving certificate [ ] (c) Diploma/NCE certificate (d) HND/B.sc and above [ ]
11. Which of the following accommodation did you have before incarceration?

(a) Mud/thatched building [ ] (b) Single room apartment [ ]

(c) Flat-system [ ] (d) Bungalow [ ]

Rationalization of offense/ defense of innocence

12. How do you feel about your imprisonment? (a)Unjustly imprisoned [ ] (b) Justly imprisoned [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

13. To what extent was it your fault? (a) All my fault [ ]

(b) Only partly my fault [ ] (c) Not at all my fault [ ]

Correctional policy and administration

14. Are you allowed to make complaints to prison staff?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Sometimes [ ]

15. Which of the following do you consider as the major goal of imprisonment? (a) To punish inmates for their offences [ ] (b) To train and rehabilitate inmates [ ]

16. Which of the following is frequently used to punish erred inmates?

(a) Flogging [ ] (b) Solitary confinement [ ] (c) Forfeiture of meals [ ]

(d) Forfeiture of remission [ ] (e) any other----------

Treatment of the inmates

17. How will you describe the reception given to you when you first entered the prison?

(a) Very good [ ] (b) Good [ ] (c) Bad [ ] (d) Very bad [ ]

18. How will you describe the treatments you receive from the warders?

(a) Very good [ ] (b) Good [ ] (c) Bad [ ] (d) Very bad [ ]

19. In the prison, are male and female inmates separated?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

20. In cells, are inmates separated according to offences committed?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

21. In cells, are convicted inmates and awaiting trial inmates separated?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

22 In cells, are first offenders separated from habitual offenders?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

23 In cells, are young offenders and adults separated?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

24. How many pairs of uniform were given on entry?

(a) None [ ] (b) one pair [ ] (c) Two pairs [ ] (d) Three pairs [ ]

25. What are you provided with for sleeping?

(a)A bare floor [ ] (b) Mat [ ] (c) Bed and blanket [ ]

(d) Bed, blanket and mattress [ ] (e) Bed, blanket, mattress and pillow [ ]

26. How are you fed daily?

(a) No regular ration [ ] (b) One meal daily [ ]

(c) Two meals daily [ ] (d) Three meals daily [ ]

27. How can you describe the food you eat in the prison?

(a) Very good [ ] (b) Good [ ] (c) Bad [ ] (d) Very bad [ ]

28. Are you allowed to receive visitors? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

29. Are you provided with medical facilities? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

30. Are you required to pay your bill when treated in clinic?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

31. How will you describe the attitudes of the staff to the inmates?

(a) Very cordial [ ] (b) Cordial [ ] (c) Hostile [ ] (d) Very hostile [ ]

32. What has happened to your health since you entered the prison?

(a)Worsened [ ] (b) Remained the same [ ] (c) Improved [ ]

Inmate subculture

29. How has the prison affected you to date?

(a) Made me worse [ ] (b) No effect either way [ ] (c) Made me better [ ]

30. Do you think that your stay in prison has given you a sharper realization towards yourself? (a) Sharpened my sense of responsibility [ ] (b) Unchanged [ ] (c) Blunted my sense of responsibility [ ]

31. Apart from official rules, do inmates have other rules guiding them?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ] (c) Not certain [ ]

32. If yes to question 31, state some of the rules:----------

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33. Whose command/instruction will you like to obey?

(a) Warder [ ] (b) Inmate leader [ ] (c) None [ ]

34. When I get a problem the best person to help with it is:

(a) A fellow inmate [ ] (b) A member of prison staff [ ]

(c) A relative outside [ ] (d) Myself [ ]

35. It is better to cooperate with other inmates than staff members in order to survive prison

(a) Yes (b) No (c) Not certain

36. It is the responsibility of the inmates to fight for their right. (a)Yes (b) No (c) Not certain

37. If inmates staged an action against prison management, will u like to join? (a)Yes (b) No (c) Not certain.

38. How are inmates that violate rules punished? (a) by flogging (b)by washing lavatory (c) by sweeping the yard (d) by solitary cinfinement

39. Whenever there is a quarrel between a staff and an inmate, the staff must be wrong.

(a) Strongly agreed [ ] (b) Agreed [ ] (c) Disagreed [ ] (d) Strongly disagreed [ ]

Rehabilitation/post release

40. List the rehabilitation programmes available in the prison

---

41**.** Have you acquired any skill in the prison? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

42. f yes in no.26, state the skill:----------

43. What do you think of your post release employment?

(a) Very remote [ ] (b) Somewhat remote [ ] (c) Not at all [ ]

44. I have lost faith in both mankind and outside world.

(a) Completely [ ] (b) To some extent [ ] (c) My faith is unshaken [ ]

45. State the fears you are entertaining if released from prison.

Appendix D: In-depth Interview Guide for Key Prison Officials

Superintendents of Prisons

1. Origin and initial holding capacity of the prison
2. Admission procedures and processes
3. Accommodation/classification of inmates
4. Emergence of inmate leaders and their roles
5. Reform and rehabilitation programmes.
6. Inmates attitude towards the staff and the reform/rehabilitation programmes
7. Authority's assistance to discharged inmates
8. Major challenges facing the authority

Chief Warders

1. Main duties
2. Accommodation and classification of inmates in cells/wards.
3. Sleeping materials for each inmate
4. Maintenance of peace and order in the yard
5. Punishment of erred inmates
6. Emergence of inmate leaders and their roles
7. Inmate's uniform
8. Major challenges

Welfare Officers

1. Main duties
2. Assistance to awaiting trial inmates
3. Assistance to discharged inmates to resettle in society

4. Major challenges facing the unit.

Medical Officers

1. Staff strength of the unit
2. Equipment of the unit
3. Availability of drugs and medications
4. Treatment of inmates
5. Referrals
6. Major challenges

Appendix E: In-depth Interview Guide for Key Uniformed Staff Members

1. Reason(s) for joining the Nigerian Prisons Service (NPS)

2. **Views on essence of imprisonment**

   Probe for:

   **The way staff members see and interpret into action the imprisonment goals.*

3. **Feeling/belief about the inmates or criminals in general**.

   Probe for:

   **The way staff members see inmates under their custody.*

   **The staff's belief about inmates which makes them to treate them the way they do.*

4. **Inmates involvement in any decision making process**

   Probe for:

   **The administrative style of the institution.*

   **The extent the feelings and opinions of the managed group are respected.*

   **The way disputes are settled between staff and inmates.*

5. **Rehabilitative programmes in the prison**.

   Probe for:

   **The reform/rehabilitative programmes fashioned out for inmates.*

   **The adequacy of the programmes in reforming/rehabilitating inmates.*

   The way inmates are benefiting from the progammes.

6. **Inmates' accommodation**

   Probe for:

   **The adequacy of inmates' accommodation.*

**The way different categories of inmates in terms of sex, age, offences and prison experiences are accommodated.*

7. **Relationship existing between the staff and inmates of the prison.**

Probe for:

**The atitudes of staff and inmates towards each other*

**The way staff and inmates see and respond to the atitudes of one another.*

**The way good relationship can be promoted between the two groups.*

8. **Staff's knowledge of inmate subculture**.

Probe for:

**The staff's awreness of the existence of inmate subculture.*

**The way staff members see the activities of inmate subculture in relation to the prison goals.*

9. **Prison administration's assistance to discharged inmates to resettle in the society.**

Probe for:

** The ways prison administration assists discharged inmates in terms of reconciling with their immediate families, communities; financial assistance and job opportunities.*

Sample Questions posed to key officers of the prisons----Prison superintendents, chief warders, programmes unit heads, chief medical officers, kitchen/store officers and welfare officers.

