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THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT OF THE PRISON:

a study of five maximum security prisons

James G. Fox

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THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT OF THE PRISON: A STUDY OF FIVE MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISONS

By James G. Fox

July 25, 1980

A Final Report of the Research Grant:

"Implications of the Growth and Development
of Inmate Organizations and Their Impact
on Correctional Management Practices"

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U.S. Department of Justice

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This project was supported by Grant Number 78-NI-AX-0033 awarded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, as amended. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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ABSTRACT

Questionnaire, interview, and observation data were gathered from managers, correctional officers, and prisoners at five state maximum security prisons to identify the nature of current organizational and management problems and to examine the relationship of formal prisoner organizations to the larger organizational structure of the prison. Findings indicate that the prison has evolved into a highly complex organization with many problems arising from conflict among specialized interests of lower organizational participants.

The likelihood of meaningful change occurring within the context of contemporary organizational influences is extremely low. Executive management appeared to be more willing than security management or line staff to endorse change initiatives which are intended to extend greater participatory powers to prisoners. While correctional officers desired opportunities for greater involvement in management decision-making, they strongly opposed any intervention strategy which granted collective powers to prisoners.

Correctional officer responses to a six scale instrument assessing their work-related concerns indicated that they held the strongest concern for issues related to power, control, personal safety, and change. Surprisingly little variation was found for officer responses at the five prisons in spite of substantial differences in demographic characteristics, sample size, or the sex of respondents. Male officers at most sites expressed strong opposition to the use of female officers in security assignments in housing, work, or recreational areas of the prison. While a substantial number of prisoners (male and female) also objected to the use of opposite sex officers, their concerns were primarily centered around issues of personal privacy.

Marked changes were observed in the nature of the social and normative system of the prisoner community. The most profound influence affecting prisoner social organization appeared to be racial stratification and conflict. Competition among white, black, Hispanic, and Native American prisoners for support of their religious, cultural, and social interests has divided the prisoner community into an aggregate of stratified racial and ethnic groups. The amount of racial conflict within a particular prison appeared to be a determining factor in shaping collective behavior. Contemporary prisoners no longer fit into the social roles and stereotypes promoted by early theoretical works and sociological studies of the prison.

The emergence of formal prisoner organizations appeared to be a response to both the need of prisoners to establish legitimate means to pursue their interests and the bureaucratization of procedures for authorizing prisoner activities. Some formal prisoner organizations, such as ethnic organizations, also served to provide racial solidarity and protection against predatory or hostile prisoners (and officers). The formalization of previously informal prisoner groups and activities has created negative and positive organizational dynamics relatively new to prison management and line staff. While prison management has generally been supportive of prisoner organizations, line officers tend to view ethnic organizations as a threat to institutional security.

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FOREWORD

Research on American prisons during the past decade has departed in significant respects from traditional lines of inquiry. The social conflict of the 1960's, which included challenges to every social institution in our society, had by 1970 fully penetrated the walls of our prisons, ushering in a decade of intense conflict. Increasingly politicized prisoners involved themselves in organized protests and insurrections, challenged the constitutionality of prison conditions and practices, and rejected traditional explanations of crime and rationales for incarceration. But the conflict was not confined to inmate grievances and ideology. There was conflict among inmate groups, especially along racial and ethnic lines; conflict between increasingly powerful "guards' unions" and their perceived adversaries: expanded inmate power and administrative regulation; and conflict between treatment and custody staff -- the latter group newly armed with academic research challenging the efficacy of treatment. Prison administrators and managers complained that prisoners' rights decisions by the courts, coupled with the militancy of guards' unions, had severely restricted the degrees of freedom available to them and had created an avalanche of paperwork and regulation. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that researchers increasingly adopted theoretical models based on the conflict paradigm, rather than the traditional functionalist explanations.

The research reported in this volume represents a valuable contribution to "the new sociology of the prison" which has been emerging (although it might be argued that it should be called "the sociology of the new prison" instead). This study addresses very complex issues in a sophisticated, yet highly readable manner. All three spheres of the prison organization -- management, staff, and prisoners -- are analyzed as they interact with each other in this organizational context. This holistic approach to the prison as a social organization introduces a much more appropriate level of analysis for correctional decision-makers and academics alike.

This penetrating study encompasses such issues as racism, sexism, inmate radicalism, the female correctional officer, guard/inmate relations, "make-believe" families among female inmates, and the nature and composition of

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formal inmate organizations. The analyses are logically developed, empirically based, and laden with important implications. All of this is made even more impressive because of challenges which had to be overcome in collecting these data in five maximum security prisons. Having had the opportunity to serve as a research consultant on this project, I was aware of these challenges and the highly innovative, dedicated manner in which the research plan was carried out. Given the sensitive nature of this project and ample opportunity for failure, the high quality of this volume is indeed a tribute to the intellectual and interpersonal skills of its author.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS, PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATING AGENCIES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is nearly impossible to give adequate recognition to all those who made this research possible. We are indebted to our staff and professional colleagues for the many long hours spent in frustrating and seemingly unrewarding tasks. Furthermore, few research projects have completed their objectives without accruing a substantial debt to the many nameless participants.

At the risk of overlooking some important contributions, I would like to extend my personal appreciation to several people who have made this research one of my most rewarding professional experiences.

First, special acknowledgement should be given to the hundreds of prisoners and correctional officers who gave us their trust and shared their personal experiences within the closed society of the prison organization. Without their cooperation this research would not have been possible.

Among our field staff deserving special mention, are Jane Rubeck and Barbara Duffee, who unselfishly devoted many long hours during our data collection at Bedford Hills, and Fred Roth, who provided continuing assistance at Rahway during our return to Sacramento.

C. Ron Huff provided valuable assistance during the early stages of this project and strong encouragement during the months of field work. His commitment to quality research and insight into the complexity of the project are deeply appreciated.

No research is successful without the skills, commitments, and concerns of the office staff. In this regard, we cannot overlook the importance of the special efforts made by our project secretary, Judy Herman, and Ann King, our data processer.

Finally, this acknowledgement would be incomplete without an expression of special appreciation to R.M. Montilla for the opportunity to play a major role in this project. I am indebted for his patience and understanding during the stressful moments of the project.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The research findings reported in this document reflect over two years of data collection, analysis, and writing. Our research objectives were twofold. First, we sought to provide a clearer understanding of the complexity of current organizational and management problems in maximum security prisons. Second, we attempted to illustrate the nature of formal prisoner organizations and their relationship to the larger structure of the prison organization.

Interview and survey data were independently gathered from samples of executive and security management, line correctional officers, and prisoners at five state maximum security institutions. Our research design attempted to blend structured methods (aimed at assessing the applicability of several established theoretical views of the prison organization) with open-ended and observational techniques (intended to illustrate the specialized concerns of lower organizational participants). We attempted to select maximum security prisons which had substantial recent experience with prisoner organizations, which were in a relatively stable condition, and which were otherwise representative of the diversity found within adult corrections in the East, Midwest, and West. One of the five sites selected was an institution for women in New York which allowed us to identify general contrasts between organizational dynamics found in male and female prisons. While considerable structure was built into our data collection, an understanding of the cooperative (and conflict) relationships among members of the prison organization required substantial flexibility in research methods.

The survey data presented in this report provide empirical evidence illustrating the nature and strength of concerns and perspectives held by each of the three principal groups included in the study. The interview data both compliment survey findings and contribute many personalized interpretations and impressions of organizational conflict, frustration with roles and expectations, and concrete experiences of the day-to-day social world of the prison. Finally, many of the illustrations and interpretations used throughout the report include observations made by the research team during the period of field research.

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Our focus on prison management revealed several interesting findings. For example, we found that the vast majority of maximum security management staff had been employed in institutional corrections for over ten years, and that most had obtained their present management position as a result of demonstrated performance in line security assignments within their respective facilities. According to our interviews with management personnel, their promotions were, to the greater extent, made on the basis of their loyalty and commitment to official institutional policies, and their ability to maintain control over the prisoner community during a variety of security situations.

The tendency of management to be selected from a refined pool of security staff presents several issues. One, the internal dynamics within security staff ranks to present favorable impressions to management may foster more aggressive security procedures than may be warranted in most situations. Second, the distribution of individual attitudes, values, and social norms tends to be clustered more closely and does not represent the range of individual differences ordinarily found in cross sections of the organization or in less restrictive settings. In addition, the tendency of management to be oriented toward reactive rather than proactive management sets into motion several counterproductive dynamics. For example, correctional officers tend to perceive reactive management as an acceptable (or desirable) approach to institutional security. While there appear to be other factors at play, such as influences of the closed social network of correctional officers (i.e., normative role expectations, peer loyalty, and other work-related responses), officers' acceptance of reactive management approaches tends to limit the extent to which they may become an integral part of the organizational change process.

Together, these issues would appear to inhibit organizational change and may serve to create a climate of unnecessary uniformity and conformity. In the contemporary prison social environment, traditional work roles have only limited value. Certainly, they are supportive of the paramilitary security system. But it is doubtful that these approaches are desirable for change, or whether they represent the perspectives held by younger officers or members or racial and ethnic minorities (or women) who are entering the prison work environment in increasing numbers. Indeed, one factor underlying the relatively short tenure and slow progress of racial and social minorities within the institutional opportunity structure has been the attitudes of rejection and control emphases held by present line and management staff.

We found that prison managers hold attitudes incompatible with traditional organizational change strategies. For example, manager responses to two organizational change scales indicated that, as a group, prison managers were generally inflexible to both structural (systemic) and interactive (interpersonal) change initiatives. However, we observed substantial differences between executive and security management for resistance to change. Security managers, as we might expect, were much less willing to support organizational change initiatives than executive managers. A large proportion of these differences appeared to be explained by educational background, socialization into work roles, and peer values.

When we examined the change scales separately, we found that structural changes (which have only secondary implications for altering the prison organization) were accepted somewhat more readily than interactive changes (which tend to increase the level of participation of organizational members).

Management style, measured by systematic observation of collective approaches to common institutional problems, was only slightly varied among the five research sites. The predominant primary style found was restrictive management, although two sites revealed innovative (Rahway) or participative (Bedford Hills) approaches. The importance of these findings was that even at those prisons which utilized innovative or participative management styles, restrictive management was always used as a secondary approach. These findings suggest that the emphasis on security and control in maximum security institutions may severely limit the potential for greater involvement of lower organizational participants.

Our assessment of correctional officer work-related concerns revealed consistent findings across the five sites studied. For example, correctional officers at each site were most concerned about POWER (ability to influence correctional policy and management decisions), CONTROL (ability to maintain control over prisoners in an increasingly legalistic social climate) and SAFETY (ability to insure personal safety in a perceived hostile setting).

