SUBCULTURAL TIES IN PRISON AS A FUNCTION OF OUTSIDE CONTACTS

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PREFACE

Donald Clemmer identified the process of prisonization, a summarizing concept, which reveals the consequences of exposure to inmate society and is believed to exist in all prisons. According to Clemmer, prisonization denotes the taking on in greater or lesser degree, of folkways, mores, customs and general culture of the penitentiary. He proposed a number of determinants of the degree and speed of prisonization. This study is concerned with reexamining some of the hypotheses pertaining to the process of prisonization as originally advanced by Clemmer (1940) and later modified by Wheeler (1961).

The major purpose of this study is to determine if there is any causal linkage between the amount of outside contacts of an inmate and the extent of his subcultural ties in the prison. Inmate attachment to prison contraculture is equated to his becoming prisonized. It is assumed that in the absence of the outside supportive and meaningful relationships, inmates are forced to seek personal gratification and acceptance among his fellow inmates. Their association and interaction patterns with other inmates and their membership in the inmate subculture are believed to be the principal factors responsible for antisocial attitudes and behavior among inmates. If this assumption holds true it will make a strong case for a more generous policy toward outside contacts of the inmate through family visitation and written correspondance. Furthermore, such retention of outside ties would, no doubt, help the inmate to achieve a smooth and

successful reentry into the outside community after his release from the penal institution.

The author wishes to express very special appreciation to Dr. Harjit Sandhu not only for contributing to the author's initial interest in this project but also for his sincere encouragement to undertake this research effort, and to Dr. Werner Gruinger, major thesis adviser, for his invaluable guidance and consultation throughout the course of this study and for his assistance in the preparation of the final manuscript. Appreciation is also expressed to Dr. Edgar Webster for his assistance and technical advice on the intricacies of research methodology and to Dr. Jack Bynum for his encouragement and helpful comments. In addition, a personal note of appreciation is extended to Mrs. Iris McPherson, Systems Analyst, University Computer Center, for her painstaking assistance in computer work and general data processing.

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INMATE ORIENTATION AND PRISONIZATION

Critical Issues

Effectiveness Of Correctional Techniques

Most experts in the field of penology strongly believe that what we have so far accomplished by sending a convicted offender to a penal institution has been to isolate him from socially beneficial contacts with persons outside the inmate social world and to prevent the formation of relationships and personal bonds which might redefine him as an acceptable member of the noncriminal community. This particular belief, no doubt, reflects a rather harsh criticism of the effectiveness of the penal institutions in particular and the correctional policies and goals in general, and seemingly takes into account only the punitive function among all other important functions that are performed by these institutions.

In recent years, the failure of correctional agencies to achieve their proclaimed objectives, namely protection of society from the dangerous criminals and rehabilitation of their charges through reformation, has been dramatically exposed. The widespread manifestations of crime, violence, and civil disorders in the American society have been subjected to the critical analysis of five national commissions established by presidential appointments. With respect to corrections, The Commission On Law Enforcement And The Administration Of Justice (task force on

corrections) concluded that modern corrections still remains a grossly ineffective system which in many cases is harmful to those offenders who are committed to its control. It was pointed out that in the short run penal institutions may protect society from the criminal but in the long run they appear to be the training ground for the formation of criminal careers.[1] The report was also very skeptical of various correctional and treatment efforts carried out within these institutions. In the opinion of these panels, the modern methods of corrections have offered little evidence that widely acclaimed programs of counseling, psychotherapy and vocational, technical and other formal education in the institution are achieving their objective of reducing further criminal acts by those convicts who have undergone such institutional treatment programs.

It becomes obvious that there are two very distinct issues. The first issue deals with the notion of incarceration in the penal institution itself as a form of correctional technique. Is it an effective way to punish those who have committed crimes against society (assuming, of course, the reformative value of punishment)? The second issue deals with the efficacy of any one or more of the correctional techniques that now are in use within these institutions. In the administration of criminal law, we have basically assumed that the punishment of criminals in terms of pain and suffering intentionally inflicted by the state has some value. The punishment is supposed not only to be one of the correctional techniques but it also is supposed to have a definite deterrent effect on the potential wrong-doers. From time immemorial, there have always been many general programs that were used to implement the punitive reaction to crime. Physical torture, social degradation, restriction of wealth and of freedom are among the practices used for inflicting pain

on criminals. At present, the most popular techniques of this sort are restriction on wealth (fines) and restrictions on liberty (imprisonment).[2]

As a general program for dealing with criminals, a prison performs an integrating function for society.[3] According to this notion, the prison is expected to restore society to the state of equilibrium and harmony it was in before the crime was committed. This is achieved by segregating "undesirables", "deviants", "nonconformist", "outlaws", etc. behind walls. The prison also contributes to social integration by reducing the occurrence of future crimes. It is believed that crime rates can be kept minimal both by deterrent effects of imprisonment and by reinforcing the anti-criminal values of the society. Finally the imprisonment is also expected to reduce crime rates by changing criminals into noncriminals. It is this last aim of prisons which gives imprisonment the character of a "correctional technique". And as yet we really do not have any objective scientific evidence that inflicting pain on criminals is an efficient system for maintaining or restoring social integration, or that imprisoning offenders deters others, reinforces anticriminal values, corrects or in some way promotes social solidarity.[4] But at the same time we also do not know that inflicting pain by imprisonment or by any other means is not an efficient system for achieving the desired ends.

In recent years, there has been a trend away from the notion that inflicting pain and suffering reforms criminals; and it has also become fashionable to argue that prisons do not correct and, that, therefore, they should be abolished,[5] or so modified that they become hospitals rather than places of punishment.[6] The fact still remains that neither of these two arguments are based on any kind of scientific evidence. So far, there has not been an acceptable measure of "effectiveness" of punishment or

imprisonment. Cressey argues that whether the prison is a failure or a success should be based on humanitarian, political, or other nonscientific grounds for there can be no scientific data supporting the statement.[7]

One of the problems of the constant debate over the effectiveness of incarceration or the success or failure of any one of the currently practiced programs is that we have been able to draw very little on existing systematic empirical knowledge about the rehabilitative efforts including offender treatment in various institutional and noninstitutional settings. Robert Martinson and Walter C. Bailey undertook a comprehensive survey of various research studies and selected those studies which met the researcher's criteria. The studies included in the project had to be (1) an evaluation of a treatment method based on empirical data, (2) employ an independent measure of improvement secured by this method, and (3) use a control group to compare the result with. These studies used various measures of offender improvement such as recidivism rate, adjustment to prison life, vocational success, educational achievement, personality and attitude change and the general adjustment to the outside community. Of these measures, the one most commonly used is the rate of recidivism among those released from the penal institution.

Martinson's findings, specifically with respect to the recidivism, reported, "...with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have no appreciable effect on recidivism".[8] Bailey's findings were essentially very similar. He concluded, "...on the basis of this sample of outcome reports, with all of its limitations, evidence supporting the efficacy of correctional treatment is slight, inconsistent, and of questionable reliability".[9]

Prisoner Orientations

It would be safe to assume that imprisonment as a form of punishing certain categories of convicted offenders is going to be with us for some time to come. And the myriad of problems encountered in the process of carrying out this socio-legal mandate of society by penal institutions would require continuous and critical attention and assessment. The basic problem associated with the incarceration of an offender lies in the fact that he is totally cut off from the outside world and he is deprived of many beneficial contacts with persons in the outside community. Gresham Sykes elaborates on what an imprisonment means to these men:

> Imprisonment means that the inmate is cut off from family, relatives and friends not in the self-isolation of the hermit or the misanthrope but in the involutary seclusion of the outlaw. It is true that visiting and mailing privileges partly relieve the prisoner's isolation if he can find someone to visit or write him, and who shall be approved as a visitor or correspondent by prison officials. Many inmates, however, have their links with persons in the free community weakening as the months and years pass by.[10]

According to Sykes, imprisonment imposes many painful conditions on inmates - the most obvious being the loss of liberty and the freedom of movement. He is restricted not only to the institution itself but also within the institutional complex. There are other deprivations which are less noticed by the outsiders but nonetheless they are very real to an inmate. These deprivations include deprivation of goods and services, or hetero-sexual relationships, of personal autonomy and of personal security. Sykes notes that a loss of freedom of movement and some other deprivations mentioned above are not as serious to an inmate as the loss of contact with persons outside prison walls.

It is commonly assumed that once the prisoner is cut off from the outside contacts he has only two alternatives; one is to turn to other members of the prison community for moral and emotional support, and the other is to stay completely isolated during his institutional stay. Reports, especially in biographical material, indicate that individuals with unusual gifts or talents that had hitherto been dormant or those with conflicts concerning their criminality in the first place, can be motivated to dissociate themselves from inmate groups through an orientation to a new goal or insight into their own conflicts. But the great majority of prisoners have neither any special talents nor the ability to achieve insights into their basic problems. For them adjustment means attachment to or at least acceptance of inmate group norms. Possible reasons for such an attachment are advanced by Sykes, McCorkle and Korn, Wheeler, Irwin and others. Wheeler points out that the dominant normative order among inmates is strongly opposed to that of the staff. An inmate who values friendship among his peers and at the same time wishes to conform to the staff norm faces a role conflict. The only way he can resolve the conflict is to either give up primary group ties or have a shift in attitude. His data shows that the dominant tendancy among inmates is to move in the direction of nonconformity.[11] It is also believed that some inmates have a stronger need for group affiliation than others; such a need can only be satisfied in prison by associating with other inmates.[12] McCorkle believes that the welfare of an individual inmate along with his psychological freedom and dignity does not importantly depend on how much education, recreation and consultation he receives but rather depends on how he manages to live and to relate with other inmates who constitute his crucial and only meaningful world.[13] McCorkle and Korn theorize that the inmate social system

thus formed attempts to deal with the common problem faced by all the inmates. It provides a way of life which enables them to avoid the devastating psychological effects of internalizing and converting social rejection into self-rejection. "...in effect it permits the inmate to reject his rejectors rather than himself".[14]

Sykes and Messinger point to a set of harsh social conditions caused by the fact of being in prison and give the reasons why an inmate needs to adapt himself to these unusual conditions. They postulate that in order to alleviate the "pains of imprisonment", including the deprivations and frustrations of prison life, with their implications for destruction of his self-esteem, the prison population needs to move toward a state of mutal dependence. They add, "...as a population of prisoners moves in the direction of solidarity, as demanded by the inmate code, the pains of imprisonment become less severe".[15] The studies of prisoner participation in the prison social world recognize two basic styles: an individual style reflecting withdrawal and/or isolation, and a collective style denoting participation in a convict social system which through its solidarity, regulation of activities, distribution of goods and prestige and apparent opposition to the conventional norms helps the individual to withstand pain.[16]

Irwin and Cressey believe that individual prisoner's participation in the prison culture is determined by his basic orientation. They identify two major categories of inmates. There are those inmates who identify and therefore adapt to a broader world than that of prison and there are those who orient themselves primarily to the prison world. Irwin points out that in some instances this orientation is the basis for forming very important choices with important consequences for the felon's long term

career. It influences the criteria for assigning and earning prestige and status.[17] Those inmates who are mainly oriented to a prison subculture seek status through means available in the prison environment. The inmates who have a much broader orientation include two distinct types of prisoners. One type has an orientation toward a criminal subculture in a much broader sense with many contacts with the outside criminal world. To these inmates the present incarceration is only a brief break from their routine activities. And then there are others who hold conventional anti-criminal values and have an orientation to the outside legitimate culture. Irwin and Cressey point out that these inmates do participate in the interaction with other inmates but so far, there is a total lack of empirical knowledge about the possible effects the "do rights" have on the total pattern of inmate social interaction.[18]

Prisonization

Most crucial to this research project is the concept of prisonization, a process first identified by Donald Clemmer. He used it principally to denote a way in which an inmate takes on in greater or less degree folkways, mores, customs and general culture of the penitentiary.[19] Once prisonized in this manner, an inmate is believed to become relatively immune to the influences of the conventional society. The degree of prisonization is considered to be the most important factor affecting inmate adjustment after he is released from the prison. Clemmer postulates that the degree of prisonization would be lowest for those inmates who had positive social relationships with persons in the outside community; for those whose prison stay allows only a brief exposure to the "universal features" of imprisonment; and for those who do not affiliate with other inmates.[20]

The present study attempts to focus on the two significant variables that affect prisonization. The outside contacts of an inmate and the extent of his participation in the inmate subculture are believed to be quite valuable in order to determine the extent of antisocial value adoption and antisocial climate perception on the part of inmate population. Inmates' participation in the inmate contra-culture, a term describing association patterns among inmates, their professed values and attitudes, the collective resistence shown to staff-imposed treatment and training programs, has been found to be one of the principal causes of prisonization among prisoners.

It is often believed that among the many factors that influence the extent of inmate's involvement with other inmates, the degree of his attachment to family and friends is quite important. Partial evidence of the effect of such ties is revealed in the higher rate of conformity to staff-expectations for married men and for those who report that family members have "confidence" in them.[21] So far the effects of the positive outside ties on inmate's participation in prison culture have not been systematically researched.

Stanley Brodsky studied interpersonal relationships of confined male adults, as these relations change over time. The changes in the quantity and quality of interaction were investigated in the context of theories that postulated that the pre-prison relationships and friendships deteriorate over time.[22] Daniel Glaser also investigated the association between family relationships and post-release success on parole. His findings reported that family relationships are of major importance and parole success was regularly associated with strong family ties.[23] Holt and Miller's 12-month follow-up study of 412 California parolees also indicated that the inmates who had frequent visits while serving their time in the

penal institutions had significantly less parole difficulties than those who had fewer visitors.[24]

Another factor believed to be quite important in determining the degree of prisonization is the time element. The total length of the time spent in the institution along with the time as yet remaining to be served is taken into consideration while analyzing the effect of the time dimension on the process of prisonization. Wheeler and Garabedian studies point out that after the early period of relative isolation, there is a tendency for prison inmates to become involved in the inmate sub-culture since the pressures toward such an involvement are stronger and are keenly felt at a time when the inmates are furthest removed from the outside contacts.

More in line with the present research effort is the cross-cultural study of Scandinavian prisons conducted by Wheeler and Cline. The researchers had at their disposal an extensive data that included information on inmates' background, their involvement with other convicts, staff and persons on the outside, their association patterns, and their responses to incarceration. They were able to rank prisons according to varying levels of deprivations; and were able to obtain a measure of attitudinal conformity to staff-expectations. The anti-staff attitudes and anti-staff prison climate perception of an inmate were measured by presenting him a set of hypothetical situations which indicated his agreement with inmate norms and/or staff norms and his estimate of the extent of other inmates' agreement with his own response. The important conclusion drawn from the study stated that inmate responses to prison life are determined to a large extent by the relationship of both the prison and the prisoner to the external world.[25] They add, "In addition to its impact on the values held by entering inmates, the external world influences the kind of culture and social

organization that is formed within the prison and which serves as a social context within which an adaptation to prison life takes place".[26]

Wheeler's other findings with respect to time phase and the total length of sentence served showed that there was a general trend toward non-conformity to staff-values with the increased length of time spent in prison. It was also indicated that the evidence of non-conformity was much stronger for inmates who had made many friends in the prison than for those who remained relatively isolated. A time measure which took into account the institutional career phase of an inmate provided support for the notion that, perhaps, the impact of prison culture is short-lived. These findings did show a larger percentage of inmates strongly opposed to the staff norms during the last stage of their confinement than during the first but at the same time a "U-shaped" distribution of high conformity responses over the three periods was also evident.[27] This particular study also showed that corresponding to a larger percentage of nonconformists during the middle period of the sentence, there also was an evidence of more involvement with other inmates.

Purpose Of Research

The purpose of this research study is to reexamine many of the same empirical concepts used in the Wheeler study in order to determine, (1) if there is any causal linkage between the amount of the outside contacts of an inmate and the extent of his subcultural ties in prison, and (2) if a large number of subcultural ties or the involvement with inmate subculture would automatically imply the adherence to and the adoption of the inmate code uniformly by all participating inmates.

The Data Set And Significant Variables

The present research is based on an existing data set collected by Prof. Norman S. Hayner (University of Washington, Seattle) between 1967-1970. The entire data consists of twenty-two prisons for males, selected to represent a wide range of custody and treatment institutions, in five different countries. This project deals only with the data obtained in the seven U. S. prisons. Within each of these prisons, a sample of inmates, generally constituting about 10 percent of the total inmate population was selected. A questionnaire was designed to generate information on social and criminal background of the inmates, their pattern of interaction with other inmates and the staff, their correspondence and visitation records, the length of the present sentence and their participation in staff sponsored activities. Other items, included in the questionnaire, were used to formulate various scales to measure inmates' anti-social or pro-social values and attitudes. Taped interviews with wardens and senior administrators were used to gain information on administrative goals and policies and on the types of facilities and services available within each of these institutions. This information was later used to rank these institutions along a custody-treatment continuum to determine the varying levels of deprivation that existed in each of the institutions.

This data would provide the necessary information to test some of the propositions of the Wheeler study, particularly his contention that the inmates' mode of adaptation to the prison is primarily determined by the external and social factors. For an individual inmate, these external factors, in the main, constitute the personal and social contacts maintained by him in the outside community. It is anticipated that any change that

might occur in the nature of these relationships would correspond closely with a shift in inmate's subcultural ties within the prisoner community, that in turn will lead to a shift in his attitude, either in pro-staff or anti-staff direction. Inmate participation in the prison sub-culture with the exclusion of other positive contacts in the outside community is equated to his becoming increasingly anti-social in his attitudes and behavior.

Two main conceptual variables, the outside contacts and the inmate's sub-cultural ties, each with multiple indicators, would serve as the two major independent variables. On further examination of these variables, it is quite conceivable that the formation of sub-cultural ties could be thought of as an intermediate step leading to an adoption of anti-social attitudes by an inmate. For example, diminishing outside contacts, or the total lack of any contact would cause an inmate to turn to other inmates to alleviate some of the pains of imprisonment; and while so doing cause him to acquire the values and norms of that group which has provided him with much needed emotional and moral support. In other words, an inmate by virtue of his association with other inmates would become prisonized. An attempt will be made to assess the relative strength of each of these two variables as to which one is the most influencing factor in the adoption of prisonized attitudes.

Other factors, such as criminal maturity, levels of deprivation and prison career phase, appear to have much influence on the process of prisonization. These variables will be used as controls to test (a) the validity of the central hypothesis of this research study, i.e., the importance of the positive outside ties of an inmate in determining the extent of his involvement in the prison subculture, (b) the pains of

imprisonment hypothesis, (c) the importation hypothesis concerning the origin of the inmate code, and (d) the existence of U-shaped distribution with regard to conformity to conventional values.

To recapitulate once again, the main purpose of this research study is to reexamine many of the empirical concepts used by Stanton Wheeler to determine if there is any relationship between the amount of outside contacts of an inmate and also his subcultural ties and prisonization. An attempt will be made to determine if the large number of ties within the prisoner community automatically imply uniform adherence to and adoption of inmate code by all of the participating inmates. Other important determinants of prisonization such as background factors, time phase, deprivation level, etc. will be held constant to futher determine which of the two afore mentioned variables is the most critical factor in determining the degree and speed of prisonization.

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24. Norman Holt and Donald Miller, "Explorations in Inmate-Family Relationships", Quoted in Stanley Brodskey, op cit., p. 17.