	Action by
1. What prompted you to join the services of the NPS?	All officers
2. In a nutshell, what do you consider to be the reason for imprisonment?	All officers
3. How do you feel that inmates should be handled to achieve better results?	Chief
4. How are the inmates grouped for the purpose of their accommodation?	Kitchen Officer
5. How are the inmates fed and what can you say about the quality of their food?	Chief
6. What are inmates provided for sleeping?	Health
7. Are inmates allowed to relate in any way with the outside world?	

8. What provisions are made for sick inmates?
9. Are you aware of the existence of any organization of inmates in the prison? All officers
10. If any, what is the nature and operation of the organization? All officers
11. How can you assess the operation/activities of the organization? All officers
12. How do the leaders and rules governing the organization emerge? All officers
13. Would you recommend that the organization of the inmates be disbanded or encouraged and why? All
14. What are the reformation programmes in the prison? Pro Officers
15. What are the rehabilitation programmes in the prison? Pro Officers
16. How can you evaluate the attitude of inmates towards the reformation and rehabilitation programmes? Pro.Officers
17. Are inmates benefiting from the reformation and rehabilitation programmes and how?
18. How are discharged inmates assisted to resettle in the outside world? Pro.Officers
19. What are the problems facing discharged inmates? Welfare

Appendix F: In-depth Interview Guide for Inmate Leaders

1. **Emergence as the inmate leaders**.

   Probe for:

   **The way inmate leaders came to be-by appointment by prison authority, election by inmates, or through self imposition.*

   **The recognition of the inmate leaders by the staff/authority.*

   **The functions of the inmate leaders.*

2. **Perception of staff treatments of the inmates**.

   Probe for:

   **The way the leaders perceive staff's treatment of inmates.*

   **The way the leaders see the outcome of such treatment.*

3. **Inmates' involvement in making decisions.**

Probe for:

**The involvement of inmates in matters affecting them most.*

**The inmates' contribution in the administration.*

4. **Inmates' accommodation**

   Probe for:

   **The way different categories of inmates are accommodated.*

   **The extent of congestion in the prison.*

5 Cell/ward rules and regulations

Probe:

**Origin of cell/ward rules*

6 Punishment of erred inmates

Probe: *Types of punishment*

Durations of punishment

7. **Inmates' daily feeding**.

Probe for:

**The number of times inmates are fed daily.*

**The quantity and quality of food inmates receive.*

8. Facilities provided for inmates' sleeping.

Probe for:

**The matrials inmates are provided for sleeping such as beds, mattrasses, blankets and pillors.*

9. **Punishment of erred inmates**.

Probe for:

**The nature of punishments that are given to erred inmates.*

10. **Inmates' reception of visitors**.

Probe for:

**The way inmates' reception of visitors is organized.*

**The people that are allowed to visit inmates.*

11. **Medical facilities available to inmates**

Probe for:

**The medical facilities available to inmates.*

**The medical attention to sick inmates.*

12. **Rehabilitative programmes available for inmates**

Probe for:

**The rehabilitative programmes that are available such formal education, industry/work, religion and earning scheme.*

13. **Discharged inmates from the prison**.

Probe for:

**The nature of assistance the prison management renders to the discharged inmates.*

14. Fears inmates envisage on approaching release.

Sample Questions posed to Inmate Leaders

1. How do inmate leaders emerge in this prison camp?
2. What are the positions which inmate leaders occupy?
3. What are the functions of the inmate leaders?
4. Are you as inmate leader involved in decision making, especially in things affecting all inmates?
5. What are the rules guiding inmates in the wards?
6. Who made the rules?
7. Do you feel that the rules are strict and should be amended?
8. How are inmates who violate rules punished?
9. If you give an order and a warder gives counter order to an inmate, which one doyouexpect the inmate to carry out?
10. What materials are given to each inmate for sleeping?
11. Are inmates sleeping on bare floor?
I2. How are inmates accommodated? In other words, are inmates separated in terms of age, nature of offence or sentence?
13. Do you have regular supply of water for your personal hygiene?
14. Are inmates allowed to receive visitors?

15. How many times are inmates fed daily?

16. How are inmates treated when they are sick?

17 What are the reformation/rehabilitation programmes available in the prison?

18. What skills have you acquired in the prison?

19. How does the prison authority assist discharged inmates?

20. Apart from being given his saving, in what other ways does the authority assist discharged inmate to resettle in society?

21. What fears do you inmates normally entertain when your release from the prison is approaching?

Appendix G: Inspection/Observation schedule

Prison Facility: Kuje Medium Prison, Abuja

Date: 5th July, 2013: Inspection of Prison Environment/Physical Structures

The researcher and his research assistants were conducted round the prison premises by a chief warder attached to him by the superintendent of the prison. The prison was surrounded by high walls with security gadgets-electrocuted barb wires and instant cameras. The prison yard has only one entrance which also served as an exit. The prison yard was very neat; well swept and flowers were well trimmed.

Within the prison yard were two types of inmates' accommodation-old dormitory system and new room system. The main building that covered the prison yard comprised offices of staff. The prison has a modern clinic with different departments which included general ward, pharmacy, optical and surgery. The prison has a chapel, mosque and various workshops.

6th July 2013: Inspection of Rehabilitation Facilities

Rehabilitation facilities inspected include tailoring workshop, carpentry workshop, barbing salon, soap-making workshop.

Tailoring workshop: The workshop has no separate building but attached to a corridor of one of the wards. The unit has only four functioning sewing machines and two instructors. There were up to twenty registered inmates. Only four inmates were seen operating the machine at a time while the instructors moved around to see what they were doing. Other registered inmates were simply observing as machines did not go round. The instructors made the researcher to understand that the inmates practised with the available machines in rotation. Clothes and uniforms made for individuals and organizations by the unit were displayed in the workshop.

Barbing salon: Inmates handled the salon as no staff was attached to it as an instructor. Inmates

were seen barbing one another. Some inmates who had their personal barbing kits barbed others and received tokens from them.

Soap-making workshop:the workshop is a separate small building. There were two instructors and ten registered inmates attached to the unit. There was one installed machine in the workshop which the instructor said was faulty during the inspection. The researcher met the inmates receiving oral instructions on how to make soap from one of the instructors. The products of the unit, bar soaps of different sizes and colours, were displayed in the workshop.

Carpentry workshop: This was attached to a back corridor of a ward. It has an instructor and seven registered inmates attached to it. Inmates were seen working on different items of furniture such as chairs, tables while others were spraying already finished work. Tables, beds, chairs and other items produced for outsiders on request were displayed in the workshop.

7th July, 2013: Inspection of Prison clinic, classrooms, inmates' accommodation, places of worship and punishment cell

Prison clinic: The prison has a fine modern clinic. The clinic was made up of general ward, surgery, pharmacy, out-patient and emergency. Medical personnel such as doctor, nurses and pharmacist were seen attending to sick inmates.

Prison education: There was no separate school for inmates. Classrooms for adult education and continuing education were located in buildings for other purposes. Inmates were seen by the researcher receiving lessons in their classrooms.The library was a room in one of the buildings. There were few books on the shelves. Some inmates preparing their external West African School Certificate Examination were seen reading in the library. There was also a computer room, well equipped with computers donated by non-governmental organizations. Inmates were also seen receiving lessons from instructors on how to operate computers.

Prison religion:Chapel and mosque were provided for Christian and Muslim inmates respectively. Inmates were seen praying/ worshiping in their different places of worship. Priests and imams from outside came in from time to time to assist inmates in their moral up-bringing.