Our COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT dimension (ability to communicate effectively with supervisors and management) yielded the most varied responses. The majority of officers at each site pointed to a gradual reduction in the officer's authority, seen as stemming from the development of standardized disciplinary procedures which shifted discretionary powers to an impartial (civilian) tribunal. The differences among sites did not appear to be related to primary management style. Rather, officer concerns regarding communications and support from their supervisors were most frequently linked to the morale of the work force and stability within the prisoner community.

One of the most salient concerns expressed by male officers was the continuing trend of employment of women. While this concern was not strongly reflected in our RACISM-SEXISM scale scores (because of the combined effects of scale items), our interviews with line officers convey the intensity of their feelings and attitudes toward women officers. Nearly all male officers, particularly those who had worked in institutional corrections for four or more years, strongly objected to the practice (or plan) of women holding security assignments is housing, work, or recreation areas.

While the actual number of women employed as line officers was very small at each site except Soledad, the issues raised by their presence within security ranks tended to be extremely salient and many-faceted. Among the specialized male concerns were a fear that the presence of women would create an additional security burden (i.e., they would have to prevent sexual assaults), a doubt that women could "carry their weight" during periods of conflict (i.e., whether women could physically subdue assaultive prisoners), and a basic distrust stemming from a perceived "susceptibility" to male prisoner manipulation.

Women officers spoke candidly about their rejection by male officers. These interviews produced vivid (and authenticated) descriptions of sexual harassment and intimidation. At one site, we were told of a possible conspiratorial relationship between management and prisoners to obtain court injunctive relief restricting (or prohibiting) female security assignments.

Blacks and other racial minorities in male prisons also reported experiencing prejudice, social isolation, and insensitivity but their position within the social hierarchy of the work force tended to be substantially higher than that of women officers. While women have been employed less time in male facilities than racial minorities, much of their lower status tends to be linked to the sexual attitudes and social values held by the vast majority of the male work force.

Correctional officers tended to be collectively opposed to organizational change initiatives which reflect an endorsement of greater prisoner participation in institutional affairs. The prevailing attitude was that imprisonment is intended as punishment, restraint, and social isolation. In this context, it is unlikely that management could gain wide support for change initiatives which would be seen as threatening or undermining officer power or control concerns.

Our analysis of the prisoner community illustrated the extent to which social distance between organizational members and differences among prisoners divides the prison organization and hinders the development of unified and systematic approaches to change.

The greatest differences between the five prisoner communities studied were, predictably, between male and female prisoners. Women prisoners appeared to have been substantially less involved in criminal activity. That is, they had fewer prior convictions, were first arrested at an older age, were less likely to have been convicted of crimes against the person, and had served much less time in confinement than their male counterparts. In addition, women prisoners tended to be younger, were less likely to have completed high school, and were more often black or Hispanic.

Most of the differences in demographic characteristics among our four male prisoner samples appeared to be related to the proportion of racial minorities and the priorities of the criminal justice system in their respective states. For example, Minnesota had a very low (per capita) rate of incarceration, a well-developed community corrections program, and a relatively low proportion of racial and ethnic minorities (26 percent) among maximum security prisoners. Consequently, the Stillwater (MSP) prisoner population was markedly different than that of Rahway, which was predominantly black (66 percent) and had a large proportion of the population (43 percent) serving lengthy sentences.

Our five dimension scale illustrating prisoner social values produced findings indicative of contemporary prisoner perspectives which were only partially supportive of earlier sociological work. For example, we discovered that attitudes and values reflective of the traditional prisoner social system (PRISONIZATION), e.g., rejection of snitches, protection of "manhood," and willingness to use physical force to resolve interpersonal disputes, were adhered to by the majority of male and female prisoners (although the protection of "womanhood" among female prisoners was not seen as a major prison survival concern). However, other theoretical interpretations were as clearly revealed. For example, contrary to popular impressions (and earlier theoretical works) that maximum security prisoners represent a population with strong commitments to criminal values, our CRIMINALIZATION scale indicated that less than 10 percent of the prisoners at each site held highly criminalized attitudes and values.

We found that both Bedford Hills and Rahway prisoners (with the largest proportion of racial minorities) tended to hold more critical perspectives (RADICALISM) than all other prisoner samples. While Bedford Hills and Rahway prisoners had similarly strong views, the data revealed that female prisoners, surprisingly, held attitudes and values substantially more critical of the justice system and of their treatment during confinement than males. Most radicalized prisoner attitudes appeared to reflect individual reactions to administrative policies which were seen as extending greater control over the prisoner community rather than as individual or collective expressions of political ideology or philosophy. While prison management frequently views such attitudes as a major threat to institutional security, there are several positive factors which may be considered. For example, prisoner attitudes expressing dissatisfaction with prison policies include the potential for constructive involvement. That is, prisoners with salient "political" attitudes may carry the strongest commitment to formal change goals and can be considered as an untapped human resource in the change process.

Apathy and disconcern may be useful to maintain social control, but they are counterproductive to organizational change strategies which require the involvement of lower participants. In our judgement, maximum security prisoners appear to be willing (and capable) to work towards a more cooperative relationship with management. The challenge to prison management would likely center on their ability to foster greater participation without jeopardizing security interests or further antagonizing correctional officers.

Prisoner attitudes toward members of other racial groups, and their perspectives toward women (RACISM-SEXISM), varied widely across our five sites. While males saw the racial identity of other prisoners as one of the most important considerations in determining social relationships within the prisoner community, women were much less likely to share this perspective.

Some prisoner attitudes regarding the use of female (or male) officers tended to be very similar to those held by correctional officers. Male prisoners often raised issues of personal privacy, possible sexual assault of women officers during collective disturbances, and the "emotional instability" of women. Female prisoners also expressed a strong personal privacy concern but pointed to situations in which male officers could directly observe their toilet or showering activities. A small, but outspoken, minority of women prisoners questioned the tendency of male officers to be used disproportionately for purposes of social control or physical restraint. While these concerns carried a high degree of salience, we also found that many male and female prisoners welcomed opposite sex officers. These prisoners frequently stated that their own pattern of dress, speech, and social relationships were influenced in a positive direction by the presence of women (or men).

Prisoner expressions of powerlessness, frustration, and hostility were most frequently related to care and custody issues. Our focus on attitudes and values indicative of COLLECTIVE ACTION revealed several interesting findings. For example, we found that next to PRISONIZATION and RADICALISM, prisoner perspectives on a need for collective involvement were the next strongest. However, these data suggested that prisoners were more concerned about the social conditions underlying their need for collective action, than about direct empowerment and opportunities for participation in organizational decisions.

Formal prisoner organizations may be the key to the development of prisoner involvement in organizational matters. Our data revealed that prisoners at each site were substantially involved in formal organizations. The proportion of the population involved in prisoner organizations ranged from 59 percent at Stillwater to 24 percent at Rahway. Several consistent findings emerged from these data. For example, we found that racial and ethnic minorities more frequently held membership in organizations intended to promote ethnic and cultural awareness, although blacks were also well represented among the membership of organizations pursuing special interests, such as legal assistance, community service or college study.

A wide range of prisoner organizations was observed at each site. These were grouped into four major organizational types: ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS, SELF-HELP, and SPECIAL INTEREST. Our data revealed that 19 percent of all prisoners holding active membership in one or more formal organizations were members of ETHNIC organizations, 14 percent were members of RELIGIOUS organizations, 27 percent were members of SELF-HELP organizations, and over 40 percent were members of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations.

ETHNIC organization members, predominantly black or members of other racial minorities, tended to be slightly younger than those holding a membership in other types of prisoner organizations. Membership in ETHNIC organizations tended to be related to the extent to which racial minorities were represented within the prisoner community. For example, our data indicated that prisoner communities with a low proportion of racial minorities, e.g., Stillwater and Oregon State Penitentiary, were more likely to have large memberships than those with a greater representation of blacks and other racial minorities. Included in this category were organizations such as the Hispanic Committee (Bedford Hills), Lakota and Unuru (Oregon State Penitentiary), Native American Culture Education, Inc. and Aztlan (Stillwater), and the NAACP (Rahway).

Members of ETHNIC organizations tended to view their organization as a legitimate means of achieving racial and ethnic solidarity. Furthermore, these organizations frequently provided protection against predatory prisoners and antagonistic or racist correctional officers. To the greater extent, ETHNIC organizations appeared to meet individual and collective needs not addressed by the larger prisoner community. Our interviews indicated that Hispanic and Native American organizations, possibly due to less experience in pursuing specialized cultural interests in prison, placed a greater emphasis on solidarity than blacks, who often held membership in SPECIAL INTEREST organizations.

ETHNIC organizations were viewed least favorable by correctional officers, particularly at sites where racial or ethnic conflict has resulted in a history of security and management problems. In several instances, line staff saw members of ETHNIC organizations as being heavily involved in illicit activities such as drug operations and predatory crimes against unaffiliated prisoners. However, at sites where stability in the social relationships among prisoners was established, ETHNIC organizations were viewed more positively.

RELIGIOUS and SELF-HELP organizations tended to have more limited and narrowly focused needs and interests. As their goals and objectives were more closely aligned with the official policies and programs of the prison, their activities rarely became the target of line staff or management concern. Our RELIGIOUS category included organizations representing all religious faiths which were organized apart from regular institutional services. Among these organizations were the Bible Club (Oregon State

Penitentiary) and the Muslims (all sects) in nearly every site studied. Our SELF-HELP category included organizations such as Alcoholic Anonymous (Soledad, Stillwater, Rahway, Oregon State Penitentiary) and Reality House (Bedford Hills).

We found that SPECIAL INTEREST organizations had the largest and most racially balanced memberships, and reflected the broadest range of prisoner interests and activities. Furthermore, their memberships tended to have served longer periods of time in confinement and were slightly older and more educated than members of other types of organizations.

One finding of importance was that SPECIAL INTEREST organizations had the greatest amount of official support and the closest working relationships with prison management. At several sites members of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations were heavily involved in legislative and community activities. These activities could not have been easily accomplished without some support from management. Also included in this category were organizations such as the Men's Advisory Council (Soledad), the Inmate Liaison Committee (Bedford Hills), and the Worker's Council (Stillwater), which were structured to provide management with information on prisoners' needs and interests. However, in all instances, the controls exerted by management on their role and degree of participation resulted in very limited input and low credibility within the prisoner community.

While SPECIAL INTEREST organizations appeared to have the talent, experience, and motivation to become involved in a greater number of activities aimed at increasing the quality of life at their respective institutions, management's reluctance to grant broader participatory powers appears to have severely limited their contributions.