25. Stanton Wheeler, Hugh H. Cline, "The Determinants of Normative Patterns in Correctional Institutions", 173-184, in Nils Christie, ed., Scandinavian Studies in Criminology, Tavistock, Vol.2, 1968.

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27. Wheeler, "Socialization in Correctional Communities", op cit., p. 173.

CHAPTER II

PRISON ORGANIZATION AND PRISONIZATION

A Survey Of The Literature

Aims of Organizational Research

For some researchers the prison represents a microcosm of the larger society. Donald Cressey elaborates on this point in his introduction to a collection of studies of the prison:

> The prison is a microcosm of the larger society which has created it and which maintains it, for this larger society also remains as a unit and continues to "work" despite numerous individual disagreements, misunderstandings, antagonisms and conflicts...."[1]

Cressey believes that we will be able to understand the larger society a little better through analyses of its microcosm, the prison.[2] The study of the prison social organization is important for the treatment of prisoners for basic reasons. First, it affects the lives of many Americans of all ages each year; and secondly, the treatment of inmates is bound intricately into the structure and social process of prison community. Without a proper understanding of the way the whole system works, many of our treatment and rehabilitative efforts are not likely to meet with much success.[3]

A survey of the literature indicates that prison research follows two major theoretical approaches that attempt to explain inmate behavior in an organizational context. One of the approaches covers a rather

broad area with its patterns of inquiry based on the empirical work in the field of complex social organizations. This approach deals with the impact of total institutions and managerial goals and policies on the behavior of prison inmates who are subjected to such organizational control. Prison studies, following this approach include in their analyses various aspects of prison organizational structure such as the administrative hierarchies, the interaction among various staff groups, the relationships between the staff and the inmates and the organizational relationships between prison as an integrative social organization and other segments of the public and the political, legal and economic structures. The second approach has a rather narrow base and it deals specifically with the prisoner community. The major concern here is on the operation and persistence of the inmate society in the face of custodial staff that enforces rules designed to control inmates.

In the sociology of correctional organization, the emphasis is on the discovery of social patterns and processes that are typical of correctional institutions. These institutions are viewed as particular cases of total institutions characterized by the barriers to social intercourse with the outside.[4] These barriers are often built right into the physical plants in a form of locked doors, high walls, barbed wires, water, cliff or forests. Goffman classified these institutions as one sub-type of the larger class of formal, complex organization and they are given the responsibility of handling many basic human needs by the bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people, whether or not this is necessary.[5] But this view of prison is only partially true. It has been argued that today's prisons are not isolated from the society as they used to be. Even though most of the day-to-day concerns of prison population center about life inside the

walls, and the inmates are aware that they have been involuntarily isolated from others in the free community, these inmates are not completely cut off from what's happening in the outside world. They are allowed to have visitors, to write letters and to receive mail from the family and friends. Many of them can listen to the radio or TV broadcasts or read the newspapers. Prisons are less total in one other respect. Outside interests, various pressure groups, political, legal and economic agencies along with general public opinion do influence the way in which these institutions carry out their diversified objectives. Schrag clarifies the above statement when he says, "the correctional officials carry a public trust, and their duties and responsibilites are defined for them in terms of conventional beliefs concerning criminal behavior".[6]

Many of these studies have important and direct implications for rehabilitation even though these studies have not been concerned primarily with therapy. These studies suggest that certain structural problems and contradiction of purposes do exist and are likely to persist and complicate the implementation of rehabilitative goals. There is a rather large body of theory and evidence concerning various facets of prison and reformatory social structure and organization but most of the material has accumulated from observations in a few maximum security institutions. There are important organizational differences among various types of penal facilities with different kinds of inmate population. These institutions also vary in the architecture of their physical plants and the size of the total number of inmates housed within any one institution. For example, reformatories which handle relatively young felons might show a greater incidence of troublesome, unstable inmate behavior than would a prison where the captives would be more involved in "doing their own time."

Similarly, other things being equal, facilities with obsolete architecture might be more custodially oriented than recently constructed, functionally designed institutions.[7] The size of the institutional population would also influence the type of organizational set-up and have important bearing on the outcome of the rehabilitative goal.

It becomes clear from the above discussion that one of the principal aims of the organizational research has been to describe the major organizational variables and their relationships to individual behavior. Pioneering work in this area was undertaken by Donald Clemmer when he conducted a full scale study of social and cultural organization of a penitentiary. Since Clemmer's work a number of significant organizational studies have documented differences in attitudes and behavior of inmates according to the type of institution in which they are confined.[8] Inmates confined in traditional custody-oriented prisons tend to be unified in their opposition to the formal authority system. However those confined in institutions, where treatment is a major organizational goal, tend to express more favorable attitude toward staff and prison administration. These observations have been made in both adult and juvenile institutions including minimum security facilities and have been used to promote the argument that the type of inmate social system is largely determined by the type of formal organization of the prison.[9]

Prisons: Bureaucratic Efficiencies

The official view of the traditional custodial institutions presented to the public gives a false impression that these facilities are orderly, efficient, coherent systems in which various facets of correctional activity converge upon the inmate to change him into a law abiding citizen.[10]

Prisons are often thought of as autocratic in form - custodial officers give orders and inmates obey them. Prisoners are seen as totally managed persons with no opportunity for self-direction. Moreover, these institutions are regarded as having a singularity of purpose in which all the responsibilities of the members of the system are specifically defined. Prisons are thus described as well-oiled, smooth running, people-punishing and people changing social machines.[11] This view presupposes the clarity of purpose and the consensus among all prison employees regarding their tasks of maintaining, disciplining and sometimes treating inmates. In this sense, prisons are frequently believed to be models of autocratic and rational bureaucratic structures.

These are some of the major distortions in the public image of prisons, for these prisons normally depart from this monolithic model. Cressey has pointed out that "as basic concepts of prison purposes and institutional management have changed new activities have been added to the institutional operation, but without first being integrated with the earlier forms of administrative structures".[12] Consequently, there is a group of employees who maintain custody over prisoners, another group supervises inmates in their work activities, and the third group endeavors to rehabilitate the prisoners. In this sense, we do have a complex bureaucratic structure with a division of labor, specilization of task, etc., but the rationality of such a model disappears when we note the number of defects that are built right into the formal organization of prisons.[13]

One defect, frequently observed, is the assumption that mandates issued from above will be followed with unquestioned loyalty by lower ranking staff members. Another defect is the way in which decision-making authority is distributed in a bureaucratic organization. Authority

is centralized in the top administrative positions and the subordinate staff members do not participate in making any significant policy decisions. Yet these low level employees are supposed to enforce rules and carry out administrative directives that are based on those policy decisions. For this reason, the guard in the traditional prison is almost as powerless and alienated from administration as are his captives. Another defect that has been documented by the organizational research rests in the fact that correctional institutions exist to perpetuate themselves.[14] Prison administration is greatly concerned with maintenance problems and the majority of decisions are made from this perspective. It has caused prison structures to become very rigid and nonreceptive to the desirable structural changes. This fact contributes to the rise of the informal society of prisoners within the penal institutions.

Prisons are not as autocratic in wielding power and control over inmates as they are made to appear. The basic problem stems from the fact that inmates are not in these institutions voluntarily and they do not accord legitimacy to official norms or to the goals of the organization. This poses a serious problem. Gibbons points out that an autocratic control over the hostile and uncooperative inmates could be obtained by using force and they could be maintained under conditions of anomie and demoralization.[15] But the prison officials are required to minimize the physical and social isolation of inmates and also refrain from physically abusing or coercing prisoners as a result of the recent humanitarian movement of penal reforms. Constant surveillance of prisoners by correctional officers in order to detect rule violations is not possible because the physical structure of prison itself does not faciliate simple monitoring of inmates from one central location. And a relatively small guard force cannot effectively

supervise a large number of inmates.

For these reasons, prisons might be accurately defined as partially disorganized.[16] They exhibit less than complete organizational consensus among employees, and they tend to show a defective communication pattern. As the orders move down a chain of command to guards where orders are implemented, distortions frequently occur in the message flow, particularly in the feedback of explanations to low ranking staff members. Consequently, prisons, including treatment oriented models show a degree of guard alienation. Cressey has devoted a good deal of attention to an organizational dilemma faced by modern prisons.[17] In treatment-oriented institutions, guards are supposed to become the theraputic agents and help in offender therapy. They can contribute to therapy by being receptive, passive, relaxed and by not "doing anything" that would be harmful to the process of rehabilitation. But even in these institutions where the administrative authority is decentralized and the role-conflict among various staff groups is minimized, some of the "old" organizational problems still persist. Here we find a similar lack of cooperation among certain employee groups. These employees usually are the veterans of "old order", and they fail to see offenders as "sick" people and therefore in need of treatment. They feel more comfortable with the traditional custodial system in which the guards are required to carry out only the custodial functions. Since there is no clear-cut format which spells out the exact nature of the effective therapy programs that would operate within the limits of the institutional security, much confusion and uneasiness prevails in the treatment-type prisons. The ambiguous definitions of tasks also cause some employees, like guards, to feel alienated and some others, like social workers and case workers, to assume the responsibility of being

protectors and rescurers of inmates and thereby becoming vulnerable to the influence of manipulative inmates.[18]

Prisoner Management Techniques

One commonly used technique contrived for the control of uncooperative inmates has been to urge them to put themselves in voluntary isolation from other convicts, to "do their own time", and to pursue incentives and privileges as rewards for conformity. But deprivation of privileges tend to have little effect within the harsh environment of penal institution. Incentives, such as reduction of sentence for good behavior, have been redefined by the prisoners as "rights" rather than as rewards. Generally, prison administration will tamper with good time credits only in extreme cases.[19]

In a classic solution to the problem of keeping peace with and among the uncooperative inmates there develops a form of "corruption of authority" in a maximum security prison.[20] One form of corruption of authority manifests itself in the development of the informal "subrosa" ties between inmates and administrators. This arrangement is considered as illegitimate and improper in the context of the formal definitions of prison procedures. Prison "elites" enter into informal relationships with the administrative staff which provides inmate leaders or "good inmates" with many special privileges in terms of work assignments, easy access to privileged communications, and relatively few restrictions on movement within the institution. In return, these "leaders" take over the job of correcting other inmates into minimally disruptive behavior. In other words, inmate leaders are covertly aided in their efforts to establish control over other less powerful inmates. The wave of prison riots in the 1950's was

attributable, in part at least, to attempts by some prison administrators to weaken inmate leaders' positions and to neutralize their influence in order to create a favorable treatment environment within some institutions.[21]

A second form of corruption of authority pertains to inmate-guard relationships in which the guard obtains a measure of cooperation and obediance from inmates by his discretionary actions. A guard realizes that the use of force in day-to-day management of inmates is self-defeating. Sykes notes that the guard is under pressure to achieve a smoothly running tour of duty not with the "stick" but with the "carrot."[22] He earns the inmates' conformity by overlooking some inmate conduct infractions and in return the inmates are obliged to cooperate in maintaining proper order. In the formal administration of the day-to-day prison operation these informal ties come to play an important role. The inmate leaders who receive convert support from the prison staff in wielding control over the rest of the prison inmates have much influence over the type of informal social system that would emerge in any one prison. McCorkle and Korn have found that the prison officials exercise far less actual authority over individual inmates than does the informal social system.[23] They state:

> "This fact becomes apparent when the punitive and coercive resources of inmates and officials are compared. More important, the psychological damage capable of being done by inmates is much greater than that which officials are able to inflict. Punishment by officials is frequently a source of status and prestige."[24]

The other theoretical approach deals specifically with the community of prisoners which is characterized as having its own social structure, role systems, normative systems and value orientations. Some of these studies have implications for administrative policies while others have come up with propositions concerning the effect of the prison community

on both the institutional and post-institutional behavior of inmates. Hayner and Ash have described prisoner community as a social group developed by the outcasts of the larger society.[25] They believe that the organization of prisoner community is primarily an economic arrangement devoted to obtaining goals and services denied by the administration. But this organization also addresses to the common problem of adjustment faced by all the inmates as they enter the institution. Schrag has pointed out the existence of an unofficial social system that originates within the institution and regulates inmate conduct with respect to many focal issues such as length of sentence, relations among prisoners, contact with staff members and other civilians, food, sex and health among others.[26]

The prisoner contra-culture, a term denoting the inmate social system with its special conduct norms, describes the association pattern among inmates, their professed values and attitudes and the collective resistance shown to staff-imposed treatment and training programs.[27] The prisoner community with its peculiar contra-culture, its connivings, perversions and exchange of crime techniques "reinforces those behavior tendancies which society wishes to prevent".[28] In other words, the principal consequence of membership in a prisoner community is prisonization, a socialization process first identified by Donald Clemmer and which is at work within the inmate community. He described the impact of imprisonment on inmates in terms of prisonization, "the taking on, in greater or lesser degree, of the folkways, mores, customs and general culture of the penitentiary".[29] According to Clemmer, this process resulted in the replacement of the inmate's conventional values with another set of values oriented toward the criminal subculture. Once the values of the prison community were internalized by the inmate, he was relatively

impervious to the influence of conventional values. He stated that the extent of prisonization was inversely related to success in adjustment following the inmate's release from prison.[30] Clemmer stressed the fact that the prisonization was almost a "universal feature" of the penitentiary; and therefore, the question was its degree, not its existence. Prisoners who manifested a low degree of prisonization were those who continued their relationships with their families and friends on the outside, those who resisted taking over the inmate code and cooperated with the staff, those who did not involve themselves in primary group relationships within the prison community, those whose stay in prison was of short duration, and those who resisted sexual relationships and gambling activities with other inmates.[31] This whole issue of prisonization is central to the development of the present research project and it will be dealt with in rather full detail in the last part of this chapter.

Inmate Code

One common but exaggerated view of convicts is that they are an aggregate of persons, all standing in opposition to the administrative regime. Thus Sykes and Messinger have described an "inmate code" of normative prescriptions and it is believed to exist in all prisons.[32] The code provides a rationalization for criminal behavior; solution for getting scarce goods and services are made known; and methods of dealing with the staff and for interacting with fellow inmates are detailed. Thus the code provides a philosophy for "doing time" and the inmate social organization provides mechanisms implementing the maxims of the code. The conduct definitions contained in the code center around directives to refrain from interfering with inmate interests, to avoid

quarrels and conflicts with other prisoners, to be strong in the face of administrative pressure and punishment and to never squeal on other inmates. The model convict, the "right guy" as defined by this code differs distinctly from the staff version of the "good inmate".

Several theoretical explanations have been advanced to account for the emergence of the inmate code. Sykes and Messinger maintain that the most likely explanation is functional in which the code is seen as serving to reduce the "pains of imprisonment" found in custodial type institutions.[32] The pains of imprisonment include the deprivation of liberty, goods and services, heterosexual relations and personal autonomy and security, all of which are believed to cause much psychological pain to inmates. The authors postulate that the pains of imprisonment become less severe "as the population of prisoners moves in the direction of solidarity as demanded by the inmate code".[34] Accordingly, this explanation of the inmate code sees inmate behavior rooted in the conditions of confinement. In Goffman's words, "these pains of deprivation lead to an establishment of a social system mitigating against the process of degradation, mortification of self, depersonalization and anomie".[35]

McCorkle and Korn have advanced a compatible thesis which holds that the inmate code and prisoner solidarity in opposition to the authority permits the inmate to "reject his rejector".[36] The authors state, "In many ways, the inmate social system may be viewed as providing a way of life which enables inmates to avoid the devastating psychological effects of internalizing and converting social rejection into self-rejection".[37] Schrag also talks about the various roles that inmates play in the institution arising out of the pains of deprivation and constituting the inmate social system to which the new inmates must adapt. The rules and maxims

covering these adaptations constitute code. New inmates find information available from inmate "politicians" and scarce goods that are available from inmate "merchants".[38]

Street et al also support the problem solving model of informal inmate social organization. But it is believed that the general characteristics and functions of informal groups vary with the larger organizational context. In a comparative study of several juvenile institutions, Street found that a variation in organizational goals gave rise to differences in inmate orientations and characteristic of inmate group.[39]

Recent systematic research efforts such as the Wheeler and Garabedian studies of socialization in prison, make clearly explicit the fact, implied in many other research efforts, that inmate attachment to oppositional groups and culture varies. The "solidary opposition" account fails to consider adequately the consequences for inmate social system with the introduction of modern treatment ideology. This explanation also fails to take into account the important differences between juvenile and adult institutions including the relatively short stay, presumed lesser criminality of the juveniles and the possibility that many of the severe deprivations and degradation in the adult correctional institutions where men are treated like children, may not be so degrading in the juvenile institution.[40] It is also true that in explaining the emergence of solidary inmate subculture, in terms of its functional utility to alleviate its members deprivations and degradation, some researchers have failed to take into account the effects of varying levels of deprivations found in varying levels of custody grading.[41]

Wheeler has shown that solidary opposition posed to the staff is more apparent than real.[42] His data shows that prisoners judge other

inmates to be more hostile to treatment and other institutional activities than they are in fact. Wheeler postulates that the discrepency between private sentiments and estimates of group view appear to be related to the greater visibility of the most anti-social persons in prison.[43] Schrag notes that the inmate community is comprised of a number of roles played by the inmates with respect to each of the "focal issues", and all of which were not oriented to the inmate code. But he also observed that the roles called "right guys" and square John" could be classified according to the inmate code. According to Schrag, the "right guys" or the anti-social inmates perceive role requirements in terms of the norms of the prisoner society, or they could be classified as highly prisonized. By contrast, the "square Johns" or pro-social inmates perceive role requirements in accordance with the prison's official system, or they could be defined as not prisonized, or else significantly less so.[44] Garabedian concluded from his research findings that are consistent with the reports of Clemmer and Wheeler that inmates are socialized in varying degrees and rates, indicating a differential impact of the prison culture on its participants, but the data also suggested that the point of heaviest impact varies with different role types; the early phase being important for "dings", the middle period for "right guys" and "square Johns", and the late phase for "outlaws".[45]

Thus there are a number of studies which have prompted consideration of other factors in accounting for prisoner behavior during and after his institutional stay. These theoretical statements stress the important belief that prisoner behavior is rooted in more than just the conditions of confinement. They support the "diffusion" interpretation or the "importation" model of the inmate code. They advance the proposition that

the inmate code exists in prison, in part, because some inmates bring it into the institution from outside.