Inmates' accommodation: There were two types of accommodation for inmates-old dormitory system and new room-system. The old dormitory system accommodated inmates awaiting trial and the room-system accommodated the convicts. The inspection was carried out when inmates were locked up in order to determine the level of congestion. There were two blocks of dormitory system accommodation and each accommodated 120 inmates-60 double bunk bed spaces. Inmates were provided with a bed and blanket each. The wards were fairly congested. However, the wards were well ventilated as there were windows on both sides. Toilets in the wards were water-system and there was regular water supply. Convicts were accommodated in room-system accommodation. Each of room 12ft by 12ft in size accommodated eight inmates-four double bunk bed spaces. Special/political prisoners were accommodated in single rooms of 8ft by 8ft.

Punishment cell: The cell was meant for an inmate who committed a serious offence. The inmate would be locked up for number of days/weeks determined by the authority, depending on the gravity of the offence. The cell was a very small room which allowed the occupant little or no space for any movement. An inmate locked up in the cell did everything there, apart from being isolated from the rest of inmates.

Clothing of inmates: the first thing the researcher noted in the prison yard was that almost all the inmates were in their clothes. Only very few were in inmates' uniform (blue shirt upon blue trouser). However, the inmates appeared neat in their personal clothes.

Games and sports: Football game was the only outdoor game the researcher watched inmates

playing. However, there was no standard football pitch; inmates made use of a courtyard in the prison yard to play the game. Time for games was 5pm to 6.30pm daily and inmates utilized it playing either indoor or outdoor games. Indoor games inmates were seen playing include ludo, card, draft and monopoly.

Prison Facility: Kakuri Open Prison, Kaduna

12th July, 2013: Inspection of Physical Environment/Structures

The researcher and his assistants were conducted around the prison premises by a senior staff officer attached to them by the prison superintendent. The first thing noticed by the researcher was the absence of high walls which characterized other convict prisons; not even a fence was found in the premises. The administrative building which was made up of various staff offices and the reception occupied a central position in the premises. The whole environment of the prison looked deserted and unkempt. There were many old structures meant for inmates' accommodation and rehabilitation programmes but many of them had dilapidated and some collapsed. In the prison there was no sign of renovation or building of new structures, exception one small building under construction which the officer said would be for adult education when completed. In fact, there was nothing to write home about the entire prison environment.

13th July, 2013: Inspection of Inmates' Accommodation, Sickbay, Library and Places of Worship

Inmates'accommodation: Inmate wards were in bad condition; they were old and dirty with broken floors and windows. Two of them were empty. Only three wards were scantily occupied by inmates since the population of the inmates was far below the prison capacity. There was no regular supply of pipe-borne water; however inmates were seen making use of bore-hole within whenever tap water was not functioning.

Prison library:This was an old small building. Books on shelves were old ones left by colonial administrators that first managed the prison facility. There was no single new book there as the prison was not running any educational programme at the time of the study.

Sickbay: This was an old small one-bed-room flat. The researcher met only the matron and two health workers there. Medical doctor was on call since there was no resident one there. There was pharmacy for drugs.

Clothing of inmates: Inmates appeared in their personal clothes; they were not supplied with uniform. They appeared dirty probably because they were always in their farms.

14th July, 2013: Inspection of Farms and other Rehabilitation Facilities

Prison Farms: Farming was the only rehabilitation programme that thrived well in the prison. The researcher inspected two farms shown to him-government farm and inmate farms. The government farm was very extensive and all inmates were mandated to work in the farm on days selected by the officer in-charge of farming programme. Crops grown in the farm include beans, groundnut and cotton. Inmate farms comprised plots of farmland assigned to inmates individually. Assorted vegetables were grown in inmate farms. Inmates were seen with different farm implements such as hoes, cutlasses, knives and watering cans working in their various farms. Some were harvesting their vegetables while others were either watering their farms or making ridges for planting.

Vegetable Market: The farming activity of the inmates witnessed the existence of a vegetable market at one side of the premises. Early in the morning, on daily basis, people from nearby communities came to buy vegetables harvested by inmates. The researcher watched inmates bargaining with and selling to their customers. The officer in-charge was always around since part of their earnings was saved for them.

Prison Religion: Inmates were provided with places of worship. Muslins were provided with a mosque. Inmates who were Catholics worshiped in the nearby Catholic Church (SS. Perpetua) with people from the communities. The researcher attended a Sunday service and observed that some inmates were members of the choir and other religious societies like St. Jude Society.

15th july,2013: Inspection of Kitchen/Food and other Rehabilitation Facilities

The kitchen and its environment were too dirty; there were flies everywhere in the kitchen. Meals for inmates were prepared in unhygienic environment. Inmates attached to the kitchen to assist the caterers were seen doing things like washing plates and pots, cutting vegetables, fetching water and pounding one thing or the other. Meals or rations given to inmates were not only too small but were poorly prepared, lacking in food condiments.

Dilapidated Structures: The researcher observed that some rehabilitation facilities were out of use and dilapidated/collapsed. Such facilities include carpentry workshop, woodwork workshop, pottery workshop, rope-making and mat-making workshop. Only tailoring workshop with a staff and an inmate attached to it was providing skeletal services such as patching torn clothes of inmates.

Prison Facility: Kirikiri Maximum Prison, Lagos

28th July, 2013: Inspection of Physical Structures

The prison premises were surrounded by very high walls with security gadgets such instant cameras, street light and electrocuted barb wires. The maximum prison has only one entrance which also served as the exit and manned by armed security officers of the prison. The central building which covered the front part of the prison was the administrative block that comprised the offices of the administrative personnel. At the centre of the prison yard was a well cut football pitch. At the left side of the field were facilities for other outdoor games which include

lawn tennis court, volleyball court; and a hall for indoor games. Also, around the area was the central mosque. At the right side of the field were clinic, catholic church, buildings for rehabilitation programmes. At the north side of the field were different inmate accommodations. The entire prison yard was well kept, orderly and peaceful.

29th July, 2013: Inspection of Education Programmes and Prison Industry

Education Programmes: there were renovated buildings for adult education, continuing education and Open University Programme. The researcher went round the classrooms and observed inmate students receiving lessons/reading. The adult education comprised inmates that had no formal education before their incarceration. Their classes ranged from primary one to primary six. The continuing education programme comprised inmates that dropped out from secondary school before incarceration. The categories were seen receiving lessons from their teachers who were prison staff and volunteer teachers from outside. The Open University programme was meant for inmates capable of benefitting from it such as workers of parastatals and firms before their imprisonment. The inmates of this programme were seen reading their lesson modules on their own.

Prison Library: This was a separate building. The shelves were stocked with books. However, on inspecting the books, the researcher noted that they were too old and not relevant to the inmates preparing for different external examinations, especially those preparing for SSCE.

Prison Industry: This comprised tailoring/fashion designing, carpentry/woodwork, leatherwork, barbing salon and dry cleaning.

Tailoring/Fashion designing unit: The unit was manned by three instructors and had up to thirty registered inmates. There were about fifteen sewing and designing machines but unfortunately only five of them were in working condition.Some of the inmates had already

perfected in the work and they were watched by the researcher sewing uniform and clothes while others were watching them with keen interest. The instructors moved from one point to the other to examine their work. The major handicap of the unit was inadequate functional machines. The uniforms made for other establishments such as Customs, police and private organization security personnel were displayed in the unit.

Carpentry and Woodwork Unit: The unit had three instructors and fifteen inmates specializing in different areas such carpentry, woodwork and cabinet making. The researcher observed inmates working on items of furniture such as armchair, stool, cushion chair and cabinet bed. Items produced by inmates and displayed in the workshop include set of dining table and chairs, cabinet bed, cushion chairs and stools.