Prisoner organizations, particularly those which represented the needs and interests of racial minorities and prisoner special interests, appear to reflect a process of formalization which is relatively new to the prison organizational bureaucracy. While few substantial changes have occurred in the development of prisoner interests, the process and procedure for obtaining official approval and recognition has become greatly formalized. Consequently, many previously informal prisoner group activities have been placed more squarely within the scope and authority of the larger prison organization. For example, "jailhouse lawyers" had, for decades, provided legal services to fellow prisoners without management approval -- in fact, prior to recent case law, they were subjected to disciplinary action. Presently, organizations such as Prisoner Legal Services (Rahway) are seen as acceptable prisoner organizations and, subsequently, receive substantial support from prison management.

The establishment of formal procedures for obtaining recognition of prisoner organizations, such as those used by the New York State Department of Correctional Services, Oregon State Penitentiary, and the Minnesota Department of Corrections, indicates that both management and prisoner interests have become subjected to a larger number of organizational restraints and considerations. In sum, the prison is evolving into a more highly complex organization and, consequently, many smaller elements of that organizational structure are more likely to have conflicting interests.

Earlier studies of the prison and the prisoner social system have only limited value when considering contemporary prison issues. Most notably, early works depicting prisoner social role types, such as the "right guy," the "merchant," etc., no longer accurately characterize today's maximum security prisoners. Among the primary factors which have contributed to changes in the social structure of the prisoner community are shifts in demographic characteristics, particularly marked increases in the proportion of racial and ethnic minorities in confinement, and extreme overcrowding of housing and other fixed institutional resources. Today, most social relationships between prisoners of different racial groups are influenced by escalating racial conflict and hostility, partly influenced by demography and overcrowding. Racial and ethnic stratification appear to have altered the system of norms and values governing behavior within the prisoner community. The "inmate code," especially its norms proscribing the establishment of informal social relationships with staff, is not uniformly adopted by members of different racial groups. Instead, whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans appear to have evolved normative systems which are tailored to their respective cultural and social needs and they tend to place substantially different meanings (and emphases) on norms regulating their adaptation to confinement. For example, where victimization (regardless of racial identity) carried peer expectations of (personal) retribution, current patterns of victimization, e.g., cell burglary, robbery, and sexual assault, and retaliation tend to be predominantly interracial events which are protected by the collective powers of organized racial or ethnic groups. The prisoner community can no longer be described as a holistic association of common needs and interests. Rather, it is best understood as an aggregate of smaller, specialized, social units which are organized, primarily, according to race and ethnicity.

Early theoretical perspectives regarding the origin of prisoner adaptive responses (and accompanying norms and values) are also not readily applicable to the contemporary prisoner social system. For example, while some social values may have been "imported" from street culture (the importation model), and some adaptive behavior may be related to the pressures of confinement (the deprivation model), these views fail to adequately account for contemporary issues such as racial violence, racial and ethnic gangs, and the formalization of nearly all previously informal prisoner groups and associations. Furthermore, while traces of traditional modes of prison survival and prisoner social organization remain, e.g., proscriptions against informing, contemporary prison adaptation places the extent of daily conflict, stress, and uncertainty far beyond that felt by prisoners of the past decades.

These early theoretical views also fail to include the dynamics and influences exerted by other participants of the larger prison organization, e.g., correctional officer (and union) demands. The prisoner community, and its underlying social structure, appear to be constantly changing in response to salient internal and external pressures, and cannot be viewed as a simplistic, static, institutional subculture.

Finally, while some prison violence can be directly attributed to racial hostility among prisoners, prison management's inability to formulate intervention strategies aimed at reducing racial conflict, and their tolerance of line staff's insensitivity to the cultural and religious backgrounds of racial and ethnic minorities, may also be a factor promoting structural violence and racism. Contemporary prison research and theoretical works may need to closely examine the power relationships between organizational participants and the impacts of racial stratification to provide a more accurate description of the prison.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Numerous sociological studies of the prison have directed their attention disproportionately on the social structure of the prisoner community without considering the effect of the larger prison organization or the influences of other organizational members. There are, of course, notable exceptions to this observation, such as the early work of Clemmer (1940), McCleery (1957), and Sykes (1958) which addressed organizational influences on the prisoner community.

The interests of this research project commenced with a focus on the growth and development of prisoner organizations, which we have defined as formal organizations authorized to pursue activities seen as being compatible with the official goals of the prison organization. We attempted to expand our research design to include both the organizational context in which prisoner organizations operate and the relative influences of other organizational participants, e.g., prison management and correctional officers.

Our research design was developed around Etzioni's (1975) principle that the study of an organization should include its "lower participants." Etzioni's (1975:20) approach to organizational studies:

> . . . draws the line much "lower" than most studies of bureaucracies, which tend to include only persons who are a part of a formal hierarchy: priests, but not parishioners; stewards, but not union members; guards, but not inmates; nurses, but not patients. We treat organizations as collectivities of which the lower participants are an important segment. To exclude them from the analysis would be like studying colonial structures without the natives, stratification without the lower class, or a political regime without the citizens or voters.

As implied in our design, we also found it appropriate to draw the organizational boundary lines of our research upward -- to include the upper and middle management hierarchy -- and outwards to incorporate extra-organizational influences, e.g., executive, judicial, and legislative branches of government, and community interests.

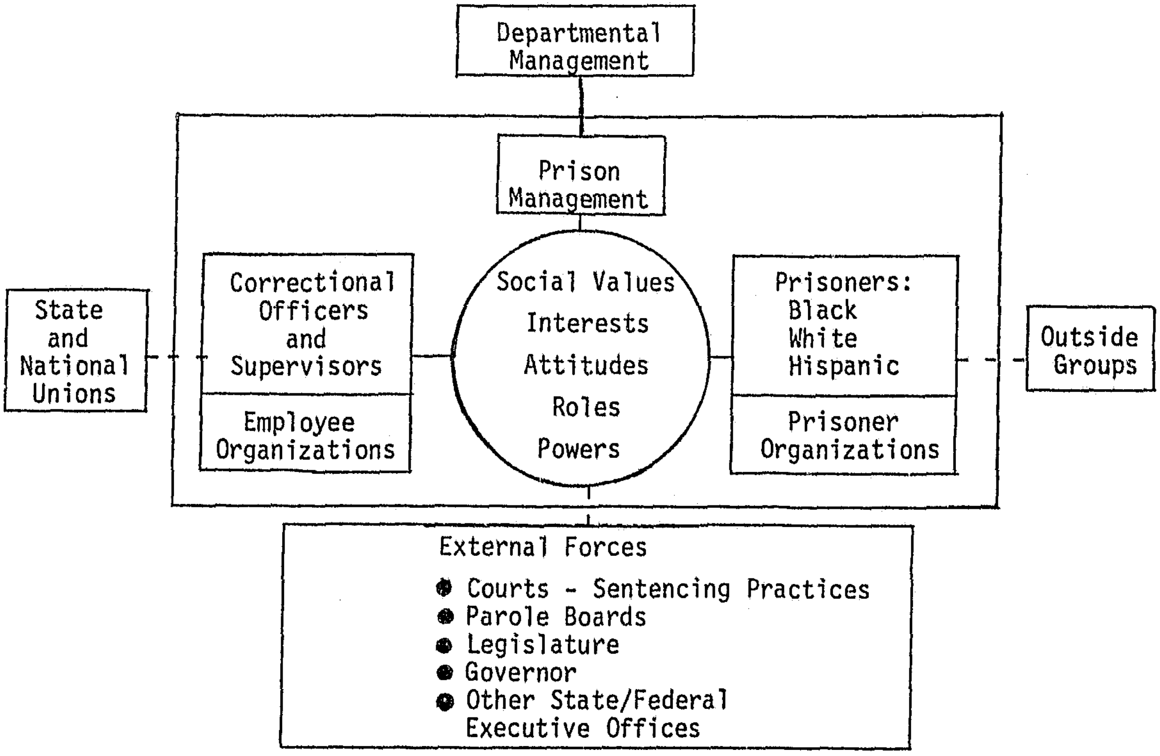
Decisions concerning the scope of the organizational boundaries are often problematic to organizational researchers. Typically, this problem is resolved by focusing attention on only the major participants which, consequently, reduces (or alters) the complexity of the organizational analysis. Like others studying complex organizations, we also "draw a line" including some participants while excluding others. For example, we did not include support and service staff (e.g., maintenance, clerical and treatment personnel) in our organizational model. However, we recognize their contribution and influence within the prison organization. Essentially, we attempted to expand the conventional boundaries of organizational research in prison to include prisoners, their organizations; correctional officers, their employee organizations; and executive and security management.

The project's major objectives were to examine the interrelationships among the prisoner organizations (formal and informal), correctional officers and institutional managers, and to assess the extent to which they may (collectively or independently) shape the correctional procedures and/or policies of high-security institutions. While these three organizational ranks are not isolated from other social and organizational influences (as shown below), they represent the major units which impact on institutional operations and influence the achievement of correctional management objectives.

Where possible, the research design and methods were developed from existing theoretical constructs and previous research findings. However, many of the dynamics of social and organizational behavior operating in our model have not been previously studied within the context of correctional institutions and, therefore, did not provide a clear framework

FIGURE 1

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES
OF PRISON ORGANIZATION


Departmental Management
Prison Management
State and National Unions
Correctional Officers and Supervisors
Employee Organizations
Social Values
Interests
Attitudes
Roles
Powers
Prisoners: Black White Hispanic
Prisoner Organizations
Outside Groups
External Forces
• Courts - Sentencing Practices
• Parole Boards
• Legislature
• Governor
• Other State/Federal Executive Offices

from which to select appropriate measures and indices. To compensate for this handicap, original measures and assessments were developed specifically for project needs. As this study was largely exploratory in nature, it had the advantage of working with the flexibility needed to evaluate both existing approaches and those measures developed during our pilot study at Soledad (Montilla and Fox, 1978).

A maximum security prison is not a typical organization. It has special features that are not found in most social institutions. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the characteristics that distinguish the prison from any other types of organizations. Again, we draw from the analytical perspectives of Etzioni (1975), who classifies complex organizations into three major types: coercive, utilitarian, and normative.

Prisons, like other institutions that restrict the individual freedom of its participants, are seen as coercive organizations. According to Etzioni (1975:27):

> . . . coercive organizations are organizations in which coercion is the major means of control over lower participants and high alienation characterized the orientation of most lower participants to the organization.
>
> Force is the major means of control applied in these organizations to assure fulfillment of the major organizational task: keeping inmates in. Obviously, should the restraints on movement be lifted, hardly any inmate would stay inside. The accomplishment of all other tasks depends on the effective performance of this custodial task. The second major task of these organizations, keeping the inmates disciplined, is also attained through the potential or actual use of force, although here differences among various types of organizations are greater.