A supporting evidence for the diffusion interpretation of inmate code comes from Wheeler's findings of his Scandinavian prison study. These findings show that the pains of imprisonment are found in those prisons but there is no clear cut parallel to the inmate code or the prisoner solidary opposition observed in American prisons.[46] Wheeler interprets this fact in terms of the cultural differences found in different societies. Most prisoners in Scandinavian institutions enter from a society which contains a lower incidence of anti-authority attitudes than in the United States. Despite his emphasis on prisonization of the new comers, Clemmer noted that the degree of conformity to prison expectations depends, in part, on prior outside conditions. Schrag has collected data on both preprison experiences and prison experiences of prisoners and has tried to relate the actions of inmates to the broader community as well as to the forces that are more indigenous to prisons themselves. His research findings show that anti-social inmates or right guys are usually from the lower class background with lengthy prior criminal records and previous institutional commitments, whereas prosocial inmates or square Johns are often devoid of any prior criminal patterns and no history of previous incarceration.[47] These propositions are often cited to question the validity of the "pains of imprisonment" hypothesis. It is believed that the first offenders and situational criminals or the square Johns would be the ones who will be most traumatized by the deprivations of prison life. On the other hand, recidivism-prone, crime-wise prisoners should be the least likely candidates to experience prison sentence as a severe societal rejection.[48]

The diffusionist explanation maintains that the adoption of inmate

code by certain offenders is the continuation inside the walls of a pattern of "rejection of rejectors" which originated at a much earlier point in their career. In many cases the point of origin lies in the early experience with police, juvenile courts and other societal institutions. It also seems possible that elements of inmate code represent institution manifestations of hostility to police and other attitudes which are widespread in the lower classes of society. On the other hand, the first offender experiences the pains of imprisonment and societal rejection, but his pre-prison experiences and his involvement with pro-social reference groups outside the walls serves to insulate him from developing any serious loyalty to the inmate code. In addition, insofar as the situational offender is a novice in crime, he is not likely to be accepted by the anti-social inmates in prison. McCorkle and Korn point out that the inmate social system is most supportive and protective to those inmates who are most criminally acculturated and conversely, most threatening and disruptive to those whose loyalties and personal identifications are still with a noncriminal world.[49]

Irwin and Cressey feel that the "indigenous origin" notion has been over emphasized and that the observers have overlooked the dramatic effect that external behavior patterns have on the conduct of inmates in any given prison. They add, "...a clear understanding of inmate conduct cannot be obtained simply by viewing "prison culture" or "inmate culture" as an isolated system springing solely from the conditions of imprisonment".[50] They conclude that the total set of relationships called "inmate society" is a response derived from a combination of great many determinants including certain problems posed by imprisonment and inmates' external experiences.[51] Giallombardo does not believe the functional theory which

explains homosexuality in the adult male prisons as an adjustment to the deprivations of imprisonment can explain the inmate social system in the female prisons. Based on Giallombardo's study of the female prison, she pointed out some basic differences in homosexual patterns of male and female prison communities. She states, "general features of American society with respect to the cultural definitions and content of male and female roles are brought into the prison setting and function to determine the direction and focus of inmate cultural system".[52]

Gruninger, Hayner and Akers developed a causal model with the assumption that there is a causal linkage between criminal background and prisoner role adaptations. In addition, the role adaptation a prisoner makes upon admission is assumed, in turn, to determine his professed attitudes, the imputation of attitudes to other inmates and the prison climate he observes, the ways in which the individual is structured into the inmate group, and the participation in staff initiated programs.[53] Causal linkage between background factors and roles, and between roles and normative alienation (prisonization) was anticipated. Various measures of deprivations and time factors were expected to modify the original relationships. Results of their study showed that the background factors appeared to be a more crucial element in creating role identifications and normative alienation than did deprivation levels.[54]

Eventhough there is a general agreement among the prison researchers about the existence of inmate code in all types of prisons, there is still some arguement as to how those particular sets of values come into being. The source of inmate code has some very important implications not only for the administrative policy decisions but also for the effective application of the various rehabilitative techniques. Another important

aspect of the inmate culture, directly relevent to this paper, is the inmate participation in such a culture which is believed to be followed by the change of attitudes and values in the anti-social direction on the part of the inmate population. The prisonized attitudes form a formidable block to the rehabilitative programs sponsored by the prison staff and are usually contra-productive to the inmate's success on parole after his release from the institution. Prisonization, therefore, should be studied within the context of what so far has been known about the inmate orientations and adaptation modes in prison.

Major Hypotheses

As stated earlier, the present study endevours to reexamine some of the propositions concerning the theory of prisonization as originally advanced by Clemmer (1940) and later modified by Wheeler (1961). The principal independent variables are the outside contacts and the inside contacts of an inmate. Other equally important variables under consideration include levels of deprivation, time factor (including prison career phase) and criminal maturity. Four major hypotheses, derived from the existing literature on prisonization, will be investigated through the analyses of the present data-set. The principal hypotheses are as follows:

> 1.1. The degree and extent of prisonization is a function of the quality and the amount of outside familial and social contacts maintained by an inmate during his incarceration. There appears to be an inverse relationship between positive outside ties and prisonized attitudes of inmates.
>
> 1.2. An inmates sub-cultural ties within prison or his involvement with other inmates generally implies acceptance of anti-social or prisonized attitudes on the part of the inmate.

2.1. As the time spent in an institution increases, inmate's outside ties tend to become weak. And there is a corresponding increase in prisonized attitudes and in the number of friendships formed among inmates.

2.2. The extent of prisonized attitudes and the number of social ties formed within the prison vary during the three phases of the inmate's institutional career. Incidence of each of these two indicators will be quite low during the early phase, with a noticeable increase through the middle phase and becoming somewhat lower again during the late phase of the inmate's institutional career.

3. Criminal maturity will influence the degree and extent of prisonization of an inmate. The professional criminal type will tend to be devoid of positive social ties and he, therefore, would be more likely to hold prisonized attitudes than the novice or the first time or the situational offender.

4. The varying levels of deprivation determines the type of inmate culture that would emerge in any given institution. Severely depriving institution with its strict limitation on the outside contacts would cause inmates to form a solidary opposition to the staff and to the conventional value system.

The following discussion pertains to the literature on the concept of prisonization and the various factors that are believed to be quite important in terms of their influence on the process of prisonization. The concept of prisonization itself and the related factors are operationally defined in terms of their relevance to the major hypotheses under investigation.

Definition Of Factors Associated With Prisonization

Prisonization

Earlier the concept of prisonization was defined and introduced as

a major consequence resulting from inmate participation in prison contra-culture or the inmate social system whose codes, norms, dogma and myth stressed loyalty to other inmates and opposition to the prison staff. The net result of the process of prisonization was the internalization of criminal outlook, leaving the "prisonized" person relatively immune to the influence of a conventional value system. Clemmer felt that the extent of prisonization was inversely related to success in adjustment following the inmate's release from prison.[55] Beyond the "universal features" of incarceration that affected each prisoner, there were other conditions that influenced both the speed and degree of prisonization. Thus the degree of prisonization was said to be lowest for those inmates who had "positive" and "socialized" relationships during prepenal life, those who continued their positive relationships with persons outside the walls, those who had only brief exposure to the universal features of imprisonment, and those who refused to affiliate with inmate primary groups.[56] Clemmer believed that the most crucial factor among all the rest was the degree of primary group attachment of an inmate while in prison.

According to many students of prison organization, this account of socialization process bears much similarity with Southerland's theory of "differential association". Variables affecting the degree of prisonization reflect the same influences Southerland noted - the frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of contact with criminal patterns. The theory of prisonization is believed to be incomplete since it only accounts for the process of transmission of the culture and does not explain why the culture is there to be transmitted. Sykes and Messinger have criticized the theory on the grounds that it fails to account for the origin of the inmate culture.[57]

Prisonization is conceived as the dependent variable in the present study and is measured in terms of the attitude index, where prisoners were asked to state their solution to various hypothetical prison situations, and in terms of the climate index that measured an inmate's assessment of the solutions he felt other prisoners would have offered to the same situations.[58] Other indicators of prisonization such as the manner of leisure time association, leadership patterns and the extent of participation in staff-sponsored activities are also relevent to measure the extent of anti-social and anti-staff orientation.

For the purpose of this study, it is assumed that the important factor influencing the degree and extent of prisonization is the nature and extent of inmate's contact with people in the outside community. Other equally important factor influencing prisonization, the extent of inmate's involvement with other inmates within prison, will be used to determine if the positive outside orientation of an inmate would mean less involvement in inmate group affiliation. The time phase, length of the sentence, deprivation levels, and prior social and criminal history will be used in order to reevaluate propositions of prisonization offered by Clemmer, Wheeler, and others.

Outside Contacts

Clemmer stressed two factors that he felt were important in determining the lowest degree of prisonization - a fairly stable personality reinforced by positive and socialized relationships during prepenal life and continued positive relationships with persons outside the walls. It is assumed that the outside attachments may have a kind of holding power whereby inmates would not feel the need to look to other fellow inmates

for satisfactory personal relationships. There is a general belief that prisonization might be inversely related to a positive relationship with immediate family and other supportive contacts. Clemmer found that when the memories of prepenal experience cease to be satisfying or practically useful, a barrier to prisonization has been removed.[59] According to Sandhu, prisonization "is a function of availability of satisfactory attachments outside the prison".[60] Wheeler, after studying the Scandinavian prisons, concluded that prison socialization of inmates is determined by the "nature of social ties its members have had with the outside world and the nature of the outside world itself".[61] Wheeler also found that there was very little inmate cohesion among the prisoners in Scandinavian prisons and there was no evidence of prison jargon, clique or the opposition to the staff. He thus contends that prison society is a reflection of the larger society. Sandhu makes a strong case for the outside positive attachments and the maintenance of familial bonds when he relates his observations of the Asian prisons. According to Sandhu, an Asian prisoner, coming from a familistic society often times maintains familial orientation and frequently finds support and helpful attitudes on the part of his family and friends.[62]

Sykes notes that many inmates in the New Jersey State Prison found their links with persons in the free community weakening as months and years pass by. After examining the visiting records of a random sample of inmate population, covering approximately a one year period, he discovered that 41 percent of the prisoners received no visits from the outside world.[63] Most of the penal institutions are located far away from the population centers, and the distance and expense become critical factors in determining how often a family of an inmate can make the trip.

Letters received from the family members and friends remain to be the only access for inmates to the outside world, but as it was mentioned earlier, the number of letters that are received by an inmate become minimal as the time spent in the institution increases. Glaser noted a U-shaped pattern of prisonization response while examining the relationship between the reference group orientation and institutional career phase. His finding indicates that the proportion of inmates who expected post-release assistance mainly from parents and siblings was constant during most of the confinement, but increased slightly near release; on the other hand, the proportion of those who expected help mainly from their wives decreased as imprisonment progressed, reflecting an increased number of marriages breaking during the husband's confinement.[64]

The outside contact is used as one of the independent variables in the present study. It is measured in terms of inmates' communication (letters, visits) with the reference group outside prison walls. The high or the low amount of outside contact, it is believed, would have the effect on inmates' readiness to form prison alliances which in turn would determine their prison-adaptation mode. It is also assumed that the involvement of inmates with other fellow inmates, the time element, the deprivation level and the criminal maturity would influence to some extent the original relationship between inmates' outside contact and their holding of the antisocial attitudes.

Inside Contacts

According to Clemmer, a readiness and a capacity for integration into a prison primary group and a blind acceptance of the inmate code and the general inmate culture are the two most influential factors that contribute

to the highest degree of prisonization. Clemmer found that only 19 percent of the short term inmates and 17 percent of the long termers belonged to a primary group.[65] Glaser, in his study of several Federal institutions, grouped prisoners on the basis of friendship and found that about 24 percent made several friends; 38 percent made a few friends; and about 17 percent knew many inmates but they were not close friends with them; and about 20 percent or so tried to keep to themselves.[66] The common findings from these two studies about the nature of inmate grouping indicates that a relatively large number of prison inmates, varying from one-third to one-half, are ungrouped or only marginally attached to a cohesive group.

To test Clemmer's central theme that the degree of prisonization will vary according to the degree of involvement in the informal life of the inmate community, Wheeler used two items to tap the extent of inmate involvement. One item reflects the extensiveness of involvement in terms of a number of close friendships established with other inmates' and the second item reflects the intensity of involvement by ascertaining the degree to which inmates spend their free time with other inmates or by themselves. The results thus obtained supported Clemmer's proposition that both the speed and the degree of prisonization are a function of informal inmate involvement.[67]

How does social involvement of an inmate and his attitudes and values relate? Wheeler suggests that rather than thinking of one of these variables as an effect of the other, a more appropriate model of their interaction in the prison community might stress the structural incompatibility of being both highly involved with inmates and attitudinal conformity to staff expectations. The dominant normative value of the inmate social

system is strongly opposed to that of the staff. Wheeler, therefore, theorizes that inmates who would like to have inmate friends and would also like to conform to the conventional norms face a "real and vivid" role conflict.[68] This conflict becomes more acute and intense as the length of time spent in the prison increases. Inmates resolve this conflict by either giving up close association with other inmates or by a shift in attitude. In either case, Wheeler adds, polarization of noninvolved conformists and involved nonconformists would occur, so that "one group of inmates become progressively prisonized, the other progressively isolated".[69] His data shows that the move is in the direction of nonconformity. First, it is believed that in the close custody prisons, the negative inmate culture exerts pressure on both the staff and the inmates and it also appears to suppress the formation of solidary ties among the conforming inmates.[70] Secondly, the social climate of the close custody prison provides for the anti-social and asocial inmates a higher social status and involves them more frequently in patterns of friendship and position of leadership.[71] Thus the values held by these anti-social elements are more apparent and are believed to be the "norm" of the inmate population at large. A pluralistic ignorance, therefore, operates to restrain even the initial seeking out of like-minded individuals.

Four factors are identified by Irwin as determinants of group affiliation among convicts: preprison identity, the prison adaptation mode, the ties between the individual and other convicts, and the racial and ethnic identity.[72] Schrag points out that the normative orientations of prison inmates are importantly related to their patterns of social participation. He adds that in general, inmates "are selectively responsive to those segments of their society that reinforce their own standard of

judgement and provide continuity of experience".[73] He also felt that the amount of contact may not be as important as the quality of relationships, such as friendship, animosity, or leader-follower patterns. Major findings from his sociometric study indicate that members of every social type, except one, selected their friends most frequently from their own social type. It was the prosocial "square John" who expressed a slight preference for pseudosocial friends over his choice of prosocial friends.[74] The same study reported the high frequency with which asocial inmates were identified as leaders by other inmates.

With respect to the informally defined social types and roles, Wheeler finds that the dimension of conformity and involvement also point to the similar behavior patterns. He points out the involved nonconformists are roughly equivant to the "right guy" (Schrag) and to the role of "real man" (Sykes). Inmates who receive outside support from families and friends do not have a greater need for the inmate friendships and thus can remain relatively noninvolved conformists or "square Johns". The larger number of inmates who are nonconformists but who remain relatively unaffiliated with inmate primary groups are a heterogeneous group, being composed in part of those variously labeled as outlaws, toughs, ball busters, etc., and in part of those less striking figures who are unable to establish strong ties with other inmates even though desirous of such friendships. The latter types are what Cloward has refered to as "double failures".[75]

The inside contact is used as the other independent variable. The inside contacts are measured by the extensiveness of inmate's involvement in terms of the frequency with which he talked to other inmates during the day, week or month, and the intensity of such involvement is measured by ascertaining the degree to which he spends his free time with other inmates

or whether he prefers to keep to himself. There are two other items which try to tap the information on inmate preference in selecting other inmates over staff when it comes to seeking assistance. The other factors of prisonization are also used as controls in conjunction with the inside contact to determine whether there is any change in the original relationship between the extent of inmate's inside involvement and his holding of anti-social attitudes.

Time Factor

Wheeler notes that Clemmer concentrated merely on the process of induction into prison community and had little to say about changes that might occur as inmates neared the time for release. He feels that Clemmer's proposition that prisonization is an important determinant of parole adjustment is obviously based on assumption that the process observed during the early and middle phases of incarceration continue until the inmate is paroled.[76] By introducing the notion of institutional "career phase" or the time remaining to be served, Wheeler takes into account the concept of "anticipatory socialization",[77] a preparatory response that frequently precedes an actual change in group membership which in a prison situation happens when an inmate gets ready to move from prison to a broader society. Wheeler offers a phase of institutional career as a factor highly related to the degree of prisonization. His data confirmed that normative prisonization proceeded not only in a linear fashion but also in a "U-shaped" fashion.[78]

Wheeler theorizes that from the inmate's perspective the length of time remaining to be served may be the most crucial temporal aspect. It seems that many inmates know by heart the precise number of months, weeks,

and days until their parole date arrives. Thus, Wheeler feels that the above observation has important implication in studying the effects of the time spent in prison since such a temporal frame of reference could have specific psychological and social meaning.[79]

In analyzing the relationship between conformity to staff expectations (or degree of prisonization) and time remaining, Wheeler divided the prison term into three phases: early phase, the first six months; middle phase, more than six months served but more than six months remaining to be served; and late phase, less than six months remaining to be served. He observed two trends. First, the percentage of inmates showing low conformity to staff expectations increased from the early phase through the middle phase to the late phase. This was the prisonization process as explained by Clemmer. Second, there was a U-shaped distribution with regard to high conformity. Those in the early phase showed high conformity, those in the middle phase showed medium to low conformity, and those in the late phase again showed high conformity.[80] Wheeler explains the above pattern of inmate-response as the shedding of inmate culture by an inmate when once again he reorients himself toward the values of the outside world in preparation for leaving prison.

Wheeler's U-shaped distribution of conformity to staff expectations was used to explain the emergence of the inmate code. He explains that the inmate code develops to mitigate the pains of imprisonment. He noted that the inmate code would be accepted to the greatest extent at the point where prison experience was most severe, during the middle phase of the institutional career.[81]

Wellford, in his reevaluation study of the factors affecting adoption of inmate code found that Wheeler's conception of the relationship between

time and degree of prisonization is correct but his deprivational theory of adoption of inmate code is not sound.[82] Wellford believes that the degree of normative prisonization is affected by both situational elements, the depriving nature of the institution and an actor characteristic, the criminal social type.[83] Atchley and McCabe attempted to replicate Wheeler's findings concerning U-shaped conformity to staff expectations by inmates during the three phases of their institutional career. Their study found no evidence to sustain either Clemmer's or Wheeler's theories concerning the development of prisonization. These writers suggest that the future research on this topic should take into account several other factors such as the importance of reference groups, influence of staff orientation, physical plant, prior inmate characteristics and inmate social types for the development of the inmates' patterns of interaction and prisonization.[84]

Garabedian's findings were consistent with those advanced by Clemmer and Wheeler. It was found that inmates were socialized in varying degrees and rates indicating a differential impact of prison culture on its participants. His data also supports the notion that the point of heaviest impact varies with the different role types; the early phase being important for dings, the middle for the right guys and square Johns and the late phase for the outlaws. The evidence on reported contacts among inmates provided an indirect test of the social processes that might be linked to the various role types and which might be responsible for the observed patterns of adjustment. According to Garabedian, the process of isolation and involvement operate at different time periods of confinement. He states that isolation appears to be the dominant process during the early career phase, even among the politicians and the right guys. The tendency for the inmate to become involved during the middle phase suggests that pressures

toward involvement are stronger and more keenly felt at that period when the inmates are furthest removed from the free community. However, the process of involvement may take different forms such as with either inmates or staff members or with both. But it is observed that involvement only with staff, with the exclusion of inmates, occurs very infrequently even among those inmates who might be expected to exhibit this tendency.[85]

Garrity, based on the data on parole adjustment, found no support for the general contention that extended exposure to the prison community decreased the chances of successful adjustment on parole.[86] His general observation was that property offenders corresponded most closely to the expectations developed from the concept of prisonization, that individuals who were most stable appeared to be negatively affected by prolonged incarceration, and that individuals who were relatively unstable appeared to be positively affected by prolonged incarceration. Garrity also devised an objective measure for the Schrag role types, using the social and criminal background of the offender, his prosocial and anti-social values as measured by hypothetical situations and value statements, and his association patterns and role played in prison. All these variables, making up a social type, were shown to be related to post-release performance. It was observed that the time served in prison had a different effect on various social types. It was found that the "square Johns" have a low parole violation rate, and the time served has little effect on it; the "right guy" has a decreasing violation rate as the time served increases; the "outlaw" has high violation rate, unaffected by time served; the "politician" has an increasing violation rate as the time served is increased. It becomes obvious from above discussion that time served in prison does not have an uniform effect upon the various social types; some types are

immune to criminalistic influence in prison; others become prisonized and more antisocial; still another type seemingly undergoes some change and learns to stay out of prison.[87]

In the present study both time dimensions are used to evaluate the basic propositions of prisonization advanced by Wheeler, and most importantly to measure the amount of outside contacts through various phases of an institutional career and its effect on the degree of prisonization.