The researcher noted that workshops for pottery/ceramics, ironwork and decorative arts were not functioning any more. He was told that there were no instructors to handle them and the units were dilapidating already.

Barbing Salon: A prison officer was in-charge of the salon, assisted by an inmate barber. However, other inmates who knew how to barb were allowed to work there but given part of whatever they realized. Both inmates and staff were barbed there in different sections and they paid the fixed price of twenty naira (₦20) for inmates and fifty naira (₦50) for staff.

Kiosks: the researcher saw some kiosks with wares displayed in them for sale in the convict section of the prison yard. An inquiry from the officer leading the researcher revealed that they were owned by lifers and long-term convicts who were found worthy in character to be granted the permission by the authority. The items displayed in the kiosks for sale include shirts, pants, combs, bathroom slippers, toothpaste, toothbrushes, biscuits and soaps. The inmates made their sales and gave money to officer in-charge or their relations during visitation to buy goods to

replenish their stocks. This helped to cushion the effect of long term imprisonment on them.

Clothing of Inmates: Like in other prisons inspected, the inmates were seen wearing their personal clothes. Only an insignificant number of them wore inmate uniform (blue shirt upon blue trousers). However, the inmates appeared neat as there was running tap water for taking bathe and other personal hygiene.

30TH July, 2013: Inspection of Inmates' Accommodation and Places of Worship

There were separate accommodations for lifers, convicts, condemned criminals, political/VIP prisoners, privileged inmates and inmates awaiting trial. Convicts comprised inmates convicted for various offences (property crime, person crime, local act crime) were mixed up in two wards meant for them. The researcher noted that the wards were fairly congested as the space between one double bunk bed and another was too small for inmates' free movement. The same situation was the case in wards for inmates awaiting trial. Each inmate was given a bed and mattress for sleeping. Political/VIP prisoners had a separate accommodation. Each inmate in this category occupied a well-furnished room of 8ft by 8ft with a single bed, personal water-system toilet, a chair and a table. The same was the accommodation for the privileged inmates except that they were two in a room.

Lifers and condemned criminals had their separate section on the prison yard. They were accommodated in different buildings; they were four prisoners in each room. Lifers were allowed to move freely in the yard but condemned criminals were not allowed such movements for they constituted the highest security risk prisoners.

2nd August, 2013: Inspection of Prison Kitchen/Food, Clinic and Places of Worship

Kitchen: The modern kitchen was messed up by untidy environment. There were caterers with

inmates attached to the kitchen to assist them in one way or the other. The inmates were seen running errands such as fetching water, making fire, washing plates and pots. The researcher noted that ration for each inmate was too small and that the meals were poorly prepared as he tasted the food.

Prison Clinic: This was a separate building comprised offices of the medical personnel and ward for sick inmates. The health personnel were seen attending to sick inmates. According to the officer in-charge, serious cases of illness were referred to bigger government hospitals, including the nearby naval hospital.

Prison Religion: Inmates belonging to different religions and denominations were provided with places of worship. Apart from having mosques near their wards, there was a central mosque in the yard for Muslim inmates and staff for jumuat prayer. Catholic inmates were provided with a church and other Christian denominations with a chapel. The researcher watched inmates either praying or listening to religious instructions by their leaders.

Games and Sports: There were facilities for both indoor and outdoor games. The prison had a standard football pitch which occupied a central position in the prison yard. The researcher was opportune to watch a novelty football match between inmates and junior staff on a Sunday evening. The match started at exactly 4.30 pm with each team taking its side. There was no score by any side in the first half of the game. During the second half of the game, each side was making an impressive move to score a goal. Five minutes to the end, it happened. The inmate team scored a goal against their opponent and the match ended in 1: 0 against the staff team.

Appendix H:The Design of Data Collection Techniques

Objectives of the study	Data Collection Techniques				
	Staff Questionnaire	Staff In-depth Interview	Inmate Questionnaire	Inmate In-depth Interview	Researcher's Observation Guide
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

Appendix I: Inmate Constitution of the Inmate Government (Inmate Code)

Inmate Constitution and Laws: Nature of Offences and Punishments.

Capital Offences

1. No attempt to overthrow the Government.
2. No rebelling against the cell government.
3. No taking cell matters to authority.
4. No homosexual act in and outside the cell.
5. No smoking of hemp or gambling in the cell.
6. No fighting or violent act in and outside the cell.
7. No attempt to fight with weapon.
8. No abusive language or abuse of one's warrant.
9. No refusing to attend court or disobey court order.
10. No stealing in or outside the cell.
11. No dragging with warder or cell officials.
12. No disobeying mark four when locking cell.

*__The above laws under capital offences are punishable by two hundred and sixty (260) days of work if contravened.__

Section B: Grievous Offences

1. No leaving of any dirty material at your post.
2. No leaving of hair or finger nails unkempt.
3. No combing or cutting of finger nails in cell.
4. No shaking of blanket or cloth when eating.
5. No farting in the cell deliberately.

6. No spitting in the cell or through the window.
7. No leaving toilet un-flushed after use.
8. No misusing of government plates.
9. Any act of unclean character unwritten is punishable under this section.

***The above laws under grievous offences are punishable by eighty (80) days of work if violated.**

Section C: Act of Misconduct

1. No talking when cell is locked for prayer or announcement.
2. No insult or gossip of any sort.
3. No nakedness.
4. No playing games during prayers.
5. No contempt of court.
6. No refusing police order.
7. No rough play or mockery.
8. No damaging government properties.
9. No searching of another man's post.
10. No wandering when sharing food.
11. No movement when sweeping cell.
12. No instigation of any kind.
13. No refusing to bear witness.
14. No passing of wrong information.
15. No buying or keeping of stolen property.
16. No impersonation of any kind.

17. No exchange of words with warder.

18. New man work and story is compulsory.

19. No public disturbance of any kind or playing of high volume or voice during silent hour.

***The above laws are punishable by 30 to 40 days of work if violated.**

Section D Subsection 1

Any presidential pronouncement that is unwritten is also a law; that can dispose anybody's foam and post.

Types of punishment (work) in prison if anybodygoes against the cell rules and regulations

1. Fetching of water for the kitchen
2. Sweeping the environment.
3. Washing the toilet.
4. Confiscation of foam and post.
5. Isolation from other inmates.
6. Cleaning the iron bars.

Note: The rules apply in the three prisons studied

Appendix J: Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners

United Nations
30 August 1955

United Nations, *Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners*, 30 August 1955, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b36e8.html [accessed 8 October 2012]

Adopted by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held at Geneva in 30 August 1955, and approved by the Economic and Social Council by its resolutions 663 C (XXIV) of 31 July 1957 and 2076 (LXII) of 13 May 1977.

Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners
Adopted by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held at Geneva in 1955, and approved by the Economic and Social Council by its resolution 663 C (XXIV) of 31 July 1957 and 2076 (LXII) of 13 May 1977

Preliminary Observations

1. The following rules are not intended to describe in detail a model system of penal institutions. They seek only, on the basis of the general consensus of contemporary thought and the essential elements of the most adequate systems of today, to set out what is generally accepted as being good principle and practice in the treatment of prisoners and the management of institutions.

2. In view of the great variety of legal, social, economic and geographical conditions of the world, it is evident that not all of the rules are capable of application in all places and at all times. They should, however, serve to stimulate a constant endeavour to overcome practical difficulties in the way of their application, in the knowledge that they represent, as a whole, the minimum conditions which are accepted as suitable by the United Nations.