Control is the foundation of coercive organizations, whether it is applied directly, in the case of physical restraints, or indirectly, in the case of a hierarchy of inducements or punishments. In our view, inappropriate emphases on control would not only affect the prisoners, but also the line correctional officers who in many instances share the lower strata of the organization with prisoners.

Since control goals (Etzioni, 1975) of the organization are shared, hierarchically, among prison managers, supervisors, correctional officers, and, to some extent, by prisoners, conflict between the authority authorizing formal prisoner organizational activity and the interests of correctional officers in maintaining their direct control over prisoners inevitably divides the prison organization into three competitive camps: executive management (coordination); correctional officers (security);

and prisoners (program activity). Conflict between these three organizational ranks is not inherent in their different roles. Rather, their relative lack of involvement in the organizational decisions which determine legitimate prisoner activity tends to promote specialized interests and behavior intended to preserve the autonomy and integrity of existing organizational roles. Hence, it would seem more likely for conflict to be developed between interests than between roles.

Involvement in decisions essential to the organizational goals, under current management approaches, tends to be restricted to participants in the higher levels of the organization. Prisoners are rarely seen as participants whom management involves in organizational decisions. Instead, they are more often seen as members of the organization whom management controls and regulates according to the current needs and interests of the higher participants.

Our basic conceptual framework was constructed around Etzioni's (1961) perspectives on compliance relationships in complex organizations, particularly those within coercive organizations (Etzioni, 1961:27) and other "total institutions" (Goffman, 1961:4).

Etzioni views each organizational rank (i.e., higher to lower participants) as having its own compliance structure. According to Etzioni (1961:22), a focus on lower participants is essential because "(first) their compliance is more problematic than that of higher participants, and second because organizations can be most fruitfully distinguished from each other at this level."

Understanding the issues surrounding involvement of lower organizational participants, in our opinion, is central to an understanding of prisoner organizations and their relationship to other organizational ranks.

Prisoner social organization has traditionally been viewed as an informal, rather than formal, aspect of the prison organization (e.g., Clemmer, 1940; Schragg, 1944; Sykes, 1958; Sykes and Messinger, 1960;

Irwin and Cressey, 1962). The influence of informal structures within organizations has been widely recognized as being a potential area of conflict in the achievement of organizational goals. These informal relationships often grow out of personal (or social) needs of organizational members and are intended to protect members from demands or sanctions of the formal organization (Tannenbaum, 1966:2). Prisoner organizations are, to the large extent, the formalization of informal social structures within the prisoner community which attempts to pursue activities seen as being compatible with the prison organization goals.

Our use of Etzioni's theoretical perspectives also assisted our analysis of those organizational methods used to expand (as well as limit) prisoners' roles within the organization -- including their own organizations -- and diminish superfluous coercion and alienation.

Many earlier perspectives on organizations (e.g., Weber, 1947; Merton, 1949; Selznick, 1948), as well as more recent contributions (e.g., McCleery, 1957; Etzioni, 1961; Duffee, 1975, 1980; Merton, 1976; Jacobs, 1977), served to both broaden our understanding of complex organizations and sharpen our focus on those aspects of prison organization which were most related to our research interests. We also examined a number of theoretical and empirical works that addressed organizational change (e.g., Bennis, 1966; Benne, Bennis, and Chin, 1969) in an attempt to include dynamics promoting or inhibiting change.

Our focus on maximum security prisons provided a relatively constant organizational model with which to assess the role played by formal and informal prisoner organizations. We assumed that the degree to which these organizations functioned under the approval of prison management would provide some experience with the organizational involvement of lower participants. We also assumed that desirable forms of prisoner organizations would depend upon greater recognition of a need for improvement of prisoners' control over their lives in the institution as well as a greater degree of correctional officer input into the institutional decision making process.

In our research sites it was not expected that we would find prisoners' roles to be significantly different than any other maximum security prisoners, or organized into groups that constituted real organizational membership. Rather, we expected to find emphases on control and restrictions of prisoner involvement to be directly related to the priorities given to security. Thus, maximum security prisons were seen as exercising a greater amount of control, utilizing coercive techniques to a greater extent, and offering fewer opportunities for shared decision making than minimum security institutions, halfway houses, or open institutions.

At each of our research sites, we attempted to determine (1) whether or not Etzioni's theories applied to prison organization; (2) to what extent were lower participants (prisoners) involved as legitimate organizational members; (3) to what extent coercive practices were used (beyond containment requirements) and how these practices affected the prison social climate; (4) what coercive, remunerative, or normative powers were used to obtain organizational involvement; and (5) how more effective prisoner and line officer involvement in prison operation could be evolved.

A number of basic assumptions are reflected in our theoretical and operational framework. These assumptions also represent research questions our study attempted to answer. While not exhaustive, they illustrate the areas of departure from previous research and reflect the specific interests of this research:

> The social organization of prison inmates is influenced by three sets of interrelated variables: (1) the racial/ethnic and other demographic characteristics of prison populations; (2) the social and official organization of correctional officers; and (3) the official and unofficial practices, policies, managerial styles, and social values of institutional management.
>
> The classical theoretical descriptions and typologies of the social organization of prisoners are in need of modification to reflect contemporary trends (particularly racial/ethnic polarization) and shifts in social roles, leadership patterns and powers.

> Legitimate prisoner organizations may provide alternative roles and learning experiences for participants and may establish a vehicle for shared decision making in high-security prisons.
>
> Prisoner organizations with substantial participation of citizen specialists or volunteers may be more effective than those whose membership is exclusively prisoners.
>
> Many actions (official and unofficial) taken by prison managers in an attempt to control or suppress illegal or unauthorized prisoner groups and organizations may have an adverse impact on the legitimate or authorized organizations and their respective constituencies.
>
> Prison management policies and practices tend to be strongly influenced by the concerns and special objectives of security personnel and their organizations (unions).
>
> The creation and extension of legitimate roles for prisoners in shared decision-making programs may diminish counter-productive tensions developed among prisoners, custodial staff, and prison management.

The selection of five research sites for our study involved working out a compromise between our project interests and the concerns of prison administrators. These concerns usually revolved around the allocation of organizational resources, the potential for disruption of institutional routine, and the likelihood of producing an unintended effect, e.g., hostility from prisoners and/or officers.

In nearly every instance, our initial requests for site selection were given prompt and serious attention, resulting in agreements which allowed us to formulate our data collection timetable and make concrete decisions concerning staffing and travel. However, two of our primary selections did not respond favorably (or timely), resulting in replacement with secondary sites. This decision, in our judgement, increased rather than decreased the quality of data and provided unique opportunities to refine our field methods and interview focus.

Our selection of state correctional institutions was originally intended to reflect both the regional representation of the nation's correctional systems and the diverse conditions of their maximum security prisons. However, given the numerous and diverse factors affecting prison social climates in different areas of the country, it became clear that the selection of five "representative" sites would be an extremely difficult task. For example, while settings such as Stateville or Pontiac (Illinois), Jackson (Michigan), or Lucasville (Ohio) could have provided a much better representation of midwestern prisons, problems of generalizing our findings to other maximum prisons would have remained problematic.

In addition, the current sentencing practices of some southern states (i.e., sentencing felons and misdemeanants to state prisons) complicated our intention to provide a regional framework for site selection. Consequently, our interests shifted to northeastern, western, and midwestern states.

At some point, our concern for gaining entree (and our familiarity with many of the sites included) took precedence over regional representation. With expressed commitments of cooperation balanced against unknown responses to our study from more "typical" prison settings, we decided to sacrifice ideal selection methods for an opportunity to intensively examine the organizational context of willing sites.

This decision, while being compatible with our project goals, does not overcome the methodological weakness of having included atypical prisons. We clearly recognize this limitation and do not suggest that all of our findings may be easily generalized to other maximum security prisons. However, it is our strong belief that many of the organizational dynamics and responses of organizational participants obtained across our five sites are similar enough to warrant a more critical debate of the representation issue. It is unlikely that an assumption of equivalency of prison settings underlying the notion of representativeness is valid given the variation in resources, staff, prisoner demographics, departmental history, and many other factors.

The following institutions, listed in order of our data collection, were included in our study:

(1) California Department of Correction, Correctional Training Facility-Central (Soledad) May-July, 1978;

(2) Minnesota Department of Corrections, Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater (MSP) October-November, 1978;

(3) New York Department of Correctional Services, Correctional Facility for Women at Bedford Hills November-December, 1978;

(4) New Jersey Department of Corrections, Adult Corrections Division, New Jersey State Prison at Rahway November, 1978-January, 1979;

(5) Oregon Department of Human Resources, Adult Institutions Services, Corrections Division, Oregon State Penitentiary (OSP) March-April, 1979.

Figure 2 presents some of the characteristics of our research sites.

As stated earlier, we identified three major organizational ranks: prison (executive and security) management; correctional officers; and prisoners. We viewed these as being the principle actors in our study of prisoner organizations and their relationship within the prison organization.

We attempted to independently assess their relative contributions and influences on the operation of the larger organization. For example, prisoner social values, membership in formal prisoner organizations, and perceptions of prison management were seen as being central to our understanding of their potential (or real) collective influence. Our focus on correctional officers centered on their perception of their own role within the organization and on specific job-related concerns. Unlike our inquiry with correctional officers and prisoners, our assessment of prison management was "soft," and remained free of predetermined "management" constructs and performance indicators. However, we did develop some empirical measures intended to assess prison management's responsiveness to organizational change strategies. Furthermore, our data are insufficient to support a comprehensive assessment of individual managers. However, they do provide a framework with which

Figure 2

CHARACTERISTICS	SOLEDAD	STILLWATER	RAHWAY	OSP	BEDFORD HILLS
Security Classification	High	Maximum	High	Maximum	High
Institutional Capacity	1,500	1,003	Unknown	1,768	400
Average Population	1,385 (1978)	999 (1977)	1,272 (1976)	1,145 (1976)	408 (1976)
Total State Prisoner Population	20,453 (1978)	1,797 (1977)	6,017 (1977)	2,935	472*
Rate of Incarceration (per 100,000)	85 (1976)	41	78 (1976)	122 (1976)	
Prisoner Demographic Characteristics:					
Black	32%	18%	66%	11%	59%
White	38%	74%	21%	83%	21%
Hispanic, Other	29%	8%	13%	6%	20%
Sentence Structure	Determinate	Matrix	Indeterminate	Parole Matrix	Indeterminate
Employee Organizations	Several - Union Affiliation Pending	Teamsters	NJPBA	ASFCME	ASFCME
Degree of Support for Prisoner Organizations	Low	Very High	High	High	Moderate
Degree of Racial/Ethnic Conflict	High	Low	Low	Moderate	Low

*Female

to formulate an analysis of specific management interventions and their underlying policies and objectives.