Levels Of Deprivation

It is assumed that the differing conditions of deprivations existing in various prisons affect the process of prisonization in general and the adoption of an inmate code by an inmate in particular. Since inmates' antisocial responses arise out of the pains of imprisonment which, in part at least, are alleviated by the emergence of inmate contra-culture with its solidary opposition to the staff-held values and norms, a natural conclusion follows; if the depriving conditions are somehow minimized, and prison environment is modified so that it becomes more conducive to inmate participation in staff-sponsored activities, then the problem of inmate opposition to staff should be partially solved. It is also argued that a positive and cooperative type of staff-inmate relationship is prerequisite for and is a consequence of the treatment goal. This is primarily due to the accepting attitudes on the part of the staff, the overall replacement of formal controls by more informal ones and by the greater reduction of inmate deprivations.

The index of deprivation is a device used to rank prisons on a continuum ranging from the most harsh, restrictive and punitive custody-oriented institution on the one extreme to the most lenient one oriented toward treatment on the other. The custody-treatment scale employed in the present

study for the classification of prisons along the continuum used nine dimensions thought to be relevent for this purpose. It includes architecture, administrative goals, classification, inmate employment, education and training, treatment, custody and security, personnel and outside contacts as the indicators of the penal philosophy. Institutions, classified as custodial type, are thought to be the most depriving and those classified as treatment type are thought to have the least amount of discomfort for the inmates.[88]

Grusky found support for the hypothesis which stated that more positive attitudes among inmates are found in treatment rather than in custodial institutions.[89] Berk in his replication study compared attitudinal responses of inmates in three institutions with varying levels of deprivation. Inmate attitude toward the prison, staff and treatment programs were examined. It was found that inmates were more positive in their attitude toward the institution, staff, and programs in treatment institutions than those in the custodial ones. Furthermore inmates became more positive or negative with the length of time they spent in the prison, depending upon the type of organizational goal.[90] The result of this study indicated that inmates who had spent longer time in the custodially oriented prison were more likely to hold negative attitudes than those who had been there a short time; whereas the reverse was true in the treatment-oriented prison where inmates who spent long time were more likely to hold positive attitudes.[91]

Differences between prisons were found to be related to differences in inmate organization. Inmate attitudes were found to be related to the degree of involvement with inmate organization and the inmate leaders' attitude were found to vary systematically with prison goals, being more

positive and responsive in the treatment institution and more negative and hostile in the custodial institutions. Leaders in custodial prisons were also found to be more authoritarian and less well liked than leaders in the treatment type prisons.[92]

Street and his associates came to a similar conclusion after they studied four juvenile institutions which differed in the types of formal organizational structure and their stated goals. These institutions were classified on the basis of staff emphasis on inmate rehabilitation versus custody goals and also on the basis of staff conception regarding the nature of juvenile inmates. The purpose of their study was to find out under what type of organizational conditions the inmates would attach themselves to opposing groups, or become alienated from the staff norms to various degrees. The findings of their study indicate that the inmate responses are due to variations in institutional setting and cannot be explained by social or criminal attributes of the prisoners. There were considerable variations among organizations, in inmate attitudes, and in types of social relationships that emerged; and these variations could be shown to be related to organizational goals and to the levels of deprivation and social control.[93] In the custody type institution, with tight staff control, inmate solidarity was lowest, antistaff attitudes were more pronounced and there was hardly any evidence of inmate cohesion. On the contrary, the treatment institutions seemed to foster both inmate solidarity and positive attitude toward staff and organizational goals.[94]

With respect to time dimension, Street et al found that in the obedience/conformity institution, inmate's attitudes became increasingly negative with time spent in prison, similar to Clemmer's prisonization mode. In the reeducation/development model the inmate's perspectives be-

came more prosocial with time spent there. Neither type of institution exhibited a U-shaped pattern. However, in the treatment institution, a U-shaped pattern emerged. Inmates in treatment institutions expressed prosocial attitudes and values at almost every point in time, the proportion holding prosocial attitudes increased somewhat in the early period of sentence, decreased in the middle of the sentence and increased sharply again toward the end of the sentence.[95]

Street further notes that in the treatment setting, integration into friendship groups was correlated with positive self-image and the rejection of prisonized perspectives, while in the custody prison for juveniles, group membership did not correlate with self-image and the holding of prisonized views. An analysis of the joint impact of integration and length of stay on the attitudinal measures indicated that variation in the length of stay did not account for the variations in the relation between integration and attitude.[96]

The levels of deprivations will be used in the present study to test the "pains of imprisonment" hypothesis. The data used for this study lends itself for the analysis of the situation-response model of the origin of the inmate code. Seven prisons within the United States, ranging from the closed custody model to the open treatment type would be quite helpful to find out if the varying levels of deprivation would modify the inmate response in terms of solidary opposition to the staff-held norms. It is also assumed that treatment institutions would be more lenient toward outside contacts of inmates with few restrictive rules on inmate correspondence and family visitation. If the inmates are allowed more positive contacts, they will experience less severe pains of imprisonment thereby giving rise to a more positive inmate informal organization.

Criminal Maturity

Criminal maturity of "criminality index" is a measure of involvement in a criminal career. Criminal maturity is measured in terms of the age at first arrest, number of juvenile sentences served, number of adult sentences served, type of offense and the minimum sentence received. These career variable have been used by Schrag and Irwin to demonstrate a linkage between criminal background and prisoner role adaptations.

Schrag found that the prisoner roles could be classified according to inmate code, especially in the case of the roles called "right guy" and "square John". The "right guys" or anti-social inmates perceive role requirement according to the norms of the prisoner society, or they are highly prisonized, and the "square Johns" or prosocial inmates define role requirement in terms of the prison's official social system, or they are not as much prisonized.[97] Consistent with his belief in the influences of criminalistic subculture on the inmate code, Schrag places the determinants of criminal social type on the criteria of "career variables", with heavy emphasis on the extent of participation in criminal activity prior to commitment to the institution for the present offense. Irwin and Cressey have found that the "prison code" - don't inform on or exploit another inmate, don't lose your head, be weak, etc. - is also a part of the criminal code existing outside prison. They note that many inmates come to a given prison with a prior criminal record that in some cases dates back to early childhood. These men bring with them a ready-made set of patterns which they apply to new situations.[98]

These career variables also determine for an individual inmate how he will do his time and what mode of prison-adaptation he will choose.

According to Irwin, some individuals are seen to adapt only to the outside world and others to the inside. Inmates who adapt to the prison situation alone, a pattern described as "jailing", are most often persons with prior criminal careers. These individuals are often raised in orphanages, state institutions or juvenile prisons. They try to gain status within the inmate social world and seek power over other inmates and guards by assuming the roles of "gorilla", "tough", or the "politician". Repeated experience in the institution has taught them how to manipulate the system to their advantage. Another type of inmate described as "doing time" tries to avoid trouble while in prison, finds friendship patterns, activities, and luxuries that reduce the pains of imprisonment. They will do what they think necessary to get out early. They adhere to inmate-code and manage only token participation in staff-planned programs without any intention of changing their life-style. Professional thieves fall in this category. Square Johns also do their time but for a different reason. They do not want to jeopardise their standing with the staff. There is yet another category of inmates who engage in "gleaning", they are always on one of their self-improvement kicks. They are often rejected by other inmates and yet they are not square Johns, but the kind of persons described as "losers".[99]

Garrity found that the "career variables" play an invaluable role in predicting parole adjustment rate for various Schrag social types. His data on parole-adjustment did not support the general contention that extended exposure to the prison community decreases the chances of successful adjustment on parole. Only property offenders corresponded most closely to the expectations. Garrity says "...time served affects inmates (on parole) in quite different ways. The differential effect is the product

of the social background of the person, his value system, and the status and role he plays in prison..."[100]

It was found that the age at first arrest, the number of juvenile sentences served, the number of adult sentences served are the most efficient indicators with respect to the independent variables measuring prisonization responses. And these indicators were selected to form an index of criminal maturity. The scores gave equal weight to each of the three variables and summed scores were catogorized into four criminal types, professional, habitual, occassional, and novice or first offenders.[101] At one extreme, the professional offender can be described as an individual whose criminal career began at an early age, and served a number of adult and juvenile sentences in the past. At the other extreme there are offenders who have had no previous contact with law-enforcement agencies and their first arrest came relatively late in life.

The criminality index is used as one of the major variables mostly to determine whether the previous criminal and social factors have any influence on the original relationship between independent variables, outside contacts, inside contacts, and the dependent variable normative prisonization.

The literature and the previous research efforts pertaining to the process of prisonization have cited five major factors - the amount of outside contact, inmate involvement in prisoner contra-culture, time factor, levels of deprivation and criminal maturity factor - that seem to have much influence on the inmates' behavior while he is serving his sentence in the penal institution. It was pointed out earlier that the prisonization is merely a behavioral and attitudinal response and is not to be confused with criminalization. Inmates may or may not learn the

tricks of the criminal trade while they acquire prisonized attitudes and seemingly give allegiance to the inmate code. Nevertheless, it is true that the degree of prisonization is found to be inversely related to the successful parole outcome but it is far from being a reliable predictor with respect to inmates' future participation in criminal acts.

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CHAPTER III

METHODS OF RESEARCH*

The data set utilized for this project was generated over a period of three years (1967-1970) by Prof. Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington, Seattle. The wide ranging information contained in the set has previously been analyzed for the purpose of various research projects including a doctoral dissertation by Dr. Werner Gruninger, a major adviser for the present study. The set contains the information on inmates' outside contacts, inside grouping and friendship patterns, participation in staff-sponsored rehabilitative programs and other pertinent demographic and personal data. It also includes previously formulated rating-scale used in determining the levels of deprivation, prison career phase needed to test the U-shaped prisonization hypothesis, and two major indices of the dependent variable, prisonization, as measured by the attitude index, a measure of conformity to staff-expectations and the climate index, a measure of inmate's estimation of attitudes held by other inmates.

The original data set consists of twenty-two prisons for males in the United States and four other countries. The present research deals only with the data collected in seven prisons in the United States.

*Material and description of the mode of prison selection, sampling method and index formation appears in the Ph.D. dissertation by Dr. Werner Gruninger. The author is grateful for the permission to use the original material.

The Selection Of Prisons

In order to determine varying levels of deprivations that exist among penal institutions, research design required the inclusion of a wide variety of prison situations. Therefore, prisons that varied in modes of inmate control, administrative goals and strategies, and degree of physical and psychological deprivations were selected. Since acessibility to prisons often times is not very easy to gain, penal institutions were selected from among those to which the senior investigator had access. While this procedure, no doubt, limits generalization of findings compared to a random sample of institutions, every effort was made to include prisons of a wide variety: maximum security penitentiaries, reformatories, and modern treatment institutions.

Tape recorded interviews were arranged with directors or deputy directors of the correctional system and with wardens and other top administrators at each institution. The interviews were designed to elicit answers to a set of predetermined questions that would yield comparable information about the physical plant, the administrative goals of the institution, the facilities for inmate employment, education and training, counseling and security, the type and qualifications of employees and the extent of contact of inmates with outsiders. This information was used for the assessment of prison type and for the construction of an index of deprivation. A set of written specifications about each prison was given to three independently working raters who would locate the prison on a custody-treatment continuum developed for the study. The custody-treatment scale was defined in terms of nine dimensions thought to be relevent to the classification of prisons as either custody-oriented or treatment-

oriented. The nine dimensions are as follows:

(1) Architecture:
Fortress appearance, bars, maximum security cellblocks, manned guard towers, high walls, compulsive perimenter security. Built for hardened felons, recidivists: daily population of 600 inmates or more.

versus

Fences, campus appearance, rooms, concealed gratings, dormitories, easy movement between areas, huts. Built originally for juveniles, first offenders, or for women. Population under 600 inmates.

(2) Administrative Goals:
Custody-oriented, view of the inmate as an evil brute; military hierarchy of ranks, tough repression of inmate. Concentrated power of the warden, commanded bureaucracy, formal organization and decision-making.

versus

Treatment-oriented, training and indulgency-type climate, view of the inmate as sick, misguided, or environment-conditioned towards crime. Committee structure for decision-making, based on knowledge and function; concern with inmate needs.

(3) Classification:
Disregard for inmate needs, assignment to cells and workshops on basis of space and supervision; custody considerations predominant. Classification by under-trained chief guards, novices, without diagnostic or testing devises.

versus

Thoroughness of diagnostic and test materials for inmate assessment, by qualified staff; determination of inmate's training needs and rehabilitative capacities. Custody not an overriding consideration. Sufficient time for observation.

(4) Inmate Employment:
Priority of prison maintenance and production needs; dull jobs without training benefit; few opportunities for skill development, token pay, make-work.

versus

Training-relevant work assignment, geared to inmate

needs, maintainance of prior skills, work motivations. Variety of work opportunities, incentive pay scale, reward system.

(5) Education and Training:
Low-level offerings, primary and some secondary school; few basic crafts with little release value or post-release employment relevance. No work release program, few library resources; no aid in obtaining post-release jobs or institution-based employment enquiries.

versus

Good educational facilities, with qualified teachers and instructors. GED and training certificates to gain labor force access; higher-level college courses by school-release or correspondence program. High proportion of inmates on work release; good library; attention to post-release employment of inmate; job-seeking help and information.

(6) Treatment:
Lip-service, paper-shuffling, dossier administration; few treatment strategies available; low inmate contact with treatment staff or programs. No specific pre-release program to aid in transition to outside.

versus

Clinical strategies of many varieties offered; psychologists and psychiatrists available. High participation of inmates in groups and individual counceling. Vigorous pre-release preparation of inmate, half-way houses or dormitory, guidance for adjustment.

(7) Custody and Security:
Close, repressive attention to inmate activity; frequent shake-downs of cells; door-post person frisking; group punishment. Mandatory tower watch. Use of hole, diet loaf, corporeal punishment; frequent reporting of discipline infractions, frequent loss of privileges, good time, and mail withholding.

versus

Mild disciplinary action; error view of inmate misbehavior, "acting out" permitted, reprimand. Easy movement of inmate; off-grounds programs and activities. Use of appeal board, inmate veto in disciplinary action; no isolation cells, with mild privilege withdrawal.

(8) Personnel:
High representation of custody staff, few treatment

workers, and little use of trustees for housekeeping duties. Guard-inmate ratio high; treatment-inmate ratio low. Low-trained staff, formal and impersonal guard-inmate interaction; uniforms, distrustful manners, commands without explanation.

versus

High representation of treatment personnel, guards in secondary role; inmates trusted to help in administrative jobs. Guard-inmate ratio very high; treatment-inmate ratio high. Well-trained staff; easy-going staff-inmate relationships; professional-client relationships. Low-key orders, supervisory-worker style of control.

(9) Outside Contact:
Low frequency of incoming and outgoing mail; censorship, few mail partners allowed. Severe restriction of visiting frequency, under guard, for small circle of relatives; use of screens, telephone, visitor search. No furlough program, no outside lawn activities, short time.

versus

Open letter communication, without censorship, few restrictions on partners. Frequent visits encouraged, open and unsupervised visitor area; few restrictions on time and number of visitors. Furlough program for selected types of inmate; family lawn and picnic visits, conjugal visits, time flexible.

Each of the nine custody-treatment dimensions was scaled on a seven point rating scale by three raters; the summed score over nine items of information represents the total prison score as an index of deprivation, or as a measure of pains of imprisonment. Disagreements between raters were resolved by discussion. The initial agreement on prison score was fairly high (tau=.763), and after re-reading of the prison information and mutual discussion, the final measure of concordance was .951.

The final ranking of all prisons according to the specifications allowed a minimum possible score of 9 points, conceptually representing the most severe form of custody-oriented prison, and a maximum possible score of 63 points, representing the most modern, well-staffed treatment

facility. The ratings actually obtained in the group of prisons studied ranged from a high of 57 points to a low of 16 points. For the purpose of data analysis, prisons were grouped into three groups; custody-oriented prisons were defined as those having an averaged summed score of 29 points or less; intermediate prisons being a mixture of custody and treatment facilities and aims were those with a score of 30 to 44 points; and treatment institutions were those with a score of 45 points or more. A full list of prisons for men and their respective score is given in Table 1.

TABLE I

A LIST OF PRISONS AND THEIR RESPECTIVE SCORES

Name of Institution	Score Points
Wisconsin Correctional Institution	57
Tehachapi Correctional Institution	52
Avon Park Correctional Institution	50
Colorado State Penitentiary	30
Arkansas Intermdiary Reformatory	21
Arizona State Penitentiary	18
Arkansas State Penitentiary	16

The grouping of prisons into three types categorizes three of the above prisons as treatment oriented institutions; one prison would fall into the intermediate category or mixed prison type, having both custodial and treatment features in roughly equal proportions; and the remaining

three prisons would form a custody-oriented group which reflects a general absence of treatment or training facilities and a punitive managerial goal.

Method Of Inmate Selection

The research design called for the inclusion of about 10 percent of inmate population as a sample from which questionnaire information could be obtained. The actual sampling rate achieved was about 8 percent. About equal numbers of inmates were confined in the treatment and custody type institutions or 213 and 205 respectively, and about 129 inmates were held in the intermediate type institution.

While random selection of prison inmates had been anticipated, the peculiar features of administrative restraint in certain prisons as well as the mode of formal inmate organization in others, made random selection impossible to achieve. In some prisons the senior investigator was allowed an access to inmate personnel files which could be used for systematic or interval sampling of every tenth inmate. In some cases, prison administrators agreed to select the sample according to specific instructions where the desirability of obtaining a representative cross-section of inmate population was stressed. Administrators who denied access to files were asked to make certain that interval sampling was used; or at least the inmates included in the sample group should contain the same proportion of whites, negroes, and Mexican-Americans, as found in the total population; instructions also were given to make certain that administrators included various pro-administration and anti-administration inmate role types, inmates from various security classifications, and a cross-section of the educational distribution found in the prisoner population. The instructions were to ensure the selection of a representative inmate group.

In two of the prisons internal control was in the hands of trustee guards who themselves were serving sentences. Similar instructions were given to them also to ensure the selection of representative inmate group. The degree to which instructions were followed in fact, or the extent of modification of the original sampling plan by those persons actually selecting the respondents, cannot be known with certainty. The senior investigator assumed that administrators and inmate acted conscientiously within the limits set by particular situations. As a result, representativeness and generality of findings cannot be ascertained and the application of the relationships found in this study to other inmate populations must remain tenuous and requires caution. Table 2 gives a listing of prisons, population size, the number of inmates selected for inclusion in the sample and the method of inmate selection.