3. On the other hand, the rules cover a field in which thought is constantly developing. They are not intended to preclude experiment and practices, provided these are in harmony with the principles and seek to further the purposes which derive from the text of the rules as a whole. It will always be justifiable for the central prison administration to authorize departures from the rules in this spirit.

4. (1) Part I of the rules covers the general management of institutions, and is applicable to all categories of prisoners, criminal or civil, untried or convicted, including prisoners subject to "security measures" or corrective measures ordered by the judge.

(2) Part II contains rules applicable only to the special categories dealt with in each section. Nevertheless, the rules under section A, applicable to prisoners under sentence, shall be equally applicable to categories of prisoners dealt with in sections B, C and D, provided they do not conflict with the rules governing those categories and are for their benefit.

5. (1) The rules do not seek to regulate the management of institutions set aside for young persons such as Borstal institutions or correctional schools, but in general part I would be equally applicable in such institutions.

(2) The category of young prisoners should include at least all young persons who come within the jurisdiction of juvenile courts. As a rule, such young persons should not be sentenced to imprisonment.

PART I

RULES OF GENERAL APPLICATION

Basic principle

6. (1) The following rules shall be applied impartially. There shall be no discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

(2) On the other hand, it is necessary to respect the religious beliefs and moral precepts of the group to which a prisoner belongs.

Register

7. (1) In every place where persons are imprisoned there shall be kept a bound registration book with numbered pages in which shall be entered in respect of each prisoner received:

(a) Information concerning his identity;
(b) The reasons for his commitment and the authority therefor;
(c) The day and hour of his admission and release.
(2) No person shall be received in an institution without a valid commitment order of which the details shall have been previously entered in the register.

Separation of categories

8. The different categories of prisoners shall be kept in separate institutions or parts of institutions taking account of their sex, age, criminal record, the legal reason for their detention and the necessities of their treatment. Thus,
(a) Men and women shall so far as possible be detained in separate institutions; in an institution which receives both men and women the whole of the premises allocated to women shall be entirely separate;
(b) Untried prisoners shall be kept separate from convicted prisoners;
(c) Persons imprisoned for debt and other civil prisoners shall be kept separate from persons imprisoned by reason of a criminal offence;
(d) Young prisoners shall be kept separate from adults. Accommodation
9. (1) Where sleeping accommodation is in individual cells or rooms, each prisoner shall occupy by night a cell or room by himself. If for special reasons, such as temporary overcrowding, it becomes necessary for the central prison administration to make an exception to this rule, it is not desirable to have two prisoners in a cell or room.
(2) Where dormitories are used, they shall be occupied by prisoners carefully selected as being suitable to associate with one another in those conditions. There shall be regular supervision by night, in keeping with the nature of the institution.
10. All accommodation provided for the use of prisoners and in particular all sleeping accommodation shall meet all requirements of health, due regard being paid to climatic conditions and particularly to cubic content of air, minimum floor space, lighting, heating and ventilation.
11. In all places where prisoners are required to live or work,
(a) The windows shall be large enough to enable the prisoners to read or work by natural light, and shall be so constructed that they can allow the entrance of fresh air whether or not there is artificial ventilation;
(b) Artificial light shall be provided sufficient for the prisoners to read or work without injury to eyesight.
12. The sanitary installations shall be adequate to enable every prisoner to comply with the needs of nature when necessary and in a clean and decent manner.
13. Adequate bathing and shower installations shall be provided so that every prisoner may be enabled and required to have a bath or shower, at a temperature suitable to the climate, as frequently as necessary for general hygiene according to season and geographical region, but at least once a week in a temperate climate.
14. All pans of an institution regularly used by prisoners shall be properly maintained and kept scrupulously clean at all times.

Personal hygiene

15. Prisoners shall be required to keep their persons clean, and to this end they shall be provided with water and with such toilet articles as are necessary for health and cleanliness.
16. In order that prisoners may maintain a good appearance compatible with their self-respect, facilities shall be provided for the proper care of the hair and beard, and men shall be enabled to

shave regularly.

Clothing and bedding

17. (I) Every prisoner who is not allowed to wear his own clothing shall be provided with an outfit of clothing suitable for the climate and adequate to keep him in good health. Such clothing shall in no manner be degrading or humiliating.

(2) All clothing shall be clean and kept in proper condition. Underclothing shall be changed and washed as often as necessary for the maintenance of hygiene.

(3) In exceptional circumstances, whenever a prisoner is removed outside the institution for an authorized purpose, he shall be allowed to wear his own clothing or other inconspicuous clothing.

18. If prisoners are allowed to wear their own clothing, arrangements shall be made on their admission to the institution to ensure that it shall be clean and fit for use.

19. Every prisoner shall, in accordance with local or national standards, be provided with a separate bed, and with separate and sufficient bedding which shall be clean when issued, kept in good order and changed often enough to ensure its cleanliness.

Food

20. (1) Every prisoner shall be provided by the administration at the usual hours with food of nutritional value adequate for health and strength, of wholesome quality and well prepared and served.

(2) Drinking water shall be available to every prisoner whenever he needs it.

Exercise and sport

21. (1) Every prisoner who is not employed in outdoor work shall have at least one hour of suitable exercise in the open air daily if the weather permits.

(2) Young prisoners, and others of suitable age and physique, shall receive physical and recreational training during the period of exercise. To this end space, installations and equipment should be provided.

Medical services

22. (1) At every institution there shall be available the services of at least one qualified medical officer who should have some knowledge of psychiatry. The medical services should be organized in close relationship to the general health administration of the community or nation.
They shall include a psychiatric service for the diagnosis and, in proper cases, the treatment of states of mental abnormality.

(2) Sick prisoners who require specialist treatment shall be transferred to specialized institutions or to civil hospitals. Where hospital facilities are provided in an institution, their equipment, furnishings and pharmaceutical supplies shall be proper for the medical care and treatment of sick prisoners, and there shall be a staff of suitable trained officers.

(3) The services of a qualified dental officer shall be available to every prisoner.

23. (1) In women's institutions there shall be special accommodation for all necessary pre-natal and post-natal care and treatment. Arrangements shall be made wherever practicable for children to be torn in a hospital outside the institution. If a child is born in prison, this fact shall not be mentioned in the birth certificate.

(2) Where nursing infants are allowed to remain in the institution with their mothers, provision shall be made for a nursery staffed by qualified persons, where the infants shall be placed when they are not in the care of their mothers.

24. The medical officer shall see and examine every prisoner as soon as possible after his admission and thereafter as necessary, with a view particularly to the discovery of physical or mental illness and the taking of all necessary measures; the segregation of prisoners suspected of infectious or contagious conditions; the noting of physical or mental defects which might hamper rehabilitation, and the determination of the physical capacity of every prisoner for work.
25. (1) The medical officer shall have the care of the physical and mental health of the prisoners and should daily see all sick prisoners, all who complain of illness, and any prisoner to whom his attention is specially directed.
(2) The medical officer shall report to the director whenever he considers that a prisoner's physical or mental health has been or will be injuriously affected by continued imprisonment or by any condition of imprisonment.
26. (I) The medical officer shall regularly inspect and advise the director upon:
(a) The quantity, quality, preparation and service of food;
(b) The hygiene and cleanliness of the institution and the prisoners;
(c) The sanitation, heating, lighting and ventilation of the institution;
(d) The suitability and cleanliness of the prisoners' clothing and bedding;
(e) The observance of the rules concerning physical education and sports, in cases where there is no technical personnel in charge of these activities.
(2) The director shall take into consideration the reports and advice that the medical officer submits according to rules 25 (2) and 26 and, in case he concurs with the recommendations made, shall take immediate steps to give effect to those recommendations; if they are not within his competence or if he does not concur with them, he shall immediately submit his own report and the advice of the medical officer to higher authority.