Overall, our measurement efforts blended empirical assessments (e.g., scaled questionnaire items, demographic and social background characteristics) with subjective measures such as semi-structured interviews and observations. Furthermore, a major thrust of our inquiry was given to systematic (and general) observations of the internal workings of the prison organization. Where appropriate, we utilized multiple triangulation (Denzin, 1978:340) to insure that our observations were not merely a single measure of organizational behavior. In this regard, we relied on two or more observers and conducted interviews with more than one representative of each organizational rank for the same area of inquiry. In our judgement, these efforts produced a rich and reliable source of data describing the complexity of prison organization, prison management, and the relationships generated by the special interests of prisoners and correctional officers.

The following chapters report the findings from these combined efforts. As our research methods tended to vary slightly from sample to sample, we have reported our sampling procedures and measurement techniques within each chapter. A more complete description of the development of our research design, methods, and procedures used during our field studies is presented in our pilot study report (Montilla and Fox, 1978).

CHAPTER 2

PRISON MANAGEMENT

A. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Several recent works (e.g., Steele and Jacobs, 1975; Wynne, 1977; Thomas and Petersen, 1977) have addressed the impact of external influences on correctional policy and decision-making. Thomas and Petersen (1977:28), for example, have asserted that contemporary correctional management has become more responsive to an "external public" than to an objective assessment of assigned organizational goals. Others (e.g., Jacobs, 1977; Duffee, 1980), have argued that correctional organization and management has become more directly affected by a wider variety of economic and political influences which have markedly altered the setting of priorities, treatment of prisoners, and the nature of communications with the outside political system. This situation has tended to distract management attention from internal organizational problems and has contributed to a serious imbalance in the powers held by line correctional officers and prisoners.

While some external influences stem from prisoner's rights litigation, more far-reaching influences appear to be related to the specialization of prisoner and correctional officer interests and to the extent to which they have mustered external support for their concerns. Consequently, management's role has been divided by the demands presented by external and internal pressures. Presently, a critical lack of experience and knowledge in coping with these organizational dynamics appears to have reduced the chances of initiating appropriate organizational change and development in many maximum security prisons. Contemporary wardens and superintendents have not evolved effective managerial styles or strategies to work effectively within a political organizational climate or have evolved strategies aimed at reducing internal organizational tension.

Conrad (1978) argues that prison wardens utilize their authority in some combination of roles from "autocrat" to "bureaucrat." The autocrat would use coercion coupled with intelligence-gathering and manipulation techniques to achieve total organizational dominance. Several external forces (e.g., prisoner rights case law and public administration trends) have tended to reduce the wardens' autocratic powers and contributed to their becoming more of a bureaucratic chief executive of the prison. This newly emerging role, coupled with changes in the demographic characteristics and criminal backgrounds of prisoners -- and the balkenization of prisoners into subgroups and specialized organizations -- has equally affected the administrative role of prison wardens and superintendents.

The prison warden or superintendent serves as top executive in the prison organizational hierarchy. To an increasing level, wardens and superintendents are being held responsible for adapting to external influences, e.g., public opinion, legislative mandates, budgetary restraints, employee unions, etc., while maintaining their internal systems, which include coordination of organizational participants' needs and interests. The particular combination of external and internal influences, of course, tends to determine the range (and type) of options available to top executives.

Prison management, in our opinion, has the responsibility to effectively coordinate organizational resources in a manner which facilitates the accomplishment of goals without producing an imbalance in the organizational compliance structure. While managerial skill, previous experience, and education may play major roles in determining the success of any intended organizational intervention, quite often the informal organizational structure and the interpersonal (and social) dynamics at play are key factors in the achievement of organizational goals.

A prison warden or superintendent will be required to address the resistant, discordant aspects of both internal and external influences, such as the importation of new skills, attitudes, and expectations of prisoners, the formalization of correctional officer input (employee unions) and prisoner interests (prisoner organizations), and an increasing professionalization of corrections work.

If top management reacts to problems within the organization, rather than charting a course which accommodates the potential impact of these problems, the greater part of the organization's activity (particularly within the upper and middle ranks) is likely to become focused on how to gain more power and control over lower participants (including correctional officers who may begin to see their work as becoming more dangerous). Reactive management, by definition, also precludes the possibility of achieving commitment, what Etzioni (1969: 65) considers as positive or moral involvement. Proactive management, in contrast, may have a greater likelihood of fostering the development of meaningful participant involvement in the organization and promoting greater compatibility in the compliance structures among organizational ranks.

As we have indicated earlier, we view prison management as being responsible for the basic conditions of prisoners, including racial and ethnic subgroups and other types of formal and informal social units. In this vein, prisoners' organizational involvement is viewed as social and cultural imperatives that prison management can utilize to increase organizational involvement (under clearly defined guidelines) or ignore with considerable risk. How these organizational developments were manifested was, in part, the object of our inquiry into prison management. We recognized that even if prison management desires to obtain greater involvement from its lower participants, such involvement may not develop if other organizational participants, e.g., security personnel, line supervisors, are resistant, apprehensive and/or untrained in its application. Thus, if prison management's approach to organizational development is comprehensive, management will tend to introduce changes which are cognizant of the salient social, political and economic influences affecting the intended change, particularly those changes which involve relative gains and losses of power and influence of organizational participants.

The adverse conditions of prison overcrowding is a common example of prison management's inability to respond to external influences. There are limitations to executive intervention in this problem. We recognize that the prison warden or superintendent is often an extension of the administrative authority of the department of corrections executive who, in turn, is responsible to both the executive and political hierarchy of the governor and state legislature. By virtue of this hierarchical structure, the prison executive may discover that most (reasonable) resources and management options are closed or severely limited. We submit that if prison management accepts this condition on their organization, they are not being totally responsible for the long-range condition of the organization.

Such a dilemma rarely occurs for executives who have the ability to utilize their available options innovatively, to acquire greater discretion in their utilization of resources, and to achieve support from employee unions and community organizations to augment existing resources from grants and volunteers. If this approach is not considered, then virtually every prison warden or superintendent must accept the multitude of status quo constraints on their leadership and be content to manage the prison as temporary caretakers. Since most prison executives may not view resignation as a viable alternative, they ultimately share a responsiblity for what emerges within the prison organization.

We are cognizant of the political and economic constraints that may inhibit organizational change. For example, most prison superintendents inherit facilities, staff and budgets that they had no part in planning or organizing. They often have little control over the number and characteristics of prisoners received or when they may be released. Consequently, managerial effectiveness is related primarily to the degree of freedom and range of options available to managers. Where organizational constraints are tightly drawn, we would expect typically to observe little innovative management interventions. On the other hand, a dynamic organizational structure may provide the flexibility with which managers may promote desirable forms of innovative organizational change.

Corrections administrators, in reality, are public administrators whose effectiveness is related to their capacity for survival in the executive-political arena long enough to acquire the respect and support of those who determine the policies and control the resources under which the administrator works.

Richard A. McGee, in an unpublished manuscript, asserts that effective administrators are those who posses a combination of leadership and management skills:

> Great leaders are not necessarily great or even good administrators, nor are capable administrators inherently qualified to lead. Administration involves the acceptance of policies set forth in the law or handed down by superior authority and their efficient and economical implementation. There is an element of leadership in the function of management, but it need go no further than the ability to assemble the resources of the organization and obtain the cooperation of subordinates and associates so as to best realize short-term goals. The executive who can do these things is much in demand in all complex organizations.
>
> What is needed, of course, is that rare combination of management skills and leadership qualities, either in a single person or in a strong top-level hierarchy. Ideals, professional standards, sound social philosophy, effective public communication, and dedication must be coupled with managerial capacities. That these qualities are seldom found together in criminal justice agencies does much to explain the lack of public confidence in the system.

While our research addresses only a segment of the wide range of issues and questions these perspectives raise, it does focus on management's intervention into their unique organizational problems and practices.

Our measurement included empirical assessment of resistance to organizational change, semi-structured interviews with top, middle, and lower management (functionally divided into executive, security, and program management) and limited observation. Our attention was primarily focused on executive management, whom we saw as being responsible for setting the framework for other managerial priorities and strategies. We viewed security management (which varied in importance within the hierarchy at each of our five sites) as an extension of the security force, but with substantial power to affect positive or negative influences within organizational ranks. Program management measurement was restricted to key functions, such as prison industries, which were perceived to be major organizational influences.

A major thrust of our inquiry was systematic and general observations of the internal workings of the prison organization. Most of our observations of prison management "style," use of coercive powers, willingness to involve lower organizational participants, and ability to conceptualize the prison organization within a framework for planned change were tailored to each organizational structure. Since each organization was unique, these observations tended to shift focus to accommodate our information needs and interests.

This approach is not uncommon in organizational research. Selznick (1969:28), for example, asserts that:

> Each organization, like each personality, represents a resultant of complex forces, an empirical entity which no single formula can explain. The problem of analysis becomes that of selecting among the possible predictates set forth in the theory of organization those which illuminate our understanding of the materials at hand.

Initially, this appeared to be a handicap in our research design. However, after a careful evaluation of our data and initial attempts to integrate our observations with empirical measures, we readily recognized the advantage of having applied less "rigorous" methods to this area of our study.

The numerous frustrating hours spent in attempting to develop a model appropriate to prison management behavior, and the continual refinement of our knowledge obtained during the field studies, in our opinion, could not have been avoided by the use of conventional approaches. In addition, our observations, impressions, and conclusions about prison management are intended to serve only as preliminary findings to illuminate the dark side of the relationships between higher and lower organizational participants.

B. SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Several methodological problems are presented in studying groups or parts of an organization that comprise very small samples, particularly when it is seen as desirable to compare these results with those of a much larger organization. As prisons are typically organized in a pyramidal fashion (with management representing the smallest element, but having the greatest amount of power and authority), sampling organizational units for comparative analyses is problematic.

Furthermore, it is often difficult to accurately define prison management positions in pro forma terms as many members of the organization frequently assume managerial roles corresponding to situationally defined tasks. As we have indicated earlier, our definition of prison management was limited to executive management (superintendents and their respective assistant or associate superintendents), security management (chief security managers and their captains and lieutenants), and other middle or lower management personnel who routinely participate in key organizational decisions. The latter element rarely resembles the formal organizational definition of management, as top management periodically draws upon skilled (or technical) staff to perform specialized tasks and services.

Consequently, our sample of correctional management at each research site consisted of formally defined executive and security management staff and several lower or middle management personnel who routinely performed significant organizational assignments.

After our sample was defined, each manager was given a self-administered questionnaire with instructions to return it within five working days.[1] In each instance, our management sample was too small to permit statistical comparisons with either the responses of lower organizational members (i.e., correctional officers) or the responses of other correctional manager samples. However, our interviews with key management personnel, and our observations of most organizational functions at each prison, provide data that illustrate the management strategies and internal constraints unique to each research setting. In this regard, we were able to develop subjective assessments that serve to broaden our description of each institution.