TABLE II

INMATE POPULATION, SAMPLE SIZE, AND METHOD OF SELECTION

Prison	Daily Population	Sample Size	Selection Method
Wisconsin C. I.	560	54	Interval Sample
Techachapi C. I.	1280	90	Staff Selection
Avon Park C. I.	720	69	Interval Sample
Colorado Pen.	1600	129	Interval Sample
Arkansas Reform.	350	41	Inmate Selection
Arizona Pen.	1651	94	Staff and Inmate
Arkansas Pen.	1050	70	Inmate Selection

Questionnaire Administration

The senior investigator met with a small selected group of prisoners who were chosen by the warden or by a key staff member with an effort to include those prisoners who had the respect of their fellow inmates. In private meetings between the investigator and the select group of inmates, the purpose of the project was explained, and the strict confidentiality was promised. The group was asked to respond to the questionnaire, and to inform other inmates of the research purpose. Criticism and suggestions were also invited. Members of such groups often served as monitors for illiterates and helped record their responses.

Members of the sample for a given prison were gathered together in groups of about twenty inmates in a room provided by the prison staff. No prison officials were allowed in the room during the questionnaire session. A member of the initially selected group who had already responded to the questionnaire was on hand to explain the research purpose and the questionnaire to his fellow prisoners. The senior investigator was available during these sessions to answer questions and to check each questionnaire for completeness.

It was found that the inmate cooperation was generally good. The great majority of inmates completed all questions; and, when open-ended comments were invited, some inmates wrote lengthy and quite informative passages. Only a handful of questionnaires had to be discarded for lack of information or for very frequent non-responses.

Principal Index Construction

Out of the five major indices that are used in the present research

project, the three indices were previously formulated during the course of the earlier research studies carried out at the Washington State University. The other two indices, developed specifically for the present study are the index of outside contact and the index of inside contact of inmates. They form the two major variables. The other three indices that are used in most of the data tabulation include the index of criminal maturity, the attitude index and the climate index or the measure of attitudes believed to be held by other inmates.

The Index Of Inside Contact

It is a measure of inmate involvement in a prisoner community. It is based on a total of four variables which were designed to tap the extent of inmate contact with other fellow prisoners. The inmate response was sought on four items; how many times during the day or week inmates talk to other inmates; how do they spend their free time - alone, with a buddy or with a group; from whom do they find out about prison rules; and with whom do they discuss their personal problems. The scoring procedure involved the weighing of the responses to each of the four items forming the index. The scores were as follows:

1. Talk to Inmates	Score Points	No. of Cases
Once a week or less	1	26
Once a day	2	23
Several times a day	3	494
		543

2. Spend Free Time	Score Points	No. of Cases
Alone	1	137
Buddy	2	324
Group	3	81
		532

3. Find Out Rules	Score Points	No. of Cases
Staff	1	181
Inmate	3	351
		532

4. Discuss Personal Problems	Score Points	No. of Cases
Outsiders	1	1
Staff	2	296
Inmate	3	222
		519

From the above scores, the "inside contact" index was formed by simple summation of score and the respondents were categorized into two groups; those having low inside contact and those having high inside contact.

Summed Values On Four Variables	No. of Cases	Extent of Contact
4-8 points	134	Low Contact
9-12 points	373	High Contact
	507	

The Index Of Outside Contact

This index measures the extent of the outside contacts of the inmate following a similar procedure described above. There were three principal items which described the type and amount of the outside contact. They were the number of letters received during the past month; the number of letters written to the relatives and friends during the same time period and the number of visits received each month. The scoring procedure was as follows:

1. Received Letters	Score Points	No. of Cases
Two or Less	1	241
Three or More	2	302
		543

2. Wrote Letters	Score Points	No. of Cases
Two or Less	1	204
Three or More	2	338
		542

3. Received Visits	Score Points	No. of Cases
One Visit or Less	1	388
Two Visits	2	156
		544

From these scores the "outside contact" index was formed and the summed score was categorized into low and high contact groups.

Summed Values On Three Variables	No. of Cases	Extent of Contact
3-4 points	242	Low Contact
5-6 points	300	High Contact
	542	

The Index Of Criminal Maturity

It is a measure of involvement in a criminal career. It is based on three variables; the age at which the prisoner had been arrested for the first time; the number of sentences served in juvenile prisons; and the number of sentences served in adult penal institutions. It was found that these variables were highly correlated with each other. The scoring procedure involved the weighing of an early age at first arrest as a high score and the low score was assigned to those whose arrest came relatively late in their life. The scoring procedure is as follows:

1. Age at First Arrest	Score Points
Less than 14 years	7
14-17 years	6
18-20 years	5
21-24 years	4
25-29 years	3
30-39 years	2
40 years and over	1

The number of juvenile sentences served in the past were scored as shown below.

2. Number of Youth Sentences Served	Score Points
None	1
One Sentence	3
Two or More Sentences	6

Adult prison sentences served were scored as follows:

3. Number of Adult Sentences Served	Score Points
None	1
One or Two	2
Three or Four	4
Five or More	6

From the above scores, a criminal maturity index was formed by simple summation of scores, and individuals were categorized into four groups of offenders. At one extreme a professional offender can be described as the one whose criminal career began at an early age, who served a number of sentences in juvenile prisons and a number of previous sentences in adult prisons. At the other extreme, one finds an individual who had no previous contact with law enforcement agencies and his first arrest came late in life. Two intermediate categories were also formed. The summed values and type designation are as follows:

Summed Score On Three Variables	No. of Cases	Offender Type
3-7 points	184	Novice
8-11 points	194	Occasional
12-15 points	108	Habitual
16-19 points	59	Professional
	545	

The criminal maturity index is one of the principal control variables used in the present study.

The Attitude Index

It measures the prisoner's pro-social or anti-social orientations. Three questions were designed to elicit a pro-administration or anti-administration response from the inmate. The questions posed three hypothetical situations with which an inmate might be faced in prison. In one situation the inmate might defend a guard against other prisoners; in the second situation he might be asked to hide some money for another convict; in the third situation he is asked to decide whether or not to inform the administration about the misbehavior of a fellow prisoner. The scoring procedure entailed the summation of three four-point Lickert-scale items. Inmates could be distinguished as to who would solve typical prison situations according to the dictate of inmate code, presumable because they are integrated members of the prisoner community and opposed to staff goals. Other inmates, known as "square Johns", would solve the same situations in a manner desired by prison administrators, conforming to staff expectations rather than to inmate expectations. An intermediate category of inmates, solving part of the situations in either direction, was described as ambivalent in orientations. The scores and categorization are as follows:

Summed Score On Three Variable	No. of Cases	Attitudinal Type
9-12 points	324	Anti-Staff
7-8 points	93	Ambivalent
6 or Less points	129	Conformist
	546	

The Climate Index

It is a measure of inmate's perception as to how other inmates would have solved the very same hypothetical prison situations that were used to measure his own pro-administration or anti-administration attitude. Again the three questions were combined to form the index; these questions asked the inmate to estimate the proportion of other inmates whom he believed to be anti-administration in solutions to their problems. The scoring of three five-point answer sets allowed the summation of scores obtained from each inmate. Summed scores on three variables are as follows:

Summed Scores On Three Variables	Number Of Cases	Perceived Attitudinal Climate
9-15 points	441	Anti-staff Climate Perceived by Inmates
7-8 points	65	Ambivalent Appraisal of Prison Climate
6 points of less	39	Conformist, Pro-administration Climate Perceived by Inmates
	545	

In the above scoring procedures, the attitude index and the climate index were made comparable for analysis. Both indices will be used as major indicators of the dependent variable, prisonization. They measure the extent to which an inmate is enmeshed in the prisoner contra-culture or the degree of his prisonization. For the purpose of further data analysis each of the two indices are dichotomized. The categories ambivalent and conformist are combined together to form a new category called prosocial. Those who obtained a summed score of 9 to 15 points would be called anti-social and the others who scored less than 9 points would be referred to as

prosocial. This would, no doubt, place some limitation on the descriptiveness of the data but it is true that the category containing the antisocial respondents will not be affected in any way. While interpreting the findings it will be recognized that the new "prosocial" category only partially contains those who hold clearly "prosocial" attitudes.

In summary, the data analysis depends on three major sets of variables; outside contact is measured by the number of letters received and written by the inmate, and the number of visits from relatives and friends; his involvement with other prison inmates is measured by how often the inmate talked to other inmates, how many close friends he had, how he found out about prison rules and whether he confided in other inmates, staff or an outsider about his personal problems; and the twin measures of prisonization, the attitude and the climate index. There are three other sets of variables that are used partly as controls and partly as independent variables having much influence over the process of prisonization as indicated by the past research. A measure of the pains of imprisonment is gained by determining the levels of deprivation that exist in different types of prisons; a measure of criminal maturity will be used to determine how the imported characteristic of inmates affect the adoption of inmate code or the extent of the inmate's anti-social attitudes; and a measure of the prison career phase of the inmate will be used to replicate Wheeler's U-shaped distribution of conformity to the staff expectation. These three sets of variables will also be used in conjunction with the other two principal independent variables to determine the extent to which the original relationships are affected by the introduction of each one of the control variables.

A method of tabular analysis will be employed and the Gamma values exceeding +-.25 at .05 level will be considered as statistically significant. Generality of results thus obtained will be of limited nature and any conclusions reached should be cautiously interpreted given the non-representativeness of the sample.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Profiles Of Respondents

From the preliminary analysis of the data it was noted that the majority of the respondents came from the urban areas. Approximately 61 percent of inmates were from the major metropolitan cities or from the various state capitals of the United States. It was also noted that half of the inmate population was less than 30 years old, and a very sizeable majority, or about 65 percent of the inmates had completed at least 10 years of schooling. The sample was also characterized by the absence of marital ties; only 28 percent of the prisonser were married. The original cross-cultural study, using the same data set, had noted that the cultural differences did account for the way in which marital stability and the risk of incarceration were related. It was found that American inmates were more often divorced than their counterparts in Great Britain and Germany in spite of the fact that divorce rates in all of the above countries were very similar.[1] Table 3 gives the actual distribution of prison inmates contained in the study-sample based on their age, marital status, education, and place of residence.

TABLE III

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF OFFENDERS

Present Age	%	Marital Status	%	Education	%	Residence	%
Up to 24 years	32	Married	28	Up to 6 years	11	Metro-Capital	29
25 to 29 years	18	Single	34	7 to 9 years	24	Major City	32
30 to 39 years	29	Divorced	29	10 to 12 years	50	Small Town	35
40 to 49 years	15	Common-Law	8	13 to 16 years	15	Farm, Rural	4
50 years +	6						
	100		100		100		100

Table 4 contains a comparison of the sample age distribution with the national census age distribution found in the Demographic Yearbook.[2] It shows that young persons between the ages of 21 and 40 are overrepresented in prisons.

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF PRISON POPULATION WITH CENSUS

AGE DISTRIBUTION: (IN PERCENT)

Age Group	Observed	Expected
18 to 20 years	10	10
21 to 24 years	22	11
25 to 29 years	18	12
30 to 39 years	29	20
40 to 49 years	15	21
Over 50 years	6	26

The offense categories in Table 5 are defined in terms of the most serious offense in the case of multiple offenses or where an offender was convicted of both, an offense against a person and a property offense. The criminality is defined in the methodology chapter. The type of offense with built-in risk factors and associated sentence does have some influence on the recidivism patterns (Garrity, 1961), but these two factors have not shown much utility in studying prisonization per se, therefore they were not included in the research design. On the other hand sentence length and involvement of the individual offender in a criminal career, beginning with arrest in early life, and his prior institutional history are believed to be quite relevent for the purposes of the present study. Criminal maturity is used as one of the control variables to determine how much of the antisocial response to imprisonment is indigenous to prison conditions themselves or it is brought into the prison from the outside.

TABLE V

CRIMINAL BACKGROUND OF OFFENDERS*

Offense	No.	%	Sentence	No.	%	Criminality	No.	%
Persons	330	(61)	Up to 5 years	280	(54)	Professional	60	(11)
Property	107	(20)	6 to 15 years	168	(32)	Habitual	108	(20)
Sex	33	(6)	Over 15 years	73	(14)	Occassional	194	(35)
Drugs	69	(13)				Novice	185	(34)
	539	(100)		521	(100)		547	(100)

Hypotheses Under Investigation

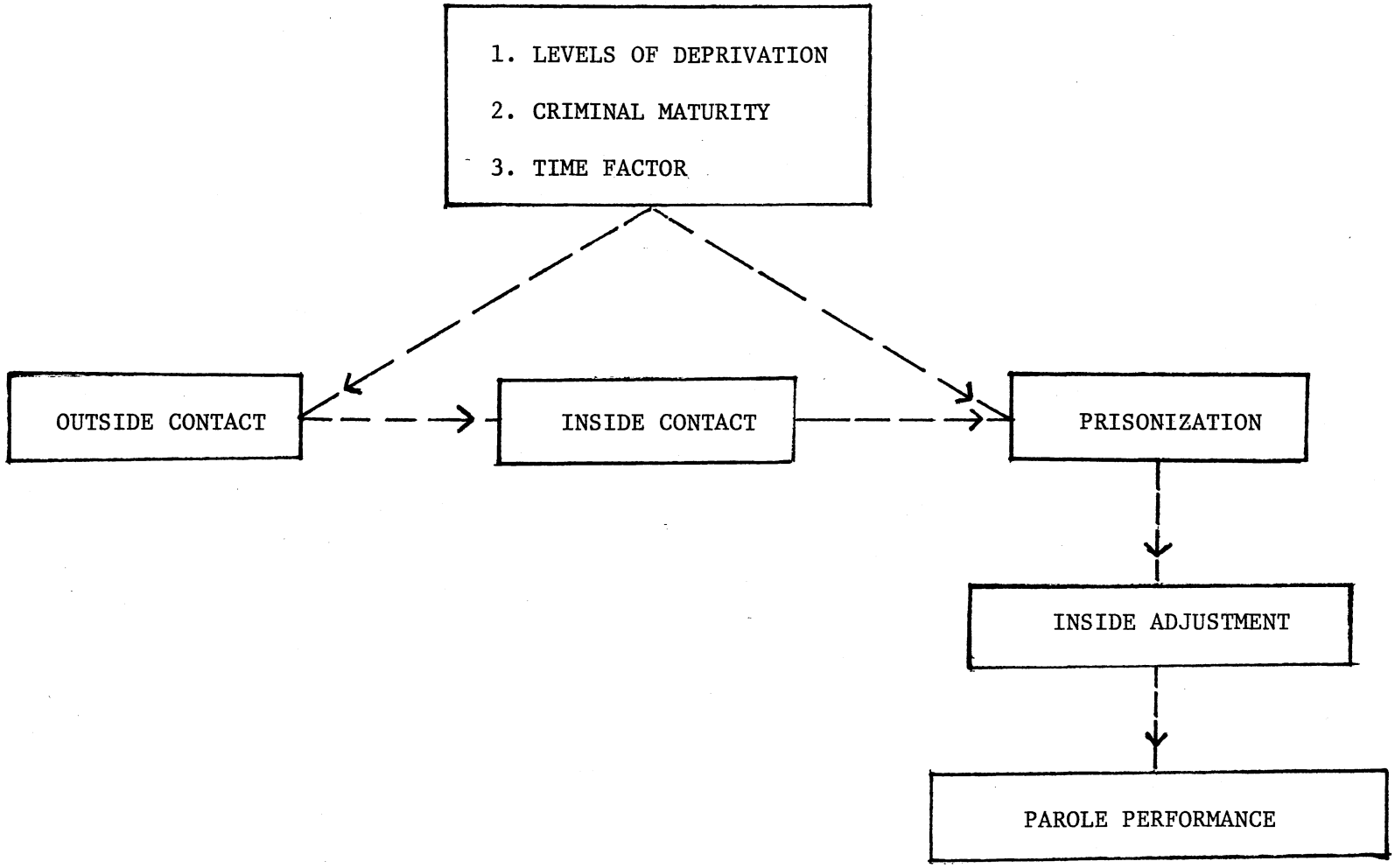
Introduction

Donald Clemmer considered the degree of prisonization to be the most important factor that seems to affect inmate's successful adjustment after his release from the penitentiary. He postulates that the degree of prisonization would be lowest for those inmates who have positive social relationships in the outside community, for those who do not affiliate with other inmates, and for those whose prison stay allows only a brief exposure to the "universal feature" of imprisonment.[3] The Figure 1 on page 81 conceptually demonstrates the inter-relationships of the two basic independent variables and the dependent variable, prisonization.

The present study using the extent of inmate's outside and inside contacts as two major variables attempts to test the validity of the first two postulates. The third postulate emphasizes the influence of time element. The length of time served in the penitentiary, according to

*Source: Werner Gruninger (1974) p. 86.

SUBCULTURAL TIES IN PRISON AS A FUNCTION OF OUTSIDE CONTACTS



Clemmer, does affect the degree of prisonization. The second hypothesis of the present study deals with the time dimension. The first part of the hypothesis considers the total length of time spent in the institution, and the second part uses Wheeler's modified measure of time which specifies the three phases of inmate's prison career as early, middle and late according to how much of the sentence is already served and how much of it is still remaining to be served. The third and the fourth hypotheses serve a dual function. They would be used to test the previous theories concerning the "importation" model and the "situation-response" model of prisonization. The levels of deprivation and the criminal maturity would also serve as controls to determine whether or not the original relationships between the outside and inside contact and the extent of prisonized attitude would still hold.

The presentation and analysis of data for this study will be reported as it relates to each of the major hypotheses and relevent research questions under consideration. Only those hypotheses which demonstrate a Gamma Value of + - .25 at the .05 level will be accepted.

Relationships Among Indicators Of Major Variables

The relationships among the indicators of the two independent variables, outside and inside contacts, are described in Tables 6 and 7 respectively.

TABLE VI

OUTSIDE CONTACTS: GAMMA VALUES

	Wrote Letters	Recd. Visits
Recd. Letters	.95*	.63*
Wrote Letters		.63*

*These values were significant at the .05 level.

TABLE VII

INSIDE CONTACTS: GAMMA VALUES

	Spend Free Time	Find Out Rules	Discuss Personal Problems
Talk To Inmates	.29*	.22	-.007
Spend Free Time		.27*	.26*
Find Out Rules			.46*

*These values were significant at the .05 level.

From the above gamma value tables it appears that the relationship among the indicators of the variable, outside contact, are fairly strong. Therefore the index which uses these indicators to measure the extent of inmate communication with those outside the penal institution should prove quite useful. On the other hand, it appears that some of the indicators used to form an index to measure the extent of inmate's contact with other inmates within the institution do not seem to have the necessary

concordance to be a realistic and reliable measure. For instance, the indicators which attempt to find out how often a respondent talks to other inmates and whether he would discuss his personal problems with them or with the staff do not have any relationship what so ever. It is quite possible that many of the personal problems confronting each inmate may have stemmed from his association with other inmates. If this is the case, then the inmate may prefer to discuss his personal problems with the staff members rather than with his fellow inmates. The measure of inside contacts is used throughout the data analysis process with some reservation and the results thus obtained should be interpreted with some caution.

Relationship Between Indicators And Prisonization

The relationship of each indicator of outside and inside contact with the attitude index and the climate index is summarized in Tables 8 and 9 respectively.