Discipline and punishment

27. Discipline and order shall be maintained with firmness, but with no more restriction than is necessary for safe custody and well-ordered community life.
28. (1) No prisoner shall be employed, in the service of the institution, in any disciplinary capacity.
(2) This rule shall not, however, impede the proper functioning of systems based on self government, under which specified social, educational or sports activities or responsibilities are entrusted, under supervision, to prisoners who are formed into groups for the purposes of treatment.
29. The following shall always be determined by the law or by the regulation of the competent administrative authority:
(a) Conduct constituting a disciplinary offence;
(b) The types and duration of punishment which may be inflicted;
(c) The authority competent to impose such punishment.
30. (1) No prisoner shall be punished except in accordance with the terms of such law or regulation, and never twice for the same offence.
(2) No prisoner shall be punished unless he has been informed of the offence alleged against him and given a proper opportunity of presenting his defence. The competent authority shall conduct a thorough examination of the case.
(3) Where necessary and practicable the prisoner shall be allowed to make his defence through an interpreter.
31. Corporal punishment, punishment by placing in a dark cell, and all cruel, inhuman or degrading punishments shall be completely prohibited as punishments for disciplinary offences.

32. (1) Punishment by close confinement or reduction of diet shall never be inflicted unless the medical officer has examined the prisoner and certified in writing that he is fit to sustain it.
(2) The same shall apply to any other punishment that may be prejudicial to the physical or mental health of a prisoner. In no case may such punishment be contrary to or depart from the principle stated in rule 31.
(3) The medical officer shall visit daily prisoners undergoing such punishments and shall advise the director if he considers the termination or alteration of the punishment necessary on grounds of physical or mental health.

Instruments of restraint

33. Instruments of restraint, such as handcuffs, chains, irons and strait-jacket, shall never be applied as a punishment. Furthermore, chains or irons shall not be used as restraints. Other instruments of restraint shall not be used except in the following circumstances:
(a) As a precaution against escape during a transfer, provided that they shall be removed when the prisoner appears before a judicial or administrative authority; (b) On medical grounds by direction of the medical officer; (c) By order of the director, if other methods of control fail, in order to prevent a prisoner from injuring himself or others or from damaging property; in such instances the director shall at once consult the medical officer and report to the higher administrative authority.
34. The patterns and manner of use of instruments of restraint shall be decided by the central prison administration. Such instruments must not be applied for any longer time than is strictly necessary.

Information to and complaints by prisoners

35. (1) Every prisoner on admission shall be provided with written information about the regulations governing the treatment of prisoners of his category, the disciplinary requirements of the institution, the authorized methods of seeking information and making complaints, and all such other matters as are necessary to enable him to understand both his rights and his obligations and to adapt himself to the life of the institution.
(2) If a prisoner is illiterate, the aforesaid information shall be conveyed to him orally.
36. (1) Every prisoner shall have the opportunity each week day of making requests or complaints to the director of the institution or the officer authorized to represent him.
(2) It shall be possible to make requests or complaints to the inspector of prisons during his inspection. The prisoner shall have the opportunity to talk to the inspector or to any other inspecting officer without the director or other members of the staff being present.
(3) Every prisoner shall be allowed to make a request or complaint, without censorship as to substance but in proper form, to the central prison administration, the judicial authority or other proper authorities through approved channels.
(4) Unless it is evidently frivolous or groundless, every request or complaint shall be promptly dealt with and replied to without undue delay.

Contact with the outside world

37. Prisoners shall be allowed under necessary supervision to communicate with their family and reputable friends at regular intervals, both by correspondence and by receiving visits.
38. (1) Prisoners who are foreign nationals shall be allowed reasonable facilities to communicate with the diplomatic and consular representatives of the State to which they belong. (2) Prisoners who are nationals of States without diplomatic or consular representation in the country and refugees or stateless persons shall be allowed similar facilities to communicate with the
diplomatic representative of the State which takes charge of their interests or any national or

international authority whose task it is to protect such persons.

39. Prisoners shall be kept informed regularly of the more important items of news by the reading of newspapers, periodicals or special institutional publications, by hearing wireless transmissions, by lectures or by any similar means as authorized or controlled by the administration.

Books

40. Every institution shall have a library for the use of all categories of prisoners, adequately stocked with both recreational and instructional books, and prisoners shall be encouraged to make full use of it.ed

Religion

41. (1) If the institution contains a sufficient number of prisoners of the same religion, a qualified representative of that religion shall be appointed or approved. If the number of prisoners justifies it and conditions permit, the arrangement should be on a full-time basis.

(2) A qualified representative appointed or approved under paragraph (1) shall be allowed to hold regular services and to pay pastoral visits in private to prisoners of his religion at proper times.

(3) Access to a qualified representative of any religion shall not be refused to any prisoner. On the other hand, if any prisoner should object to a visit of any religious representative, his attitude shall be fully respected.

42. So far as practicable, every prisoner shall be allowed to satisfy the needs of his religious life by attending the services provided in the institution and having in his possession the books of religious observance and instruction of his denomination.

Retention of prisoners' property

43. (1) All money, valuables, clothing and other effects belonging to a prisoner which under the regulations of the institution he is not allowed to retain shall on his admission to the institution be placed in safe custody. An inventory thereof shall be signed by the prisoner. Steps shall be taken to keep them in good condition. (2) On the release of the prisoner all such articles and money shall be returned to him except in so far as he has been authorized to spend money or send any such property out of the institution, or it has been found necessary on hygienic grounds to destroy any article of clothing. The prisoner shall sign a receipt for the articles and money returned to him.

(3) Any money or effects received for a prisoner from outside shall be treated in the same way.

(4) If a prisoner brings in any drugs or medicine, the medical officer shall decide what use shall be made of them.

Notification of death, illness, transfer, etc.

44. (1) Upon the death or serious illness of, or serious injury to a prisoner, or his removal to an institution for the treatment of mental affections, the director shall at once inform the spouse, if the prisoner is married, or the nearest relative and shall in any event inform any other person previously designated by the prisoner.

(2) A prisoner shall be informed at once of the death or serious illness of any near relative. In case of the critical illness of a near relative, the prisoner should be authorized, whenever circumstances allow, to go to his bedside either under escort or alone.

(3) Every prisoner shall have the right to inform at once his family of his imprisonment or his transfer to another institution.

Removal of prisoners

45. (1) When the prisoners are being removed to or from an institution, they shall be exposed to public view as little as possible, and proper safeguards shall be adopted to protect them from insult, curiosity and publicity in any form.
(2) The transport of prisoners in conveyances with inadequate ventilation or light, or in any way which would subject them to unnecessary physical hardship, shall be prohibited.
(3) The transport of prisoners shall be carried out at the expense of the administration and equal conditions shall obtain for all of them.