Our five management samples do not readily lend themselves to comparative analyses. However, we were able to perform several statistical assessments by aggregating all five into one larger sample. This procedure yielded a correctional manager sample of fifty-five cases of which ten or 21.3 percent were executive management, twenty-two or 46.8 percent security management, and fifteen or 31.9 percent other middle management positions.

C. CORRECTIONAL MANAGER DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Table 1 provides a brief description of the demographic and background characterisitics of our aggregate sample. As indicated, the average (mean) age of correctional managers is over 44 years, with a substantial majority (45.8 percent) being over the age of forty-five years. Blacks and women comprise a very small proportion of the total sample, 9.6 percent and 7.4 percent, respectively. Nearly all female managers completing the questionnaire were blacks, leaving black males to account for less than two percent of our sample.

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[1] Approximately 15 percent of those included in our sample did not return the correctional manager questionnaire. This rate varied from seven to twenty-four percent, with black and/or female lower management (i.e., captains and lieutenants) revealing the lowest rate of return.

Table 1

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

	N	%
AGE		
35 and under	9	18.8
36 to 45	17	35.4
46 and over	22	45.8
$\overline{X}$ = 44.1 years		
RACE		
White	47	85.5
Black	5	9.1
Response withheld	3	5.4
SEX		
Male	47	92.6
Female	4	7.4
EDUCATION		
Less than 12 years	2	3.7
High School	11	20.3
Some College	15	27.8
College Graduate	7	13.0
Post-Graduate	19	35.2
$\overline{X}$ = 14.8 years		
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	4	7.5
Married	46	86.8
Split Family	3	5.7
DEPENDENT CHILDREN		
None	30	58.8
One or two	18	35.3
Three or more	3	5.9
ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP		
Yes	7	13.0
No	47	87.0
EMPLOYMENT (INSTITUTION)		
One year or less	7	14.0
Two to five years	12	24.0
Six to ten years	11	22.0
More than ten years	20	40.0
$\overline{X}$ = 9.9 years		

Table 1 continued	N	%
EMPLOYMENT (CAREER)		
One year or less	0	0.0
Two to five years	7	13.2
Six to ten years	7	13.2
More than ten years	39	73.6
$\overline{X}$ =15.5 years		
ARREST HISTORY		
Yes	10	18.5
No	44	81.5

The managers included in our sample have worked in the field of corrections for a substantial number of years. The data indicate that 73.7 percent of our sample have been employed in corrections for over ten years, and many of these have remained at the same institution for a large part of their correctional careers.

The characteristics of our sample appear to be somewhat similar to the adult institution sample obtained during the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training study of correctional administrators. For example, Nelson and Lovell (1969:99) reported that over 60 percent of their adult institution management sample were over 45 years of age. Furthermore, they indicate that 49 percent had worked in corrections for ten or more years and 37 percent had completed some post-graduate education.

The following section addresses management's attitudes toward organizational change.

Our inquiry into this area is not intended to provide concrete "answers" to questions about management decison-making behavior. Rather, we attempted to illustrate the likelihood of correctional management's receptiveness to systemic change. Concurrently, we examined their willingness to involve other organizational participants in the change process.

D. MANAGEMENT ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGE

Prison management, like management in both private and other public sectors, has explicit (and implied) responsibility to take initiative in promoting change compatible with state organizational goals. While the type of organization may play a role in determining the nature of the change, a relatively wide range of change strategies is available to management. Clearly, the primary goals of maximum security prisons (control and discipline) tend to limit the type (and extent) of organizational change. However, prison management has several contrasting change orientations that may affect both the appropriateness and effectiveness of change initiatives.

Two strategies of change that may be applied to prison management are power-coercieve and normative-reeducative change (Chin and Benne, 1969). Power-coercive change strategies require little innovation since they are compatible with the official goals of the organization. In addition, power-coercive strategies represent the status quo of prison management initiative and are often the product of many years of experience in management by restrictive methods. According to Chin and Benne (1969:53):

> When a person or group is entrenched in power in a social system, in command of political legitimacy and of political and economic sanctions, that person can use power-coercive strategies in effecting changes, which they consider desirable, without much awareness on the part of those out of power in the system that such strategies are employed.

Thus, the power-coercive strategies reflect management's desire (or need) to maintain or increase its control over the organization without the participation of lower organizational members.

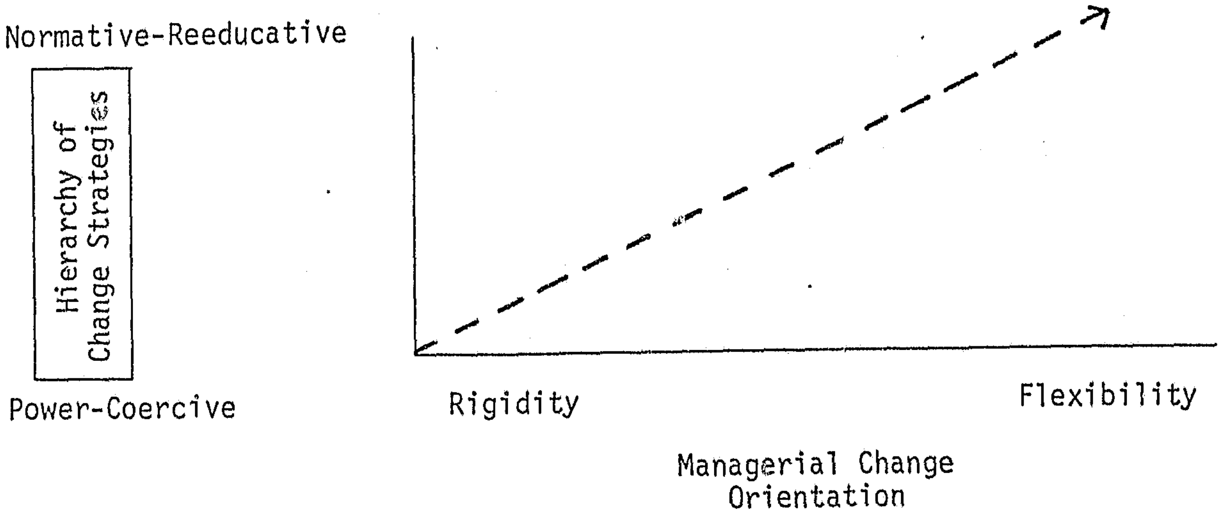
Normative-reeducative change strategies, on the other hand, require a completely different set of assumptions about members of the larger organization and how they may be motivated to participate in the desired changes. According to Chin and Benne (1969:44), normative-reeducative strategies:

> . . . emphasize the client system and his (or its) involvement in working out programs of change and improvement for himself (or itself). (In addition) the problem confronting the client is not assumed *a priori* to be one which can be met by more adequate technical information; the change agent must learn to intervene mutually and collaboratively along with the client into efforts to define and solve the client's problem(s); nonconscious elements which impede problem solution must be brought into consciousness and publically examined and reconstructed; (and) the methods and concepts of the behavioral sciences are resources which change agent and client learn to use selectively, relevantly, and appropriately in learning to deal with the confronting problem and with problems of a similar kind in the future.

These two contrasting change approaches, with their underlying assumptions about human behavior, represent a theoretical hierarchy of change strategies. That is, within the range of change approaches encompassed by these two contrasting perspectives, there are a number of variations that may, to the greater or lesser degree, reflect each change strategy.

Figure 3 illustrates our analysis model for correctional manager orientation to change. The hierarchy of change strategies, ranging from power-coercive to normative-reeducative, reflect the manager's orientation to changes within the organization. We assume that any given manager will tend to reveal a similar orientation to most change initiatives. For example, managers who, by their previous role within the organization, reveal a tendency to use power-coercive strategies on change initiatives which provide greater involvement in management decisions to line staff, will likely reveal a very similar tendency for change initiatives that equally empower prisoners. Conversely, managers who reveal a tendency to utilize normative-reeducative strategies for some change initiatives will likely reveal a similar tendency for other changes.

Figure 3



The horizontal axis reflects our empirical measurement of hypothetical change initiatives. Each item is scored on a Likert-type one-to-five scale assessing the manager's "agreement" or "disagreement" to the proposed changes. The low end ("1") of the continuum is intended to assess the extent of rigidity (how strongly the manager adheres to his/her position) revealed toward the change, while the high end ("5") is intended to measure the amount of flexibility (how willing the manager is to take risks in his/her position). Thus the model illustrates a two dimensional perspective of manager change orientation. We would expect to observe a positive relationship between rigidity and power-coercive change orientation (see dotted arrow) and between flexibility and normative-reeducative orientations.

The range of hypothetical change initiatives included in the manager questionnaire was intended to illustrate changes which are familiar to most correctional managers. We would expect to observe differences in change orientation according to previous management experiences, amount of formal education, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and relative success in previous change efforts.

The relative position within the hierarchy of change strategies is determined by the total (aggregated) score on questionnaire items categorized into two organizational change dimensions: structural and interactive change.

Structural change, in this model, refers to initiatives which have the potential to alter the basic design of the organization, and which have secondary implications for management intervention. For example, the decriminalization of possession of small amounts of controlled substances may slightly reduce the total institutional offender population (and thereby be seen as making more available bedspace for serious offenders). The nine items comprising the structural change scale are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

STRUCTURAL CHANGE SCALE ITEMS

S1 Decriminalizing most "victimless crimes" such as prostitution, possession of marijuana, and gambling.

S2 Eliminating mandatory prison sentences for minor property offenses.

S3 Continuing and extending the use of pre-trial and pre-sentence diversion to treatment programs for all except violent offenses.

S4 Compensating prisoners for real work (based on productivity) in prison industries and institutional operations at a rate nearly equal to the equivalent rate in the community.

S5 Creating the organizational framework for prisoners and staff to work together to share more of the decisions which are now made by management and/or staff alone.

S6 Allowing the formation of a Prisoners Union under structured guidelines for resolving disputes concerning work or living conditions.

S7 Establishing "family" (conjugal) visits for all married prisoners, except when a "reasonable basis" for denial can be shown.

S8 Prisoners should not be compelled to work, and those who do should be compensated fairly at prevailing rates of pay.

S9 Given the number of studies indicating that prison rehabilitation programs are a failure, it makes more sense to use prison solely as a means of isolating offenders from society.

Interactive change refers to initiatives which have a more direct effect on management, and which have the potential for altering the extent to which lower members participate in organizational decisions. For example, the involvement of prisoners in decisions concerning institutional activity may require management to share powers previously held by a small number of upper members of the organization. Table 3 illustrates the nine items included in the interactive change scale.