TABLE VIII

OUTSIDE CONTACT AND PRISONIZATION

Outside Contact	Attitude Index	Climate Index
Recd. Letters	$X^2 = 0.0052$; 1 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .001	$X^2 = 0.6955$; 1 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = -.10
Wrote Letters	$X^2 = 1.2998$; 1 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .11	$X^2 = 1.3429$; 1 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .14
Recd. Visits	$X^2 = 1.8915$; 1 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .13	$X^2 = 0.5141$; 1 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .09

TABLE IX

INSIDE CONTACT AND PRISONIZATION

Inside Contact	Attitude Index	Climate Index
Spend Free Time	$X^2 = 0.1951$; 2 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .02	$X^2 = 1.8210$; 2 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = -.07
Talk To Inmates	$X^2 = 0.0936$; 2 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .04	$X^2 = 9.6644$; 2 D.F. $P < .05$; Gamma = .13
Find Out Rules From Inmates Rather Than Staff	$X^2 = 7.8242$; 1 D.F. $P < .05$; Gamma = .26	$X^2 = 1.4368$; 1 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .14
Discuss Personal Problems With Staff	$X^2 = 35.7593$; 2 D.F. $P < .05$; Gamma = .50	$X^2 = 4.3136$; 2 D.F. $P > .05$; Gamma = .009

Above tables indicate how each of the indicators of the inside and outside contact is related to both, attitude and climate index. It appears that the first two indicators of the inside contact do not have any relationship to the attitude index or the climate index. It was interesting to note that when inmates found out about the institutional rules from other inmates they were more apt to be antisocial (Gamma = .26) and they also perceived other inmates to be more antisocial (Gamma = .14) than they were themselves. There was a fairly strong relationship (Gamma = .50) between those who discussed their personal problems with the staff and those who were prostaff in their attitudes.

On the other hand, there was hardly any significant relationship between each indicator of the outside contact and the attitude and climate index. A very slight relationship was noted between those who wrote three or more letters per week and also received some visits from their relatives or friends each month and those who were prosocial in their

attitudes (Gamma =.11, Gamma =.13 respectively).

It was quite apparent from the initial results of the preliminary data analysis that one of the major propositions of the present study - positive outside contacts of the prison inmates produce beneficial results in terms of less prisonization - was not supported by the data-set.

Consideration Of Major Hypotheses

Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis consists of three parts. The first part states that the degree of prisonization is a function of the extent of outside contacts (familial and social ties) of inmates during their incarceration. An inverse relationship is anticipated. Tables 10 and 11 summerize the relationship between the outside contact and the attitude index and the climate index.

TABLE X

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUTSIDE CONTACTS AND PRISONIZATION: ATTITUDE INDEX

Attitude Index	Outside Contacts		
	Low Contact	High Contact	Row Total
Antisocial	139 (57.4)	182 (60.7)	321 (59.2)
Prosocial	103 (42.6)	118 (39.3)	221 (40.8)
Column Total	242	300	542

X^2 = 0.4522; 1 D.F.; P> .05 Gamma = -.06

TABLE XI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUTSIDE CONTACTS AND PRISONIZATION: CLIMATE INDEX

Climate Index	Outside Contact		
	Low Contact	High Contact	Row Total
Antisocial	193 (79.8)	247 (82.3)	440 (81.2)
Prosocial	49 (20.2)	53 (17.7)	102 (18.8)
Column Total	242	300	542 (100)
	(44.6)	55.4)	

$X^2 = 0.42744$; 1 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.08

As noted earlier the hypothesis 1.1 is based on the assumption that if an inmate happens to have more outside contacts with family members and close friends in the free community, he will be less apt to hold antisocial views. The results of the cross tabulation do not support this very basic assumption. A gamma value of -.06 is not significant. It, in fact, shows that high response on outside contact also produces lower response on the category labeled prosocial, meaning thereby that the score is higher on the antisocial category. Very similar results are noted when the relationship between outside contacts and prison climate index are compared. A gamma value of -.08 also indicates no association among these two variables compared, and the relationship states that if there are higher outside contacts then there is a less perception of other inmates as being prosocial.

It is conceivable that such results could have been due to the unusually large proportion of respondents for whom the sentence stage could not be

determined. Not knowing how long each of those inmates thus sentenced would be serving time may have certain influence on the final outcome. Later an attempt will be made to separate such influence to determine whether or not the original relationship would still hold.

Hypothesis 1.2 simply states that prisonization is positively related to the amount of inside contacts of an individual prisoner with his fellow prisoners.

TABLE XII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INSIDE CONTACTS AND PRISONIZATION: ATTITUDE INDEX

Attitude Index	Inside Contacts		
	Low Contact	High Contact	Row Total
Antisocial	67 (50)	234 (62.7)	301 (59.4)
Prosocial	67 (50)	139 (37.3)	206 (40.6)
Column Total	134 (26.4)	373 (73.6)	507

$X^2 = 6.1102$; 1 D.F.; $P < .01$ Gamma = -.25

TABLE XIII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INSIDE CONTACT AND PRISONIZATION: CLIMATE INDEX

Climate Index	Inside Contacts		
	Low Contact	High Contact	Row Total
Antisocial	103 (76.9)	308 (82.6)	411 (81.1)
Prosocial	31 (23.1)	65 (17.4)	96 (18.9)
Column Total	134 (26.4)	373 (73.6)	507

$X^2 = 1.7372$; 1 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.17

The results indicate that there is some relationship (Gamma = -.25) between the attitude index and the inside contact; but it is statistically significant at .01 level. Similarly, it appears that the inmate's association with other inmates also contributed to their perception of an antisocial climate. It shows that 76.9 percent of those having a low inside contact as against 82.6 percent of those with high inside contacts perceived other inmates to be more antisocial than they, themselves were. The perception of other inmates being more antisocial is due to what Wheeler has called a "pluralistic ignorance". The social climate of the prison, especially of close custody type, provides for the antisocial and asocial inmates a higher social status and involves them in positions of leadership and in frequent interaction with other inmates. Thus values held by these antisocial elements are more apparent and are believed to be the norm of inmate population at large.[4]

These findings do support one of Clemmer's basic propositions concerning prisonization which states that the degree of prisonization would be highest for those who become involved with other inmates or inmate groups. But the results should be interpreted with much caution since there was very little concordance among the indicators that formulated the composite measure of inside contact.

Hypothesis 1.3 maintains that the psychological and emotional support derived from inmate's outside ties would keep inmate's inside contacts to a minimum. The following table describes the relationship between outside and inside contacts.

TABLE XIV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUTSIDE AND INSIDE CONTACTS

Inside Contacts	Outside Contacts		
	Low Contact	High Contact	Row Total
Low	59 (27.2)	74 (25.6)	133 (26.3)
High	158 (72.8)	215 (74.4)	373 (73.7)
Column Total	217 (42.9)	289 (57.1)	506

$X^2 = 0.0890$; 1 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = .04

The results indicate that there is no relationship between these two independent variables (Gamma = .04). It appears that inmate's inside contact does not depend upon how much outside communication he may have had through letters and visits. The findings are quite contrary to what was originally assumed. It becomes apparent that those inmates who had a high amount of

outside contact (74.4 percent) also had a fairly active involvement with other inmates within the institution. It suggests that some people by their very nature are outgoing and gregarious, while others who would rather keep to themselves; they do not find it necessary to make friends or spend their free time with other inmates. It may be that these inmates who remain social isolates do so not by choice but are forced to keep to themselves. They may have problems of acceptance by their fellow inmates, and therefore they may constitute what Cloward has described as "double failures".[5]

The two variables, inside contact and outside contact will be tabulated once again in conjunction with "time served" and prison "career phase". They also will be tested by using two other control variables, prison score and criminal maturity.

Hypothesis Two

This hypothesis deals with the time dimension and the influence of sentence length as well as that of the particular stage in the inmate's prison career on the process of prisonization. There are three parts to the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2.1 states that the total length of time spent in an institution determines the status of the inmates' outside contacts. A longer period in the institution would weaken those familial and other social ties of inmates.

TABLE XV

SENTENCE SERVED AND OUTSIDE CONTACTS

Outside Contacts	7 Mos. or Less	8 Mos. to 3 Yrs.	3 Years or More	Row Total
Low Contact	58 (41.4)	136 (46.1)	46 (44.2)	240
High Contact	82 (58.6)	159 (53.9)	58 (55.8)	299
Column Total	140	295	104	539

$X^2 = 0.8439$; 2 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.04

Table 15 shows that there is no relationship between the length of sentence served by an individual inmate and the extent of his outside contact. But the distribution of contacts over a time indicates that even for inmates with high outside contact all the way through, the percentage of those receiving a high amount of outside contact decreases as the time served in the institution increases. In the early time period about 58 percent received a high amount of outside contact and during the middle period (between 8 months to 3 years), the outside contact dropped to about 54 percent and again rose to about 56 percent during the late period. A U-shaped distribution of the outside contacts is clearly evident.

It has been suggested that during the middle period of the inmate's sentence, he becomes a "forgotten" man. His links with the outside world begin to weaken as more time passes by. According to Wheeler and Garabedian, this is the most critical period for an inmate when the pressure to join inmate groups and to accept "inmate code" become more intense. These authors believe that given the choice between involvement with other inmates or

isolation, most inmates move in the direction of involvement with other inmates and thus accept antisocial attitudes.[6] The percentage of inmates receiving outside contacts increases again during the later time period. It may indicate a change in inmate orientation once again toward outside as the time for the release approaches near.

Hypothesis 2.2 attempts to determine how the sentence length would have an effect on overall inmates' attitudes.

TABLE XVI

SENTENCE SERVED AND ATTITUDE INDEX

Attitude	7 Mos. or Less	8 Mos. to 3 Years	3 Years or More	Row Total
Antisocial	76 (53.5)	178 (60.3)	67 (63.2)	321
Prosocial	66 (46.5)	117 (39.7)	39 (36.8)	222
Column Total	142	295	106	543

$X^2 = 2.6204$; 2 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.12

The relationship between time served and the attitude index, though very weak, (Gamma = -.12) is in the expected direction, i.e., there is a steady increase in the proportion of inmates who held antisocial attitudes with time. The percentage of inmates holding antisocial attitudes increased steadily from 53.5 percent in the early period, 60.3 percent through the middle period to 63.2 percent in the last time period. It appears that the original proposition advanced by Clemmer has some merit since longer time served in the institution tends to contribute to more antisocial feelings and attitudes.

Hypothesis 2.3 attempts to test Wheeler's U-shaped hypothesis which states that there is a curvilinear relationship between sentence stage of an inmate and his likelihood of holding prosocial or antisocial attitudes. Wheeler has found that when the "institutional career" was divided into three phases of early, middle, and late (regardless of total amount of time that each of these stages represented for the inmate), then the greatest amount of prisonization was found in the middle phase. Wheeler argued that in the early stages of confinement the inmate's reference groups in the free community are still important to him, and he is apt to continue to orient himself to them rather than to the inmate society. In the middle phase, the inmate's old ties to the outside are weakened, and he comes more under the influence of the inmate code. In the later stages as he nears the time of his release, the inmate begins to orient himself to the outside and the antisocial attitudes once again become less pronounced. Table 17 shows the relationship between sentence stage and the attitude index.

TABLE XVII

SENTENCE STAGE AND PRISONIZATION: ATTITUDE INDEX

Attitude Index	Sentence Stage				
	Early	Middle	Late	Indeterm.	Row Total
Antisocial	44 (59.5)	35 (64.8)	55 (56.7)	189 (59.1)	323
Prosocial	30 (40.5)	19 (35.2)	42 (43.3)	131 (40.9)	222
Column Total	74 (100)	54 (100)	97 (100)	320 (100)	545

$X^2 = 0.9596$; 3 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = .01

TABLE XVIII

SENTENCE STAGE AND PRISONIZATION: CLIMATE INDEX

Climate Index	Sentence Stage				
	Early	Middle	Late	Indeterm.	Row Total
Antisocial	62 (83.8)	44 (81.5)	80 (82.5)	255 (79.7)	441 (80.9)
Prosocial	12 (16.2)	10 (18.5)	17 (17.5)	65 (20.3)	104 (19.1)
Column Total	74	54	97	320	545 (100)

$X^2 = 0.8706$; 3 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = .08

It is evident from Tables 17 and 18 that the relationship between sentence stage and prisonization is nonexistent. The sample contained a very large proportion of inmate respondents (58.7%) for whom the prison career phase could not be determined with any certainty. It is quite possible that indeterminate sentence stage as one of the values of the variable, sentence stage, could cause the results to become confounded. In order to overcome this effect it was decided to place those with indeterminate response among the respondents who were in their "middle phase" of the sentence stage and then reevaluate the outcome by comparing the sentence stage with the attitude index. Table 19 summarizes the results obtained by modifying the values of the sentence stage.

TABLE XIX

MODIFIED SENTENCE STAGE AND ATTITUDE INDEX

Attitude Index	Sentence Stage			
	Early	Middle	Late	Row Total
Antisocial	44 (59.5)	224 (59.8)	55 (56.7)	323 (59.2)
Prosocial	30 (40.5)	150 (40.2)	42 (43.3)	222 (40.8)
Column Total	74 (100)	374 (100)	97 (100)	545 (100)

$X^2 = 0.0429$; 2 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = .02

The results show absolutely no change in the percentages of those holding antisocial views through early and middle phases (59.5% and 59.8% respectively), and in the late phase, this percentage drops to 56.7. This particular finding is contrary to the basic assumption that the percentage of those holding antisocial views would be lower in the earlier period, would increase through the middle phase, and drop again in the late phase.

Table 20 contains a comparison of the results of the two earlier studies (one by Wheeler and the other by Atchley and McCabe) and the present study.

TABLE XX

CONFORMITY TO STAFF AND SENTENCE STAGE:

A COMPARISON WITH EARLIER STUDIES

	Percentage of Conformity To Staff Values			
	Early Phase	Middle Phase	Late Phase	Gamma
	% of N	% of N	% of N	
Wheeler	(47) 77	(21) 94	(43) 40	-.21
Atchley-McCabe	(34) 89	(35) 248	(36) 69	-.06
Present Study	(40.5) 74	(40.2) 374	(43) 42	.02

The comparison between the two earlier studies and the present study shows that none of the results match. The study shows that there is practically no change in the percentage of conformity during the first two stages but there is a slight increase in conformity during the late stage.

In the recent publication, Akers, Hayner and Gruninger attempted to compare Wheeler's and Atchley and McCabe's findings with their findings from the study of some 22 prisons from five different countries. They noted that their findings concur with those of Atchley and McCabe's of little association between prisonization and either time served in prison or institutional career phase when the total sample from all of the seven United State's prisons was used; but when the sample population from each of the prisons was studied separately there was significant variation in the results. The findings from one institution matched closely with those of Wheeler's, while another institution came up with findings similar to

those of Atchley and McCabe's. The authors surmise that combining of the samples from various types of institutions tend to mask significant variations among prisons, therefore, these authors conclude that prisonization will vary by institutional environment and other sources of differences in inmate population.[6]

Hypothesis 2.3 presents the nature of the contacts themselves as the attitudes vary during the three phases of the institutional career. Table 21 gives the breakdown on the amount of outside contacts during the three phases of the institutional career and distribution of those holding clearly antisocial or nonconforming attitudes.

TABLE XXI

NONCONFORMITY TO STAFF AND OUTSIDE CONTACT

THROUGH THE PHASES OF INSTITUTIONAL CAREER

Outside Contact	Percentage Of Nonconformity				
	Early	Middle	Late	Indeterminate	Row Total
	% of N	% of N	% of N	% or N	
Low Contact	(65) 34	(46) 24	(54) 50	(59.0) 134	242
High Contact	(54) 39	(80) 30	(60) 47	(59.2) 184	300
Column Total	73	54	97	318	542

Early: $X^2 = 0.4931$; 1 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.22
Middle: $X^2 = 5.4091$; 1 D.F.; $P < .02$ Gamma = -.65
Late: $X^2 = 0.1216$; 1 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.11
Indeterm: $X^2 = 0.0041$; 1 D.F. $P > .05$ Gamma = -.005

The findings from Table 21 indicate that those with high outside contact become more nonconformist during the middle phase than those having a rather low contact. It shows that during the early phase the percentage of the nonconformists with the low outside contact is fairly high (65%) compared to nonconformists with high outside contact (54%); but during the middle phase that percentage drops for those with low outside contact (46%) while it increases for inmates with high outside contact (80%).

These findings suggest that sentence stage does influence the relationship between the outside contact and the nonconforming attitude. Those with low outside contact tend to become less nonconforming (prosocial) in the middle stage than those who have had higher outside contact and who tend to become more nonconforming during the same prison career phase.

From the original "no relationship" between the outside contact and attitude, there appears to be a definite departure when we consider their relationship separately during each of the prison career phases.

In the next tabulation attitude index and the inside contact are compared through the three phases of the institutional career.

TABLE XXII

NONCONFORMITY TO STAFF AND INSIDE CONTACT

THROUGH THE PHASES OF INSTITUTIONAL CAREER

Inside Contact	Percentage Of Nonconformity				
	Early	Middle	Late	Indeterm.	Row Total
	% of N	% of N	% of N	% of N	
Low Contact	(53) 17	(71) 14	(58) 26	(43) 77	134
High Contact	(59) 51	(63) 38	(55) 65	(66) 219	373
Column Total	68	52	91	296	507

Early: $X^2 = 0.0200$; 1 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.11
Middle: $X^2 = 0.0517$; 1 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = .18
Late: $X^2 = 0.0011$; 1 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = .04
Indeterm.: $X^2 = 11.4891$; 1 D.F.; $P < .001$ Gamma = -.43

It appears that during the first three phases of the institutional career of inmates, there is no statistically significant relationship between the inside contact and the attitude index. The results suggest that for those inmates for whom it was impossible to determine the sentence stage the low inside contact shows the lower incidence of antisocial attitudes (43%) than for those inmates who have had a high amount of inside contact (66%). But the inmates who have low inside contacts during the middle and late phases tend to become more antisocial (71% and 58% respectively) than those inmates with higher amounts of the inside contact. The early and the indeterminate phase do offer some support to the basic proposition advanced by Clemmer which states that the high amount of inmate involvement with other inmates promotes antisocial attitudes.

Hypothesis Three

This hypothesis looks into the possible influence of criminal maturity of inmate respondents on their participation and association patterns in the inmate contra-culture, and on their relationship with those on the outside. The criminal maturity determined by age at first arrest, the number of juvenile sentences served and the number of adult sentences served is considered to have a great deal of influence on the value system of an inmate. It is assumed that the criminally mature or the "professional" inmate-respondents would be devoid of the familial and other positive outside social contacts, and in addition, it seems likely that their previous institutional experience would have prepared them to form various kinds of alliances with other inmates more readily than the "novice" or the first time offenders. Based on these assumptions, it is postulated that professional-type offenders would be more likely to hold antisocial attitudes or they would be more prisonized than the others who have not progressed as far in their criminal careers. Table 23 describes the basic relationship between criminal maturity and prisonization.

TABLE XXIII

CRIMINAL MATURITY AND ATTITUDE INDEX

	CRIMINAL MATURITY				
Attitude	Professional	Habitual	Occassional	Novice	Total
Antisocial	42 (71.2)	66 (61.1)	119 (61.3)	96 (52.2)	323 (59.3)
Prosocial	17 (28.8)	42 (38.9)	75 (38.7)	88 (47.8)	222 (40.7)
Column Total	59	108	194	184	545 (100)

$X^2 = 7.8043$; 3 D.F.; $P < .05$ Gamma = .17

TABLE XXIV

CRIMINAL MATURITY AND CLIMATE INDEX

	CRIMINAL MATURITY				
Climate	Professional	Habitual	Occassional	Novice	Total
Antisocial	53 (89.8)	85 (78.7)	160 (82.5)	143 (77.7)	441 (80.9)
Prosocial	6 (10.2)	23 (21.3)	34 (17.5)	41 (22.3)	104 (19.1)
Column Total	59	108	194	184	545 (100)

$X^2 = 4.9030$; 3 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = .12

There is a rather weak relationship (Gamma = .17) between the criminal maturity and the attitude index, but that relationship is statistically significant at the .05 level. It becomes apparent from the above tabulation that the "professional" criminal is more apt to be antisocial in his

attitudes rather than prosocial. It is noted that 71% of "professional" offenders compared to only 52% of the "novice" type are antisocial. With respect to climate index, it is observed that the "professional" offenders more so than any other category of criminality percieve institutional climate as being more antisocial (about 89.8%).