Institutional personnel

46. (1) The prison administration, shall provide for the careful selection of every grade of the personnel, since it is on their integrity, humanity, professional capacity and personal suitability for the work that the proper administration of the institutions depends.
(2) The prison administration shall constantly seek to awaken and maintain in the minds both of the personnel and of the public the conviction that this work is a social service of great importance, and to this end all appropriate means of informing the public should be used.
(3) To secure the foregoing ends, personnel shall be appointed on a full-time basis as professional prison officers and have civil service status with security of tenure subject only to good conduct, efficiency and physical fitness. Salaries shall be adequate to attract and retain suitable men and women; employment benefits and conditions of service shall be favourable in view of the exacting nature of the work.
47. (1) The personnel shall possess an adequate standard of education and intelligence.
(2) Before entering on duty, the personnel shall be given a course of training in their general and specific duties and be required to pass theoretical and practical tests.
(3) After entering on duty and during their career, the personnel shall maintain and improve their knowledge and professional capacity by attending courses of in-service training to be organized at suitable intervals.
48. All members of the personnel shall at all times so conduct themselves and perform their duties as to influence the prisoners for good by their example and to command their respect.
49. (1) So far as possible, the personnel shall include a sufficient number of specialists such as psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, teachers and trade instructors.
(2) The services of social workers, teachers and trade instructors shall be secured on a permanent basis, without thereby excluding part-time or voluntary workers.
50. (1) The director of an institution should be adequately qualified for his task by character, administrative ability, suitable training and experience.
(2) He shall devote his entire time to his official duties and shall not be appointed on a part-time basis.
(3) He shall reside on the premises of the institution or in its immediate vicinity. (4) When two or more institutions are under the authority of one director, he shall visit each of them at frequent intervals. A responsible resident official shall be in charge of each of these institutions.
51. (1) The director, his deputy, and the majority of the other personnel of the institution shall be able to speak the language of the greatest number of prisoners, or a language understood by the greatest number of them.
(2) Whenever necessary, the services of an interpreter shall be used.
52. (1) In institutions which are large enough to require the services of one or more full-time medical officers, at least one of them shall reside on the premises of the institution or in its immediate vicinity.
(2) In other institutions the medical officer shall visit daily and shall reside near enough to be

able to attend without delay in cases of urgency.
53. (1) In an institution for both men and women, the part of the institution set aside for women shall be under the authority of a responsible woman officer who shall have the custody of the keys of all that part of the institution.
(2) No male member of the staff shall enter the part of the institution set aside for women unless accompanied by a woman officer.
(3) Women prisoners shall be attended and supervised only by women officers. This does not, however, preclude male members of the staff, particularly doctors and teachers, from carrying out their professional duties in institutions or parts of institutions set aside for women.
54. (1) Officers of the institutions shall not, in their relations with the prisoners, use force except in self-defence or in cases of attempted escape, or active or passive physical resistance to an order based on law or regulations. Officers who have recourse to force must use no more than is strictly necessary and must report the incident immediately to the director of the institution.
(2) Prison officers shall be given special physical training to enable them to restrain aggressive prisoners.
(3) Except in special circumstances, staff performing duties which bring them into direct contact with prisoners should not be armed. Furthermore, staff should in no circumstances be provided with arms unless they have been trained in their use.

Inspection

55. There shall be a regular inspection of penal institutions and services by qualified and experienced inspectors appointed by a competent authority. Their task shall be in particular to ensure that these institutions are administered in accordance with existing laws and regulations and with a view to bringing about the objectives of penal and correctional services.

PART II
RULES APPLICABLE TO SPECIAL CATEGORIES
A. PRISONERS UNDER SENTENCE

Guiding principles

56. The guiding principles hereafter are intended to show the spirit in which penal institutions should be administered and the purposes at which they should aim, in accordance with the declaration made under Preliminary **Observation I of the present text.**
57. Imprisonment and other measures which result in cutting off an offender from the outside world are afflictive by the very fact of taking from the person the right of self-determination by depriving him of his liberty. Therefore the prison system shall not, except as incidental to justifiable segregation or the maintenance of discipline, aggravate the suffering inherent in such a situation.
58. The purpose and justification of a sentence of imprisonment or a similar measure deprivative of liberty is ultimately to protect society against crime. This end can only be achieved if the period of imprisonment is used to ensure, so far as possible, that upon his return to society the offender is not only willing but able to lead a law-abiding and self-supporting life.
59. To this end, the institution should utilize all the remedial, educational, moral, spiritual and other forces and forms of assistance which are appropriate and available, and should seek to apply them according to the individual treatment needs of the prisoners.
60. (1) The regime of the institution should seek to minimize any differences between prison life and life at liberty which tend to lessen the responsibility of the prisoners or the respect due to their dignity as human beings.

(2) Before the completion of the sentence, it is desirable that the necessary steps be taken to ensure for the prisoner a gradual return to life in society. This aim may be achieved, depending on the case, by a pre-release regime organized in the same institution or in another appropriate institution, or by release on trial under some kind of supervision which must not be entrusted to the police but should be combined with effective social aid. 61. The treatment of prisoners should emphasize not their exclusion from the community, but their continuing part in it. Community agencies should, therefore, be enlisted wherever possible to assist the staff of the institution in the task of social rehabilitation of the prisoners. There should be in connection with every institution social workers charged with the duty of maintaining and improving all desirable relations of a prisoner with his family and with valuable social agencies. Steps should be taken to
safeguard, to the maximum extent compatible with the law and the sentence, the rights relating to civil interests, social security rights and other social benefits of prisoners.
62. The medical services of the institution shall seek to detect and shall treat any physical or mental illnesses or defects which may hamper a prisoner's rehabilitation. All necessary medical, surgical and psychiatric services shall be provided to that end.
63. (1) The fulfillment of these principles requires individualization of treatment and for this purpose a flexible system of classifying prisoners in groups; it is therefore desirable that such groups should be distributed in separate institutions suitable for the treatment of each group.
(2) These institutions need not provide the same degree of security for every group. It is desirable to provide varying degrees of security according to the needs of different groups. Open institutions, by the very fact that they provide no physical security against escape but rely on the self-discipline of the inmates, provide the conditions most favourable to rehabilitation for carefully selected prisoners.
(3) It is desirable that the number of prisoners in closed institutions should not be so large that the individualization of treatment is hindered. In some countries it is considered that the population of such institutions should not exceed five hundred. In open institutions the population should be as small as possible.
(4) On the other hand, it is undesirable to maintain prisons which are so small that proper facilities cannot be provided.
64. The duty of society does not end with a prisoner's release. There should, therefore, be governmental or private agencies capable of lending the released prisoner efficient after-care directed towards the lessening of prejudice against him and towards his social rehabilitation.

Treatment

65. The treatment of persons sentenced to imprisonment or a similar measure shall have as its purpose, so far as the length of the sentence permits, to establish in them the will to lead law-abiding and self-supporting lives after their release and to fit them to do so. The treatment shall be such as will encourage their self-respect and develop their sense of responsibility.
66. (1) To these ends, all appropriate means shall be used, including religious care in the countries where this is possible, education, vocational guidance and training, social casework, employment counseling, physical development and strengthening of moral character, in accordance with the individual needs of each prisoner, taking account of his social and criminal history, his physical and mental capacities and aptitudes, his personal temperament, the length

of his sentence and his prospects after release.
(2) For every prisoner with a sentence of suitable length, the director shall receive, as soon as possible after his admission, full reports on all the matters referred to in the foregoing paragraph. Such reports shall always include a report by a medical officer, wherever possible qualified in
psychiatry, on the physical and mental condition of the prisoner.
(3) The reports and other relevant documents shall be placed in an individual file. This file shall be kept up to date and classified in such a way that it can be consulted by the responsible personnel whenever the need arises.

Classification and individualization

67. The purposes of classification shall be:
(a) To separate from others those prisoners who, by reason of their criminal records or bad characters, are likely to exercise a bad influence;
(b) To divide the prisoners into classes in order to facilitate their treatment with a view to their social rehabilitation.
68. So far as possible separate institutions or separate sections of an institution shall be used for the treatment of the different classes of prisoners.
69. As soon as possible after admission and after a study of the personality of each prisoner with a sentence of suitable length, a programme of treatment shall be prepared for him in the light of the knowledge obtained about his individual needs, his capacities and dispositions.