Table 3

INTERACTIVE CHANGE SCALE ITEMS

I1 Prisoners should have all the rights of full citizens in voting and actively working for candidates and issues of their choice.

I2 Prisoners should have the right to associate with organizations of their choice and to be represented by them.

I3 Prisoners should have the right to choose their own educational, vocational, and therapeutic programs, and such choices should not be subject to discipline, loss of privileges, transfer, consideration for parole, work release, or furloughs.

I4 Prisoners should have the right to full control over their personal funds and their disbursement.

I5 Creating the organizational framework for prisoners and staff to work together to share more of the decisions which are now made by management and/or staff alone.

*I6 With few exceptions, the involvement of outside groups supporting inmate organizations is an invitation to disorder in a high-security prison.

*I7 Prisons would be much easier to operate if prisoners who simply didn't want to cooperate with the system were locked up.

I8 Prisoners in this institution should be given much more say in decisions which affect their lives in confinement.

*I9 Tight security and close supervision are absolutely necessary because too many prisoners take advantage of the opportunities given to them.

*Reversed during analysis.

A "high" total score (5 to 9) on each of these nine aggregated item scores reflects the degree of flexibility shown by the manager within either organizational change dimension. Conversely, a "low" total score (0 to 4) reflects the degree of rigidity toward change. Hence, higher scale scores are assumed to be associated with normative-reeducative change strategies and lower scale scores associated with power-coercive strategies.

Table 4 presents the item-to-scale correlations for the two organizational change scales used in our analysis. As shown, all items are significantly correlated to their respective scale dimensions, indicating that the scale items are highly interrelated. The two scale dimensions are also interrelated, revealing a scale-to-scale correlation of r = .69 (p = .001). These data point to the internal consistency of the two scale dimensions and tend to support our conceptual model of organizational change.

Table 4

ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE SCALES

Structural Change

Item	N	Pearson's r	Significance
S1	53	.47	.001
S2	53	.58	.001
S3	53	.63	.001
S4	53	.48	.001
S5	53	.58	.001
S6	53	.58	.001
S7	53	.72	.001
S8	53	.59	.001
S9	53	.38	.003

Interactive Change

Item	N	Pearson's r	Significance
I1	53	.62	.001
I2	53	.72	.001
I3	53	.44	.001
I4	53	.55	.001
I5	53	.60	.001
I6	53	.48	.001
I7	53	.50	.001
I8	53	.61	.001
I9	53	.52	.001

Table 5 presents the distribution of raw and mean item scores for the two change scales. These data suggest that while correctional managers tend to reveal rigidity toward organizational change in general, they show a greater flexibility toward structural than interactive change. For instance, both structural and interactive change scale means, 2.91 and 2.43, respectively, reveal scores in the direction of rigidity; however, the slightly higher structural change mean score reflects less rigidity (or more flexibility) to change.

Table 5

DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE SCALE SCORES

Structural Change ($\bar{X}$=2.91) (s=.67)								Interactive Change ($\bar{X}$=2.43) (s=.62)							
Item	1	2	3	4	5	N	$\bar{X}$	Item	1	2	3	4	5	N	$\bar{X}$
S1	4	14	3	18	16	55	3.51	I1	31	15	5	4	0	55	1.67
S2	1	11	4	32	7	55	3.60	I2	23	14	4	13	1	55	2.18
S3	2	6	3	34	9	54	3.78	I3	13	15	4	21	2	55	2.71
S4	9	7	9	22	8	55	3.24	I4	17	24	6	7	1	55	2.11
S5	15	15	9	15	1	55	2.49	I5	15	15	9	15	1	55	2.49
S6	29	15	3	6	2	55	1.86	*I6	5	7	7	27	8	54	3.48
S7	20	13	4	13	5	55	2.46	*I7	7	15	10	15	8	55	3.04
S8	22	21	2	6	3	54	2.02	I8	12	34	6	3	0	55	2.00
S9	5	14	4	21	11	55	3.13	*I9	8	25	7	13	1	54	2.52
Total	107	116	41	167	62			Total	131	164	58	118	22		
	Rigidity			Flexibility					Rigidity			Flexibility			

*Reversed during analysis.

A closer inspection of these data indicate several noteworthy findings. The data reveal that correctional managers tend to show greater flexibility (as indicated by item means above 3.0) toward some change initiatives than others. For example, the data reveal that managers are more willing to accept the continuance and extension of pre-trial diversion for all except violent crimes (item S3), the elimination of mandatory prison sentences for minor property crimes (item S2), the decriminalization of victimless crimes (item S1), and the compensation of prisoners for work performed in prison industry and institutional operations at a rate equivalent to free world rates (item S4). Only two change initiatives within the interactive change scale (I6 and I7) were similarly scored, suggesting that managers are more likely to accept changes that alter the basic design (and operations) of criminal justice procedures and institutional corrections, and are less likely to provide a structure for involvement (or empowerment) of lower organizational participants in corrections.

These findings are compatible with our conceptual model of organizational change. Correctional management's greater rigidity toward interactive change tends to reflect their adherence to power-coercive change initiatives. Similarly, a power-coercive orientation is reflected in management's approach to structural change, but to a somewhat lesser degree. These data strongly suggest that correctional managers, as an aggregate group, do not view normative-reeducative change strategies as a viable method of change within their organizational context. Of course, these findings reflect the "average" or consensus perspective of our managment sample. As we have stated above, we would expect to observe some differences in change orientation according to background and demographic characteristics of managers.

To examine these differences we examined the relationship between flexibility toward change and several descriptive variables such as age, education, and length of correctional career. To make our data compatible with a crosstabulation model, scores from each of the two change scales were reorganized into high and low flexibility scores. This was accomplished by first computing the total number of items that were scored in the direction of flexibility (4 or 5 on the one-to-five point scale) and then dichotomizing them into two categories: high (a total score of 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4) and low (a total score of 5, 6, 7, 8, or 9).

Table 6 illustrates the distribution of scores within these dichotomous categories.

Table 6

DISTRIBUTION OF DICHOTOMIZED ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE SCALE SCORES

	Structural Change		Interactive Change	
	N	%	N	%
Low Flexibility	30	56.6	40	75.5
High Flexibility	25	43.4	15	24.5
	55	100.0	55	100.0

As shown, only 56 percent of the structural change scores, compared to over 75 percent of the interactive change scores, fell into the low flexibility category. Our data indicate that only 16 percent of the correctional managers revealed high flexibility in both structural and interactive change, whereas 47 percent revealed low flexibility in both organizational change scales.

Several interesting findings are revealed from the crosstabulation of these data with selected demographic characteristics. For instance, no significant or substantial relationships were found between flexibility toward interactive change and any of the demographic variables examined. However, several significant relationships were found between flexibility toward structural change and these same descriptive variables. That is, the data indicate that the majority (75 percent) of those managers who have worked in corrections for less than ten years reveal high flexibility toward structural change; whereas 69 percent of those who have careers extending between 10 and 20 years and 54 percent of those who have been in corrections for more than twenty years reveal low flexibility. These findings suggest that the longer managers work in corrections, the more likely that they will adopt rigid views toward (structural) organizational change. Normally, we may attribute some contribution to this relationship to age, assuming the conventional relationship between age and conservative attitudes. However, this assertion is not supported by our data as they clearly indicate no difference among the three age groups in the proportion of high or low flexibility scores. Hence, length of correctional employment appears to be an independent indicator of receptiveness to structural change.

Similar findings were revealed between flexibility and education. For example, the data indicate that 91 percent of those managers with less than 12 years of formal education revealed low flexibility to structural change. In contrast, over 68 percent of those with at least some post-graduate education revealed high flexibility to structural change. Managers with between 13 and 16 years of education (some college) appear to be proportionally divided between high and low flexibility. That is, 59 percent of those with some college revealed low flexibility and 41 percent revealed high flexibility scores. These findings suggest that post-graduate education may play a major role in shaping correctional managers' attitudes toward structural change.

As our management sample includes a large proportion of security management personnel, it is important that we attempt to examine the relationships between type of management position and flexibility to change. Our data reveal what many corrections observers may anticipate; namely, security managers tend to reveal much higher resistance to change than executive managers. For example, we found that 80 pecent of the security managers, compared to only 30 percent of the executive managers and 40 percent of other key managers revealed low flexibility to structural change.

These findings have several implications for expanding the opportunity for lower (security) management to participate in organizational decisions. For example, if executive management supports certain structural changes that may have indirect impacts on institutional corrections, security management may hinder their effective implementation through their tendency to resist change initiatives.

Finally, our data indicate that correctional managers who support the rehabilitation model of institutional corrections, predictably, revealed higher flexibility toward structural change, whereas those managers who support the incapacitation model revealed lower flexibility. For example, nearly 67 percent of those managers who saw rehabilitation as an ideal purpose of institutional corrections revealed high flexibility scores. In contrast, nearly 63 percent who saw protection of society as the ideal purpose of incarceration revealed low flexibility to structural change.

E. VARIETIES OF PRISON MANAGEMENT INTERVENTION

Earlier in this chapter we touched briefly on the notion of executive style, suggesting that an individual warden's approach to organizational problems tends to establish a precedent of proactive or reactive management intervention. We also argued that prison management (or approaches to problem-solving) frequently reflected the manner in which wardens or superintendents organized and supervised their staff in an attempt to pursue those objectives and strategies considered to be essential to the official mission of the prison organization.

While this conceptualization has served to broaden our basic understanding of the influences of top management on middle and lower management ranks, it has not facilitated an analysis of management as a team or collective body. Rather than viewing management style as being personified by the top executive (even though it may be the predominent style), we saw management intervention or style as the cooperative effort of those sharing responsibility for the development and outcome of problem-solving initiatives. Consequently, we expanded our analysis to encompass the combined responses of all management personnel.

The data reported in this section consist of systematic and general observations of prison operations and semi-structured and open-ended interviews with key staff within all management ranks. We observed eight common organizational activities (behavior) among our five research settings. Several organizational behaviors and concerns appeared to be unique to a single institution and, therefore, were excluded from our analysis.

A wide and diverse range of management styles, varying from power-coercive strategies to participative management or shared decision-making were used to address the organizational behaviors we observed.

Our attempt to characterize and summarize management style was complicated by the extent to which any given prison management team relied on a particular style of intervention. In attempt to consider these factors and provide a meaningful summary analysis we grouped our observations into three major types of management style (restrictive, participative, innovative) with primary and secondary application.

Restrictive management tended to follow traditional custody-oriented policies and practices, emphasize loyalty and conformity to organizational norms, use autocratic or power-based control systems to insure achievement of goals, were basically unreceptive to change, and had information flow downward from higher organizational members in the form of directives. In contrast, participative management tended to be oriented toward shared decision-making and collective involvement of other organizational members, appeared to be open to the ideas, interests, and concerns of lower staff, placed less emphasis on custody and control, and appeared willing to grant limited power and autonomy to prisoner organizations and prisoner-initiated programs. Finally, innovative management was most likely to be open to change and risk-taking in their approach to organizational problems, to value human relations (which appeared to be linked to self-motivating staff), and to reveal staff perspectives reflecting a positive view of their role within the organization.