The Table 25 shows the interrelationship between the outside contact and the criminal maturity as it relates to the antisocial attitudes held by the inmate respondents.

TABLE XXV

NONCONFORMITY TO STAFF AND OUTSIDE CONTACT

FOR EACH CATEGORY OF CRIMINAL MATURITY

Outside Contact	PERCENTAGE OF NONCONFORMITY				
	Professional	Habitual	Occassional	Novice	Total
	% of N	% of N	% of N	% of N	
Low	(81) 26	(58) 57	(58) 84	(48) 75	242
High	(64) 33	(65) 51	(63) 109	(55) 107	300
Column Total	59	108	193	182	542

Professional	X^2 = 1.3296; 3 D.F.; P > .05	Gamma = .41
Habitual	X^2 = 0.2779; 3 D.F.; P > .05	Gamma = -.14
Occassional	X^2 = 0.3061; 3 D.F.; P > .05	Gamma = -.10
Novice	X^2 = 0.6375; 3 D.F.; P > .05	Gamma = -.14

From the above findings, it becomes clear that the amount of outside contact is quite critical for a "professional" criminal type. Approximately 81 percent of the "professional" offender types with low outside contacts hold antisocial attitudes as compared to only 64 percent of those

who have had high amount of the outside contact. There seems to be a direct relationship between outside contact and prisonization when only the "professional" type offenders are considered. These, however, are only 10.8%. The other three categories of criminality fail to show any significant relationship to prisonization and at the same time it is in the opposite direction than expected. The results obtained in each of the other three categories show that the high amount of outside contacts of the inmates and the extent of prisonization coexist.

TABLE XXVI

NONCONFORMITY TO STAFF AND INSIDE CONTACT

FOR EACH CATEGORY OF CRIMINAL MATURITY

Inside Contact	PERCENTAGE OF NONCONFORMITY				
	Professional	Habitual	Occassional	Novice	Total
	% of N	% of N	% of N	% of N	
Low Contact	(73) 15	(62) 21	(50) 42	(39) 56	134
High Contact	(70) 40	(61) 78	(64) 138	(60) 117	373
Column Total	55	99	180	173	507

Professional	$X^2 = 0.0082$; 3 D.F.; $P > .05$	Gamma = .08
Habitual	$X^2 = 0.0493$; 3 D.F.; $P > .05$	Gamma = .007
Occassional	$X^2 = 2.0115$; 3 D.F.; $P > .05$	Gamma = -.27
Novice	$X^2 = 5.6207$; 3 D.F.; $P < .01$	Gamma = -.39

Nonconformity to staff and the amount of inside contacts for each of the four categories are also tabulated. There is absolutely no relationship between inside contacts and antisocial attitudes when only the "professional" and "habitual" types are considered. But the relationship

changes for the other two categories. For the "novice" and the "occassional" criminal types, the amount of inside contact do seem to influence the attitude patterns. Especially for the "novice" types, there is moderate association (Gamma = -.39) between the amount of inside contacts and prisonization at a statistically significant, .01 level. It is noted that among "novices" those with very little involvement with other inmates (about 39 percent) are antisocial as compared to 60 percent of those with a higher inmate contact.

The background factors do seem to influence the manner in which the inmates who differed in their criminal maturity will respond to being incarcerated. In addition, the above findings also support the assumption that inmates who have made crime a part of their life have in all probability lost most of their attachments and ties in the outside community.

Hypothesis Four

This hypothesis specifically deals with the varying levels of deprivations in order to test the "pains of imprisonment" explanation of the origin of the inmate code. Seven prisons which ranged from the close custody model to the open treatment type institution should provide the needed variation in the levels of deprivation in order to determine whether or not these variations would modify inmate response in terms of the solidary opposition to the staff-held norms. It is also assumed that the treatment institutions would be more lenient toward outside contacts of inmates with few restrictions on inmate correspondence and family visitation. Inmate prisonization response and the varying levels of deprivation appear in Tables 27 and 28.

TABLE XXVII

LEVELS OF DEPRIVATION AND ATTITUDE INDEX

	LEVELS OF DEPRIVATION			
Attitude	Treatment	Intermediate	Custody	Total
Antisocial	106 (50.0)	85 (66.4)	133 (64.6)	324 (59.3)
Prosocial	106 (50.0)	43 (33.6)	73 (35.4)	222 (40.7)
Column Total	212	128	206	546 (100)

$X^2 = 12.6432$; 2 D.F.; $P < .001$ Gamma = -.21

TABLE XXVIII

LEVELS OF DEPRIVATION AND CLIMATE INDEX

	LEVELS OF DEPRIVATION			
Climate	Treatment	Intermediate	Custody	Total
Antisocial	174 (82.1)	110 (85.9)	157 (76.6)	441 (80.9)
Prosocial	38 (17.9)	18 (14.1)	48 (23.4)	104 (19.1)
Column Total	212	128	205	545 (100)

$X^2 = 4.7646$; 2 D.F.; $P > .05$ Gamma = .12

From Table 27 containing the attitude index it appears that there is a rather weak but statistically significant relationship (Gamma = -.21) between the levels of deprivation and the holding of antisocial attitudes. In a custodial institution, there is a proportionately higher incidence of antisocial attitudes than that found in the treatment type institution.

It is also observed that the intermediate institutions where custodial and treatment philosophies are employed in roughly equal proportion, do contain a slightly larger percentage of inmates who hold antisocial views (66.4%) compared to the custodially oriented institutions where approximately 64 percent of inmates hold antisocial attitudes.

As regards the perception of antisocial climate, inmates living in the treatment type facility tend to perceive a larger percentage of inmates holding antisocial attitudes (82.1%) than those confined in the custodially oriented institution (76.6%). But it is interesting to note that an intermediate type institution holds even a larger percentage (85.9%) of inmates who tend to perceive antisocial climate. These findings show sort of mixed-up results. When considering the attitude index, the findings do offer support to the proposition advanced by David Street and others that the levels of deprivation do account for differential inmate responses in either prosocial or antisocial manners;[8] however these findings do fail to support the main contention that less repressive and relatively open institutions tend to foster a more positive social climate.

In Table 29, nonconformity to staff and the amount of outside contacts are compared in each of the prison types.

TABLE XXIX

NONCONFORMITY TO STAFF AND OUTSIDE CONTACTS

FOR EACH PRISON TYPE

Outside Contact	PERCENTAGE OF NONCONFORMITY			
	Treatment	Intermediate	Custody	Total
	% of N	% of N	% of N	
Low Contact	(49) 90	(60) 60	(64) 92	242
High Contact	(51) 122	(71) 67	(65) 111	300
Column Total	212	127	203	542

Treatment $X^2 = 0.0193$; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.03
Intermediate $X^2 = 1.4310$; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.25
Custody $X^2 = 0.0014$; $P > .05$ Gamma = -.01

In each instance those with high outside contacts are found to be more nonconforming than those with a slightly lower outside contact. The inmates in the intermediate type clearly show a weak relationship (Gamma = -.25) between nonconformity and the outside contacts. It appears that about 60 percent of those with low outside contact compared to approximately 71 percent of those with high outside contact hold antisocial attitudes. Again this finding is contrary to the original theoretical assumption. It was believed that outside contacts and the meaningful reference groups outside the prison walls will have a noticeable beneficial effect in terms of less incidence of antisocial attitudes among prison inmates. Obviously our data fails to support this assumption in the intermediate type institution, while the amount of the outside contact does not seem to have any relationship with nonconformity in the other two institutions.

Once again the attempt is made to measure the consequences of inside contacts of inmates in the varying levels of institutional deprivation.

TABLE XXX

NONCONFORMITY TO STAFF AND INSIDE CONTACTS

FOR EACH PRISON TYPE

Inside Contact	PERCENTAGE OF NONCONFORMITY			
	Treatment	Intermediate	Custody	Total
	% of N	% of N	% of N	
Low Contact	(36) 59	(58) 24	(63) 51	134
High Contact	(56) 142	(69) 95	(65) 136	373
Column Total	201	119	187	507

Treatment	$X^2 = 5.9186$; $P < .01$	Gamma = -.38
Intermediate	$X^2 = 0.6328$; $P > .05$	Gamma = -.23
Custody	$X^2 = 0.0295$; $P > .05$	Gamma = -.05

When the relationship between nonconformity and the extent of inmates' inside contacts are considered separately for each institutional type, it becomes apparent that the relationship between inside contacts and anti-social attitudes becomes stronger in the treatment institution. It shows a moderate association (Gamma = -.38) between inside contacts and prisonization at a statistically significant .01 level. Approximately 56 percent of those with high inside contacts compared to only 36 percent of those with low inside contacts are found to be holding antisocial attitudes. On the other hand in the custody type institutions there are very slight differences in the percentages of those having either low or high inside

contacts and the inmates holding antisocial attitudes.

Inmate group involvement and inmate cohesion are believed to have some very beneficial implications for inmates housed in a treatment type facility. Inmate integration is supposed to be strongly associated with positive perspective on the institution and staff. David Street notes that inmate integration and cooperation with staff are positively associated in the treatment but not in the custodial setting.[9] The results do not support the above findings. Instead the results show that the higher amount of inside contact produces proportionately more antisocial response among the inmates who are housed in the intermediate and the treatment type facilities than among those with the high amount of inside contact housed in the custodial type institution. It appears that the amount of outside contact has almost no effect as far as their having antisocial or prosocial attitudes in a custody type institution.

Street et al., in their research on four juvenile institutions, showed that levels of deprivation accounted for inmate responses, but noted that the relationship between inmate cohesion and antisocial responses were quite different among juveniles from those found in adult prisons. This offers at least partial explanation as to why our results show a larger proportion holding antisocial attitudes in the treatment type institution since the sample was drawn from adult penal institutions.

Summary Of Findings

The first of the four major hypotheses under investigation is of primary importance since it does embody the main purpose of the present study. It is based on the assumption that the extent of prisonization would be less for those inmates who retain a fairly high amount of

positive outside contact. An inverse relationship was postulated between the amount of the familial and social ties of inmates and the extent of their prisonization. An inverse relationship was also anticipated between the inmate's outside contacts and his involvement within the prison community; and a positive relationship was expected between the extensiveness of the inmate's inside contacts and the incidence of antisocial attitudes (prisonization) among prison inmates. A causal link had been conceptualized between the amount of outside contact and the extent of inmates inside contact, and again between the amount of inside contact and the extent of prisonization.

The findings did not support the first two propositions. There was no association whatsoever between the amount of outside contact and the extent of inmates' inside contact, and also between the amount of outside contact and the extent of prisonization (Gamma = -.06). From the distribution of those holding antisocial views, it appeared that the higher amount of outside contact and the greater extent of prisonized attitude go together. A similar trend was also noticed with respect to inmates' perception of antisocial prison climate. It was also noted that inmates' subcultural ties within prison were not dependent on how many ties an inmate had in the outside community. There was no association between the amount of outside contact of inmates and their involvement in the prison culture. Wheeler and Garabedian have noted that inmates would participate in prison subculture because their outside ties had become too distant and less supportive for them. The results did indicate that the inmate who had a high amount of outside contact were also highly involved with other fellow prisoners. It appeared from these findings that an inmate would participate in prison subculture or associate with other inmates regardless of

his social and familiar ties outside prison walls. It would seem likely that if the inmates do not talk to or spend their free time with other inmates in prison where there are built-in barriers to communication with guards and other staff members, who else could they possibly communicate with? Therefore, the amount of outside contact may not be the deciding factor that had been anticipated in determining the inmate involvement with other inmates.

There was a rather weak but statistically significant association (Gamma = -.25) between the inside contact of inmates and the extent of prisonization. Clemmer had proposed that the extent of inmates' involvement with other inmates is positively related to prisonization. The data did support this particular proposition, and at the same time showed that with the high amount of inside contact there was proportionately large number of inmates who perceived antisocial prison climate.

The other three hypotheses are mainly employed to serve as controls to determine whether or not the original relationship between each of the independent variables, outside contact and inside contact, and the dependent variable, prisonization, would hold. The other prisonization factors such as the length of time served in prison, the prison career phase, the criminality, and the levels of deprivation were also employed to test the earlier research theories concerning linear relationship between the length of time served and prisonization, a U-shaped distribution of conformity to staff-held values, importation of antisocial attitudes by incoming inmates and the levels of deprivation determining inmate perspective on the staff and institution.

With respect to linear relationship between the length of time served and prisonization, there was a very weak support for Clemmer's proposition

concerning the higher degree of prisonization with increased length of time served in prison. There was no relationship between sentence served and the amount of outside contact. But the U-shaped distribution of the outside contact through the three time periods of the sentence length was evident. It was found that the outside contacts were low during the early period and they decreased through the middle time period (8 months to 3 years), and increased again through the last time period (3 years or more).

These findings once again failed to support Wheeler's findings of U-shaped conformity distribution through the three phases of inmates institutional career. When the prison career phase of an individual inmate was controlled in order to test whether the overall relationship between the outside and the inside contact and the extent of nonconformity among inmates would change in some respect, there were some specific instances in which each set of relationships departed from the original association. With regards to the relationship between the outside contact and nonconforming attitudes it was noted that the first three phases of sentence stage showed that the inmates with high outside contacts became more nonconforming, more so in the middle phase of the sentence stage than the other two, while the indeterminate category showed absolutely no relationship. It appeared from this breakdown of association values, that the indeterminate category which contained over 58% of the sample population may have been the one that affected the original relationship (Gamma = -.06). Nevertheless, the relationship consistantly showed that the high amount of outside contacts and prisonization did coexist.

When the extent of antisocial attitudes and the inside contacts were compared during each of the prison career phases, it showed very little association between the two variables during the first two phases and

practically no association during the late phase. But during the indeterminate stage the association between inside contacts and antisocial attitudes was fairly moderate (Gamma = -.43). The above results indicate that the high amount of inside contacts of the inmates for whom the exact sentence stage could not be determined, did influence to a greater extent overall antisocial attitudes. The present study used a cross-sectional data involving only one data point in time per respondent. This procedure, no doubt, seriously restricts the authenticity of the measurement procedure.

The relationship between criminal maturity and the prisonization was in the expected direction, and showed a very weak (Gamma = .17) but statistically significant relationship. It is assumed that the criminally mature professional type offender was more apt to hold antisocial views than the novice type whose entry into crime came relatively late in life, and in all probability, the present sentence may have been his very first time to be in prison. The association between criminal maturity and antisocial attitudes showed a consistant pattern, i.e., proportionately larger percentage of the professional, the habitual and the occassional criminal types (representing 71, 61.1, and 61.3 percent respectively) were holding antisocial views compared to novices who constituted only 52.2 percent of the total novice type who held the antisocial attitudes. These findings do support in some small way the assumption that the social and criminal background of the inmate is important in predicting prisonization response; and also confirmed what Wheeler, Irwin and others have theorized about the importation model of prisonization.

When the criminal maturity was controlled, the association between each of the independent variables (outside contact and inside contact) and prisonization did show some modification in relationships for each of the

criminal types. The expected relationship between the outside contacts and antisocial attitude did become somewhat intense for the professional criminal type (Gamma = .41), but for the other three categories, the amount of outside contact had no influence on their antisocial attitudes. With respect to the inside contacts and prisonization for each of the criminal types, some change in the original association was noticed. For the professional and the habitual criminals the amount of inside contact had no significant effect, while the association between the inside contacts and the antisocial attitude was modified for the occassional and the novice type criminals. It was the novice type who seemed to be affected most by the increased amount of inside contact. It led to increased antisocial attitudes among these criminal types.

The fourth hypothesis did attempt to test the deprivation model of prisonization and also used the varying levels of deprivation to determine whether relationships between the amount of inside and outside contact and prisonization would vary from one type of the penal institution to the other. The findings did show a weak relationship between the varying levels of institutional settings and the extent of prisonization. The more depriving the institutional type, the more incidence of antisocial attitudes (Gamma = .21) was found among the prison inmates. This set of findings did support Street, Berk and others who have theorized that the inmate response to prison life is determined by the prison's formal organizational factors. When the levels of deprivation were used as controls, the outcome for each type of the institutional setting was slightly different. The relationship between the outside contact and the antisocial attitude showed that the inmates in the intermediate type facility were more antisocial with the increased contacts with outside while the other two types of institutions

showed no relationship. When the inside contact and the antisocial attitudes were compared in each type of the institutions, the treatment (Gamma = -.38) and the intermediate type (Gamma = -.23) institutions showed that the greater involvement with other inmates contributed to a great extent to the antisocial attitudes. These findings did not agree with the earlier findings of Street et al. which demonstrate that positive attitudes are more closely associated with inmate group integration in the treatment institutions than in the custodial institutions.

In the final analysis, there was no support for the original proposition that the increased amount of outside contact would decrease the extent of prisonization among prison inmates. But there was some evidence to support the second proposition concerning a direct relationship between the amount of inmates' subcultural ties and the incidence of antisocial behavior among prison inmates. The various controls did change the original set of relationships between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable, prisonization, and these controls also specified under what conditions a change in the basic association strengths could be expected.

The fifth and the final chapter will specifically deal with some of the probable causes as to why the findings of the present study did not match the earlier research findings, and some of the limitations that are necessary to note in order to gain a proper perspective with regards to some of the findings of the present study.

FOOTNOTES

1. Werner Gruninger. Criminalization, Prison Roles, and Normative Alienation: A Cross-Cultural Study. Ph.D. Dissertation University of Washington, 1974, p. 80.

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3. Donald Clemmer. The Prison Community. (New York: Rinehart and Co. 1958), p. 312.

4. Stanton Wheeler, "Socialization in Correctional Communities", In Lawrence Hazelrigg, ed. Prison Within Society: A Reader in Penology, (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1968) p. 164.

5. Richard A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomi, and Deviant Behavior", American Sociological Review, 24 (April 1959), p. 175.

6. Ronald L. Akers, et al. "Time Served, Career Phase, and Prisonization: Findings From Five Countries", In Robert G. Leger and John R. Statton, ed., The Sociology of Corrections: A Book of Readings, (John Wiley and Sons; New York, 1977) p.

7. Stanton Wheeler, op cit., p. 164.

8. David Street, "The Inmate Group In Custodial And Treatment Prison", In Hazelrigg, ed., The Prison Within Society, op cit., p. 200.