Privileges

70. Systems of privileges appropriate for the different classes of prisoners and the different methods of treatment shall be established at every institution, in order to encourage good conduct, develop a sense of responsibility and secure the interest and co-operation of the prisoners in their treatment.

Work

71. (1) Prison labour must not be of an afflictive nature.
(2) All prisoners under sentence shall be required to work, subject to their physical and mental fitness as determined by the medical officer.
(3) Sufficient work of a useful nature shall be provided to keep prisoners actively employed for a normal working day.
(4) So far as possible the work provided shall be such as will maintain or increase the prisoners, ability to earn an honest living after release.
(5) Vocational training in useful trades shall be provided for prisoners able to profit thereby and especially for young prisoners.
(6) Within the limits compatible with proper vocational selection and with the requirements of institutional administration and discipline, the prisoners shall be able to choose the type of work they wish to perform.
72. (1) The organization and methods of work in the institutions shall resemble as closely as possible those of similar work outside institutions, so as to prepare prisoners for the conditions of normal occupational life.
(2) The interests of the prisoners and of their vocational training, however, must not be subordinated to the purpose of making a financial profit from an industry in the institution.
73. (1) Preferably institutional industries and farms should be operated directly by the administration and not by private contractors.
(2) Where prisoners are employed in work not controlled by the administration, they shall

always be under the supervision of the institution's personnel. Unless the work is for other departments
of the government the full normal wages for such work shall be paid to the administration by the persons to whom the labour is supplied, account being taken of the output of the prisoners.

74. (1) The precautions laid down to protect the safety and health of free workmen shall be equally observed in institutions.

(2) Provision shall be made to indemnify prisoners against industrial injury, including occupational disease, on terms not less favourable than those extended by law to free workmen.

75. (1) The maximum daily and weekly working hours of the prisoners shall be fixed by law or by administrative regulation, taking into account local rules or custom in regard to the employment of free workmen.

(2) The hours so fixed shall leave one rest day a week and sufficient time for education and other activities required as part of the treatment and rehabilitation of the prisoners.

76. (1) There shall be a system of equitable remuneration of the work of prisoners.

(2) Under the system prisoners shall be allowed to spend at least a part of their earnings on approved articles for their own use and to send a part of their earnings to their family.

(3) The system should also provide that a part of the earnings should be set aside by the administration so as to constitute a savings fund to be handed over to the prisoner on his release.

Education and recreation

77. (1) Provision shall be made for the further education of all prisoners capable of profiting thereby, including religious instruction in the countries where this is possible. The education of illiterates and young prisoners shall be compulsory and special attention shall be paid to it by the administration.

(2) So far as practicable, the education of prisoners shall be integrated with the educational system of the country so that after their release they may continue their education without difficulty.

78. Recreational and cultural activities shall be provided in all institutions for the benefit of the mental and physical health of prisoners.

Social relations and after-care

79. Special attention shall be paid to the maintenance and improvement of such relations between a prisoner and his family as are desirable in the best interests of both.

80. From the beginning of a prisoner's sentence consideration shall be given to his future after release and he shall be encouraged and assisted to maintain or establish such relations with persons or agencies outside the institution as may promote the best interests of his family and his own social rehabilitation.

81. (1) Services and agencies, governmental or otherwise, which assist released prisoners to reestablish themselves in society shall ensure, so far as is possible and necessary, that released prisoners be provided with appropriate documents and identification papers, have suitable homes and work to go to, are suitably and adequately clothed having regard to the climate and season, and have sufficient means to reach their destination and maintain themselves in the period immediately following their release.

(2) The approved representatives of such agencies shall have all necessary access to the institution and to prisoners and shall be taken into consultation as to the future of a prisoner from the beginning of his sentence.

(3) It is desirable that the activities of such agencies shall be centralized or co-ordinated as far as possible in order to secure the best use of their efforts.

B. INSANE AND MENTALLY ABNORMAL PRISONERS

82. (1) Persons who are found to be insane shall not be detained in prisons and arrangements shall be made to remove them to mental institutions as soon as possible.

(2) Prisoners who suffer from other mental diseases or abnormalities shall be observed and treated in specialized institutions under medical management.

(3) During their stay in a prison, such prisoners shall be placed under the special supervision of a medical officer.

(4) The medical or psychiatric service of the penal institutions shall provide for the psychiatric treatment of all other prisoners who are in need of such treatment.

83. It is desirable that steps should be taken, by arrangement with the appropriate agencies, to ensure if necessary the continuation of psychiatric treatment after release and the provision of social-psychiatric after-care.

C. PRISONERS UNDER ARREST OR AWAITING TRIAL

84. (1) Persons arrested or imprisoned by reason of a criminal charge against them, who are detained either in police custody or in prison custody (jail) but have not yet been tried and sentenced, will be referred to as "untried prisoners,' hereinafter in these rules.

(2) Unconvicted prisoners are presumed to be innocent and shall be treated as such.

(3) Without prejudice to legal rules for the protection of individual liberty or prescribing the procedure to be observed in respect of untried prisoners, these prisoners shall benefit by a special regime which is described in the following rules in its essential requirements only.

85. (1) Untried prisoners shall be kept separate from convicted prisoners.

(2) Young untried prisoners shall be kept separate from adults and shall in principle be detained in separate institutions.

86. Untried prisoners shall sleep singly in separate rooms, with the reservation of different local custom in respect of the climate.

87. Within the limits compatible with the good order of the institution, untried prisoners may, if they so desire, have their food procured at their own expense from the outside, either through the administration or through their family or friends. Otherwise, the administration shall provide their food.

88. (I) An untried prisoner shall be allowed to wear his own clothing if it is clean and suitable.

(2) If he wears prison dress, it shall be different from that supplied to convicted prisoners.

89. An untried prisoner shall always be offered opportunity to work, but shall not be required to work. If he chooses to work, he shall be paid for it.

90. An untried prisoner shall be allowed to procure at his own expense or at the expense of a third party such books, newspapers, writing materials and other means of occupation as are compatible with the interests of the administration of justice and the security and good order of the institution.

91. An untried prisoner shall be allowed to be visited and treated by his own doctor or dentist if there is reasonable ground for his application and he is able to pay any expenses incurred.

92. An untried prisoner shall be allowed to inform immediately his family of his detention and shall be given all reasonable facilities for communicating with his family and friends, and for receiving visits from them, subject only to restrictions and supervision as are necessary in the interests of the administration of justice and of the security and good order of the institution.

93. For the purposes of his defence, an untried prisoner shall be allowed to apply for free legal aid where such aid is available, and to receive visits from his legal adviser with a view to his defence and to prepare and hand to him confidential instructions. For these purposes, he shall if

he so desires be supplied with writing material. Interviews between the prisoner and his legal adviser may be within sight but not within the hearing of a police or institution official.

D. CIVIL PRISONERS

94. In countries where the law perm its imprisonment for debt, or by order of a court under any other non-criminal process, persons so imprisoned shall not be subjected to any greater restriction or severity than is necessary to ensure safe custody and good order. Their treatment shall be not less favourable than that of untried prisoners, with the reservation, however, that they may possibly be required to work.

E. PERSONS ARRESTED OR DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGE

95. Without prejudice to the provisions of article 9 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, persons arrested or imprisoned without charge shall be accorded the same protection as that accorded under part I and part II, section C. Relevant provisions of part II, section A, shall likewise be applicable where their application may be conducive to the benefit of this special group of persons in custody, provided that no measures shall be taken implying that re-education or rehabilitation is in any way appropriate to persons not convicted of any criminal offence.

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