9. David Street, Ibid. p. 216.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND COMMENTS

In the prisonization literature, many writers (Clemmer, Wheeler, Glaser, Sandhu) have theorized that the lack of close ties with the relatives, friends, and the siginificant others in the outside community, in some way turns the offenders to look inside prison for the psychological and moral support. McCorkle and Korn have theorized that the inmates form these inside attachments because they provide a way of life which enables them to avoid the devastating psychological effects of "internalizing and converting social rejection into self-rejection".[1] McCorkle insists that inmates' welfare along with his psychological freedom and dignity depend, in large measure, on how he manages to live and to relate with other inmates who constitute his crucial and meaningful world.[2]

Sykes has mentioned that the loss of liberty and many other painful conditions that are thrust upon the inmates as a part of the incarceration process are not as painful to an individual inmate as is his isolation from others in the free society. This situation is utterly damaging and is thought to be one of the principal forces leading inmates to form a solidary tie among other inmates and to oppose collectively all of the official and conventional values, in other words to become "prisonized". Prisonization, according to Clemmer, means "the taking on, in greater or lesser degree, of folkways, mores, customs and general culture of the penitentiary".[3] Once prisonized in this manner, an inmate is believed to become relatively

immune to the influences of the conventional society.

The present study did attempt to focus on two of the most significant variables which are believed to affect prisonization. The outside contact in terms of letters and visits, and the extent of his participation in the inmate subculture were believed to be quite important in determining the degree of inmates' prisonization. It was also assumed that among many factors that seem to influence the extent of inmate's involvement with other inmates, the degree of his attachment to his family and friends was quite important.

As it was pointed out in the early part of the present study, the effects of the positive outside ties on inmate participation in prison culture have not been systematically researched. Stanley Brodskey only studied the changes in the quantity and quality of interaction over time, in the context of theories that postulated that the preprison relationships deteriorate over time.[4] Glaser found that family relationships are of major importance in terms of parole success.[5] Holt and Miller also found that the parolees who had frequent visits while serving their time in prisons had significantly less parole difficulties than those who had fewer visitors.[6] But there has not been any effort to relate prisonization process with the amount of outside contact.

To find a causal link between inmate's outside contacts and the extent of his prisonization was precisely the primary intent of the present study. Secondly, an equally important task was to investigate the relationship between the amount of outside contact of an inmate and the extent of his subcultural ties within prison.

The findings of the present study did not support either of these two propositions. There was no relationship between the amount of inmate's

outside contact and the extent of his holding antisocial values, or between the amount of outside contact and the extent of inmate's subcultural attachments. It may very well be that the assumption about the causal relationship in the latter proposition was not warranted. Instead of looking at the outside contacts as the cause of inmate's attachment to other inmates, the whole issue of subcultural ties, as Wheeler had previously suggested, should have been looked at as something that comes about due to structural incompatibility of the formal organization of prisons[7] which tends to exclude inmates' contact with the staff, and for security and other reasons excludes more free contacts with those significant others on the outside. It is quite likely that for most inmates, isolation is personally and psychologically damaging and there appears to be no other alternative for these inmates than to join their fellow inmates in order to learn to live and get along with them.

The reasons as to why the findings did not show any relationship between the amount of outside contact and prisonization are purely speculative on the part of this author. Only a partial list of probable causes is given below:

1. The data set provided us with only the quantity of the outside contacts in terms of so many letters written and visits received. But there was no way to know with certainty what transpired during those visits, or who those contacts were. It is conceivable that these contacts themselves could have been the source of inmates' antisocial attitudes. If the inmate and his family members believed that the law enforcement authorities had made a mistake or the justice system was unfair in sentencing

him to imprisonment, naturally the bitter attitude would be reflected in their communication with each other. Similarly, Glaser has also noted that the proportion of inmates who expected post release assistance from parents and siblings was constant and showed a slight increase near release, while the proportion of those who expected help mainly from their wives decreased as the imprisonment progressed.[8] This particular finding does differentiate among the sources of outside contacts and corresponding prisoner expectations. Thus the qualitative and content information about the outside contacts will have a better predictive value than the mere quantity.

2. All penal institutions have definite rules and assigned quota as to the maximum number of visits or letters that could be received by an individual inmate and the number of letters he could post during a certain period of time. How many letters or visits constitute an adequate quantity for a meaningful outside contact can only be determined arbitrarily since there can only be an educated guess as to what would be the optimum number for any given inmate.

3. Wheeler attributes prisonization of inmates both to the nature of social ties inmates have had with the outside world and the nature of the outside world itself. The antisocial attitudes, a response taken to be the primary indicator of prisonization, could have been a learned response prior to incarceration, and it was probably brought into the prison by an entering inmate. This way, it makes prisonization as a continuation of the same response

patterns which inmates had learned to express toward law, police and prison authority prior to his present commitment.

4. The measure of inside contact also lacked the true concordance among the principal indicators. The most valuable information pertaining to inmate's friendship patterns was missing from the data. For reasons unknown to this author inmates did not want anyone to know who their friends were. "No response" may have been the result of official dictates of the prison rules which encourage inmates to "do their own time", and caution them "not to get involved with other inmates". At any rate, there was only the quantatative knowledge of how often the inmates came in contact with other inmates or how they did spend their free time. In an Auburn type institution where the inmates are required to work in groups and are marched from cell to dining hall and back in groups, there are obviously many opportunities for inmates to engage in conversation or get to know many others who, like themselves, are experiencing what Sykes has called "the pains of imprisonment". A good operational definition of "involvement" was lacking.

Eventhough, the inside contact measure lacked the precision needed to be a reliable research tool, it did provide some expected results consistantly throughout the course of the data analysis. In general, the amount of inside contact definitely did have some association with the extent of prisonization among inmates.

5. The results did confirm the U-shaped distribution of out-

side contacts during the length of the sentence served by an inmate, which indicated that the outside contacts decreased somewhat during the middle period of the sentence, and increased again during the last period of the sentence-served category which happened to be the sentence served over three years or more. It is quite possible that during this time period, there may have been some inmates who were awaiting their release date and thus were in the process of reorienting themselves toward the outside community through letters and other forms of communication. In all other instances with respect to time element, the results failed to confirm earlier theories concerning linear relationship between the length of time served in prison and the extent of prisonization, or the Wheeler's U-shaped conformity to staff-norms. As it was pointed out earlier, the cross-sectional data which allows value or attitude measurement at only one point in time, on numerous individuals at various phases of their prison career, would not be capable of providing the consistent results that are expected.

6. The findings also suggest that both the control variables, the criminal maturity and levels of deprivation, constitute valuable determinants of prisonization. They did modify the original relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. They showed a rather weak but statistically significant relationship to prisonization; but the scope of the present study did not allow for any definite conclusions to be drawn with respect to which one of the two, the criminal maturity or

the levels of deprivation, was significant in determining the degree of prisonization.

Implications

Since there was no association at all between the amount of outside contact and prisonization and the basic assumption of the present study did not hold true, it would be tempting to conclude that the positive outside contacts have no consequence for the prisonization response, therefore why not completely do away with them. But that would be an inference drawn on a very limited data and the project involving a very elementary type of the inquiry process. The results indicate that the higher amount of outside contacts and prisonization were positively related to each other. On the contrary, the extent of prisonization may not have been the logical outcome that followed the higher amount of outside contacts. There may be many confounding factors that could influence the nature of the outside contacts themselves.

A case for more generous and less restrictive policy toward outside contacts of inmates through family visitation and written correspondence needs no theoretical substantiation; such a policy can stand on its own merit not only from the humanitarian point of view but also from the practical angle. Furthermore such retention of ties would no doubt help inmates to gain a smoother and successful reentry into the outside community and achieve a meaningful reintegration with the mainstream of community life.

Future research efforts in this area should be directed more toward gaining a qualitative and content-oriented information in order to deter-

mine to what extent the prisonization process is influenced by the amount and the specific nature of the inmate's outside contacts. A breakdown as to the sources of the inmate's contacts, the purpose of the visits and other pertinent information should be sought. For the inside contacts, some other method should be devised in order to ascertain specific friendship groups, and the general patterns of inmate interaction.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lloyd W. McCorkle and Richard Korn. "Resocialization Within Walls." In Johnson, Savitz and Wolfgang, ed. The Sociology of Punishment And Correction, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York; 1968, p. 410.

2. Lloyd W. McCorkle. "Guard-Inmate Relationships." Sociology of Punishment And Corrections. op cit., p. 419.

3. Donald Clemmer. Prison Community, (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1958), p. 299.

4. Stanley L. Brodskey. Families and Friends of Men in Prison, (Lexington Books: D. C. Heath and Company, Lexington, Mass., 1975), p. 21.

5. Daniel Glaser. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merill), 1964, p. 400.

6. Norman Holt and Donald Miller. "Explorations in Inmate-Family Relationships." Quoted in Stanley Brodskey, op cit., p. 17.

7. Stanton Wheeler. "Socialization in Correctional Communities." Prison Within Society: A Reader in Penology, Lawrence E. Hazelrigg, ed., Doubleday Publishing Co., Inc., Garden City, New York; 1968, p. 159.

8. Daniel Glaser. The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System. (Indianapolis: Bobb, Abridged Edition, 1969), p. 64.

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APPENDIX*

There are many people today who think that they understand prison life. Those who are really able to express an opinion on it, however, are naturally those who are in an institution day after day. Therefore, it is important to find out how both inmates and personnel feel about prisons. The following questionnaire has been worked out cooperatively by American Sociologist.

This institution is only one of several where these questions are being asked. The study is being carried out for scientific purpose only. No policemen, judge, lawyer or prison official will see any of these questionnaires after you have filled them out.

We are <u>not</u> interested in the response of any particular individual to these questions. Everything is anonymous. Therefore DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME OR NUMBER on the questionnaire. We hope that you will answer the questions as honestly as possible, and we are very grateful for your cooperation.

Professor Norman S. Hayner
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington, 98105

*The following questionnaire covers only a very small portion of the entire data set collected by Dr. Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington, Seattle. Above cover letter appears here as it accompanied the original questionnaire when it was administered by the senior investigator and his research staff at various correctional facilities.

CIRCLE THE NUMBER OF THE ANSWER WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO DESCRIBING YOUR OWN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTIONS. BE SURE TO CIRCLE ONLY ONE ANSWER.

1. Security Type
   1. Maximum
   2. Medium
   3. Minimum
   4. Work Release
   5. Trusty
   6. Guard

2. How often do you talk informally with other inmates?
   1. Several times a day
   2. At least once a day
   3. At least once a month
   4. Less than once a month
   5. Never

3. How many inmate friends do you believe you made since you came to this institution?
   1. Made many friends
   2. Made some friends
   3. Made only one friend
   4. None

4. Think back on your past month in this institution. How would you say you spent most of your free time?
   1. Mostly with a group of inmates who are together quite a lot
   2. With one or two inmates
   3. With several different inmates but not in any one group
   4. Mostly by myself

5. How do you usually find out about rules and regulations in this institution?
   1. Usually from other inmates
   2. Usually from staff

6. If you, yourself, could decide, would you prefer to have more opportunity to be together with other inmates?
   1. More opportunity to be alone
   2. More opportunity to be together with others
   3. It is alright as it is now

7. If you had personal problems you wanted to talk over with someone, would you prefer to talk it over with one of the inmates or with one of the staff?
   1. With one of the inmates
   2. With one of the custody staff
   3. With one of the treatment staff

8. During the past month, have you received any letters or postcards from relatives or friends outside the institution?
   1. No, none
   2. Yes, 1 or 2
   3. Yes, 3 or 4
   4. Yes, 5 to 10
   5. Yes, more than 10

9. During the past month, have you written any letters or postcards to relatives or friends outside the institution?
   1. No, none
   2. Yes, 1 or 2
   3. Yes, 3 or 4
   4. Yes, 5 to 10
   5. Yes, more than 10

10. During the past month have you had any visits from relatives and friends outside the institution?
    1. No, none
    2. Yes, 1
    3. Yes, 2
    4. Yes, 3 or more

11. During the past year, have you had any furloughs to visit home?
    1. No, none
    2. Yes, 1
    3. Yes, 2 or more

If you answered "yes" to question 11, please answer the following question about your home visit.

12. What was the major purpose of your visit?
    1. Attend funeral
    2. Look for a job
    3. Celebrate an anniversary
    4. Member of family seriously ill
    5. Strengthen relations with wife or parents
    6. Other

13. Would you favor home visits like these?
    1. Yes
    2. No

14. Would you favor family visits at the prison like those in the California Correctional Institutional at Techachapi?
    1. Yes
    2. No

15. Circle the number of the statement below that you think best describes the inmate leaders in this institution.
    1. They give orders and expect them to be obeyed
    2. They discuss ideas with other inmates before making a decision

16. Circle the number of the statement that you think best describes the inmate leaders in this institution.
    1. They help other inmates to adjust better
    2. They lead other inmates into trouble

17. If you were the judge and were forced to pass sentence in accordance with the laws now in effect, how would you have judged in your case?
    1. Acquittal
    2. Probation
    3. Jail

18. If you were to impose an imprisonment on yourself, for how long would you sentence yourself to a penal institution? I would give myself:
    1. Less than 2 years
    2. 2 to 5 years
    3. 6 to 10 years
    4. 11 to 20 years
    5. 21 years to life

19. What was your maximum sentence?
    1. Less than 2 years
    2. 2 to 5 years
    3. 6 to 10 years
    4. 11 to 20 years
    5. 21 years to life

20. What was your minimum sentence?
    1. 1 year
    2. 2 years
    3. 3 years
    4. 4 years
    5. 5 years
    6. 7 years
    7. 10 years
    8. 15 to 24 years
    9. Life

21. Do you think your sentence was a just one in relation to what you did?
    1. Yes
    2. No
    3. Don't know

22. Compare yourself with others who have been sentenced for the same thing as you. Do you think your sentence was lighter or heavier?
    1. Lighter than most of the others
    2. About the same as most of the others
    3. Heavier than most of the others

23. How long have you been on your present sentence?
    1. Less than 7 months
    2. 7 to 18 months
    3. 19 months to 3 years
    4. 37 months to 5 years
    5. Over 5 years

24. When do you expect to be released?
    1. Within 7 months
    2. In 7 to 18 months
    3. In 19 months to 3 years
    4. In 37 months to 5 years
    5. In more than 5 years

25. How old are you now?
    1. Under 18
    2. 18-20
    3. 21-24
    4. 25-29
    5. 30-39
    6. 40-49
    7. 50-59
    8. 60-69
    9. 70 or over

26. What is your marital status?
    1. Married
    2. Single
    3. Divorced, separated, widower
    4. Common law marriage

Question numbers 27 through 33 constitute various indices and the rating scores which were formulated during the previous research studies. They include the sentence stage, prison score, criminality index and attitude index, climate index, benefit index and lastly participation index. The sentence stage refers to the twin elements of time; time served and the time remaining to be served. The early stage refers to the time element when the inmate has been in the institution only for less than 7 months; the middle stage refers to a period when he has served more than 7 months and has yet more than 7 months left to be served; and the late stage is when the inmate has come close to his release date, i.e. less than 7 months remaining to be served.

27. Sentence Stage
    1. Early
    2. Middle
    3. Late
    4. Indeterminate

28. *Prison Score
    1. Treatment
    2. Intermediate
    3. Custody

*The methodology chapter explains in full detail how the prison score and criminal maturity were determined during the previous research work.

A set of questions forming Criminality Index

1. How old were you when you were arrested for the first time?
   1. Under 14
   2. 14-17
   3. 18-20
   4. 21-24
   5. 25-29
   6. 30-39
   7. 40-49
   8. 50 or over

2. Were you ever committed to a correctional institution for juveniles?
   1. Yes, two or more times
   2. Yes, once
   3. No, never

3. Prior to the offense for which you are now serving your sentence, have you ever been committed to a reformatory or prison?
   1. Yes
   2. No

4. If yes, how many times have you served a reformatory or prison sentence?
   1. 5 or more times
   2. 3 or 4 times
   3. Twice

29. Criminal Maturity Index
   1. Professional
   2. Habitual
   3. Occassional
   4. Novice

A set of questions forming Attitude Index and Prison Climate Perception Index. (Q. No. 30 and Q. No. 31)

Described below are some situations which come up occassionally in institutions. They concern no particular person or institution - they could happen anywhere. In each case we would like to know how you personally feel about what happens, and in addition, how you believe most of the others in this institution would feel?

CASE 1: An inmate, without thinking commits a minor rule infraction. A report is made by a correctional officer who saw the offense. Later two inmates are talking to each other about it. One of them criticizes the officer. The other, Jones, defends the officer, saying the officer was only doing his duty.

1. How do you personally feel about Jones defending the officer?
   1. Strongly approve
   2. Approve
   3. Disapprove
   4. Strongly disapprove

2. How many inmates in this situation do you think would approve of Jones defending the officer?
   1. Almost all would approve
   2. About 3/4 would approve
   3. About 1/2 would approve
   4. About 1/4 would approve
   5. Almost none would approve

CASE 2: Inmate Fox and Clay are very good friends. Fox has some money that was smuggled into the institution by a visitor. Fox tells Clay he thinks the officers are suspicious, asks Clay to hide the money for him for a few days. Clay takes the money and carefully hides it.

3. How do you personally feel about Clay hiding the money?
   1. Strongly approve
   2. Approve
   3. Disapprove
   4. Strongly disapprove

4. How many inmates in this institution do you think would approve of what Clay did?
   1. Almost all would approve
   2. About 3/4 would approve
   3. About 1/2 would approve
   4. About 1/4 would approve
   5. Almost none would approve

CASE 3: Inmate Fry and Page are planning an escape. They threaten inmate Webb with a beating unless he steals a hacksaw for them from the workshop where he works. He thinks that they mean business. While he is trying to smuggle the saw into the cell-house he is caught by an officer and Webb is accused of attempting to escape. He does not inform on the others, he risks punishment. He can avoid this by telling about Fry's and Page's plans.

5. What do you personally think Webb should do?
   1. He should clear himself by telling about the escape plans of Fry and Page
   2. He should keep quite and take the punishment himself

6. How many inmates in this institution do you think would feel Webb ought to clear himself by telling about the escape plans of Fry and Page?
   1. Almost all
   2. About 3/4
   3. About 1/2
   4. About 1/4
   5. Almost none

Benefit Index. (Q. No. 32)

Have you benefited from your stay here in any of the following ways? Circle 1, 2, or 3 under each answer to indicate your response. Please respond to each of the seven categories.

	Yes	No	Don't Know
1. Vocational training	1	2	3
2. Classroom education	1	2	3
3. Understanding of myself by having had time to think problems through	1	2	3
4. Understanding of myself as a result of help from someone on the staff	1	2	3
5. Better physical condition	1	2	3
6. Better relationship with my family	1	2	3
7. I have worked and saved my income	1	2	3

Inmate Participation Index. (Q. No. 33)

Have you participated in any of the following activities within the past year in the institution? Circle 1 for yes and 2 for no.

Type of Activity	Yes	No
1. Evening School	1	2
2. Gymnastic or other sports	1	2
3. Card-playing, chess	1	2
4. Hobby work	1	2
5. Amateur theater or music practice	1	2
6. Group therapy or group counseling	1	2
7. Religious services, Bible class, Alcoholic Anonymous	1	2
8. Technical Training	1	2
9. Other_____	1	2

VITA[2]

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Thesis: SUBCULTURAL TIES IN PRISON AS A FUNCTION OF OUTSIDE CONTACT

Major Field: Corrections

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Poona, India, September 7, 1935, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ganesh V. Deo.

Education: Graduated from Lasalgaon High School, Lasalgaon, Maharashtra State, India, in May 1952. Attended S. P. College and Poona University for three years, majoring in Philosophy and languages. Attended Northern Oklahoma College, Tonkawa. Received Bachelor of Science degree in Sociology with Secondary Education (Social Studies) minor from Oklahoma State University in July 1973.

Honors: A member of Phi Kappa Phi.