Figure 4 illustrates our classification of observed organizational behavior into these three styles of management intervention.

FIGURE 4

Management Style	Organizational Behavior (Common to all Sites)
Restrictive	1. Concentration of authority with upper management ranks.
	2. Encouragement for the development of informal information networks to obtain organizational intelligence.
Participative	3. Opportunity given to line staff and supervisors to participate in routine organizational decisions.
	4. Use of regular staff meetings to provide information and to obtain feedback on earlier decisions.
	5. Accessibility of upper management to line staff and prisoners.
Innovative	6. Use of innovative management strategies to utilize or develop existing organizational and human resources.
	7. Support for female correctional officer employment and expanded work roles.
	8. Support for expanding prisoner opportunities for self-determination and empowerment.

Table 7 presents our classification of each of our five research sites according to their primary and secondary intervention style. As indicated, restrictive management style was the primary intervention used by Soledad, Oregon, and Bedford Hills. However, our observations revealed that all sites except Soledad tended to employ participative management styles as a secondary management approach. The use of participative approaches, as a primary management style, was limited to Stillwater who tended to employ restrictive styles as a secondary management intervention. In a similar vein, Rahway was the only site which tended to use innovative management approaches but, like Stillwater, relied on restrictive styles as a secondary management intervention.

Table 7

OBSERVED PRISON MANAGEMENT INTERVENTION STYLES

	Primary	Secondary
Restrictive	Soledad Oregon Bedford Hills	Stillwater Rahway
Participative	Stillwater	Oregon Bedford Hills
Innovative	Rahway	

The nature of maximum security prisons may severely limit the type of management intervention strategies available for most organizational problems. Given the current trend toward retributive justice and swelling prison populations, management may have little choice but to proceed with some variation of restrictive policies and an emphasis on control. However, our observations of management practices and policies at the sites included in this study suggest that a reliance on traditional custodial approaches at most prisons was also accompanied with an arbitrary rejection of the merits of participative management. Prison management, with the exception of Stillwater, which used unit management for most prison operations, and to some extent Rahway, which used a variation of a collaborative model for program activity, appeared to be unwilling to consider the possible advantages (or consequences) of expanded participative roles and opportunities for line staff and prisoners.

There are consequences to this course of action, particuarly when the larger organizational goals are centered on control. Thomas and Petersen (1977:41), for example, suggest that

> the adoption of a coercive organizational structure as a means by which control can be insured has far-reaching consequences for the prison as an organization and for the inmates who are confined within it. Perhaps the most significant of these consequences is that it confronts the inmates with a variety of alienating and depersonalizing pressures as a broad spectrum of structurally generated problems that must somehow be countered. It so isolates inmates at the bottom of a rigidly stratified organization that many of the reward and punishment contingencies that are effective in shaping attitudes, values, and behavior become far more subject to control by those within the informal structure of the inmate society than by representatives of the formal organization.

In this perspective, control to achieve compliance with formal organizational goals tends to increase the distance between the prisoner community and the official world of the prison administration.

In the following chapters we will examine the impact of control goals on both line staff and prisoner perception of the organization. For line staff who are held directly responsible for maintaining security within the prison, but who have little opportunity to provide input into the formation of policy and procedures, an escalation of coercion has profound effects on their perception of personal safety, job satisfaction, and sense of contribution to the mission of the organization. As suggested by Thomas and Petersen (1977), prisoners tend to evolve collective strategies intended to reduce the depersonalizing effects of imprisonment or become further alienated from the function of the organization. Ironically, prisoners (who traditionally have been excluded from the network of official organizational activity) may be the best resource needed to defuse a potentially destructive social climate. Their involvement in organizational decisions may be the impetus for establishing cooperative relationships.

As we shall illustrate, both correctional officers and prisoners each have a stake in expanding their opportunities for greater involvement in the business of the prison organization. Paradoxically, the evidence we gathered does not support the potential for cooperation between these two lower organizational members. Prisoner and correctional officers (with the exception of social relationships between some prisoners and officers) appear to be farther apart in working through differences in roles, needs, and interests than they are, individually, with prison management.

Prison management, in this scheme, appears to hold the key to cooperative relationships within the context of the prison organization. The power to implement policies which may provide an opportunity for reducing alienation among lower participants is not shared by either prisoners or officers. It is a unique function of management that is not widely used in a positive fashion. Few prison managers are willing to take the risks associated with granting expanded participative roles. Some of the potential conflicts are clear and present. For example, correctional officer unions tend to feel more comfortable in maintaining adversarial relationships with management than in evolving participative roles. By the same token, prisoners are generally unable to accept the relatively slow and frustrating pace of organizational change. Many of these structural forms of resistance can be explained by a lack of experience (and opportunity) with cooperative relationships. The solution may lie in developing change strategies which incorporate team approaches, such as unit management, leadership training, organizational problem-solving, and shared responsibilities for the outcome of collective decisions. This, of course, is not easily accomplished within the complex web of political, economic, and organizational restraints faced by contemporary corrections. But without an attempt at comprehensive organizational change, it is unlikely that current management approaches can deliver any more than continued alienation and depersonalization of members of the prison organization.

CHAPTER 3

CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS

A. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Correctional officers in maximum security prisons are the primary agents in maintaining social control (Cloward, 1968:80) and in achieving prisoner compliance with official organizational goals. Their role is frequently characterized as low-status (and sometimes brutal) "guards" (Jacobs and Retsky, 1975:10) who have front-line responsibility for the supervision and surveillance of prisoners. The major correctional officer role in most maximum security prisons in the United States is custodian -- preventing escapes, enforcing prison discipline, and maintaining control.

Cressey (1968:478) asserts that the custodial role often creates basic conflict and concern for correctional officers:

> custodial control is to be maintained among prisoners who must be handled humanely and permitted to work together and in other ways consort with each other. Guards then are to maintain discipline and follow rules for doing so, but they are also to ensure that antagonism, hostility, and uncooperativeness are not aroused in inmate populations even though these have been granted a degree of freedom which could be used to initiate riot or rebellion.

According to Cressey (1968:483), correctional officers are put in a position of having to follow official policies, e.g., strict conformity to prison rules and procedures and, at the same time, are expected to exercise good judgement and discretion so that prisoners do not become disgruntled or potentially rebellious.

Correctional officers also perform a number of contrasting roles, such as "helper" during moments of prisoner personal crisis (Toch, 1975) and as "intervenor" for numerous situational problems which require immediate judgement and use of discretion. These contradictory roles tend to promote confusion about officer performance expectations and the use of legitimate authority. Bartollas and Miller (1978:169) posit that:

> the confusion caused by contradictory goals and expectations makes it difficult to know how to do the job. Many are genuinely interested in helping residents but not sure what the best way is -- discipline, treatment, being friendly, remaining detached . . . the problem is compounded because correctional officers receive conflicting and vague directives from supervisors, are not given standards by which they can apply discipline evenly, do not receive adequate information about prison programs, are undercut in their efforts by treatment staff, and do not feel that counselors are around when needed.

Ambiguity of performance expectations surrounding both formal and informal correctional officer responsiblities (and obligations) can easily affect organizational goals which, by necessity, combine "helping" and "guarding" roles. The correctional officer work force appears to be more diverse than many earlier descriptions suggested. For example, Johnson (1977) in a recent study intended to examine "the nature and extent of helping roles played by prison guards," reports that one-fifth of the correctional officers at two New York prisons combined custodial and human service (helping) roles in conducting their duties. In a later phase of this study, Johnson (1979) found that program (treatment) staff made little effort to enlist the assistance of custodial staff as an organizational resource in the delivery of human services. While several treatment staff members had developed limited cooperative relationships with custodial personnel, the relative impact on effective utilization of human service resources was negligible (Johnson, 1979). In addition, over one-half of those officers who were designated as "helping persons" indicated that treatment staff was unresponsive to receiving input from custodial personnel.

Multiplicity of goals and ambiguity of performance expectations is at the core of correctional officer work-related frustration and job dissatisfaction. Correctional officers who adhere to "hard line" custody approaches, i.e., strict enforcement of prison rules, tend to establish considerable social distance between themselves and prisoners (McCorkle and Korn, 1954; Sykes, 1958). Conversely, officers who support principles of fair treatment and rehabilitation usually develop close social relationsips with prisoners and tend to view their work as part of the helping professions.

There are, of course, consequences attached to the use of one approach over the other, such as being seen as a "hard ass" or "easy mark" by prisoners or being subjected to ridicule by fellow officers. There are indications that much of the on-the-job behavior of correctional officers is linked to attitudes and values of other officers. Early studies (e.g, Esselstyn, 1966) suggested that the informal social system of correctional workers can have profound affects on job behavior.

More recent work indicates that correctional officers have rigid norms governing their relationships with prisoners and management. Bartollas, Miller, and Dinitz (1976:200-205), for example, report that custody staff at a maximum security institution for delinquent boys had a normative system designed to regulate worker behavior. Among those norms proscribing appropriate conduct for custody workers were: "unless you have been there you don't know what it's like," "the administration will screw you," "don't do more than you get paid for," "don't listen to the social workers," "stay cool, man," and "be loyal to the team." These norms tend to reflect attitudes and values intended to insulate relatively low status custody workers from organizational pressure and influence over their work.

Duffee (1974) asserts that a "correctional officer subculture" emerges from basic conflict between officer's interests (and perceptions), prison management, and prisoners. While "subculture" (used to denote collective adaptation to commonly experienced conflict) may not provide an accurate characterization of the custodial staff, it points to increased solidarity among correctional officers regarding their role, status, and relationship with higher authority. In Duffee's (1974) perspective, correctional officers perceive themselves as being relegated to the same low-status position within the organization without recognition for their efforts, spend much of their idle time identifying dishonesty and hypocrisy in those above them in the organizational structure, and experience high alienation from the middle-class society. According to Duffee (1974:157):

> guards have discarded the goal of punishment and find in its place only the competing claims of professors, researchers, politicians, managers, counselors, and inmates, none of which they are willing to accept. They are in the anomic position of working for a goal which is negatively defined as the absence of punishment and is manifested by no acceptably measured result and is mediated by no reliably correlated means.

The role conflict faced by correctional officers is not limited to informal work relationships and status within the organizational hierarchy. Frequently, correctional officers discover that few concrete guidelines exist from which to determine the "appropriate" action in response to prisoner misconduct. As a result, many officers (at least the successful) evolve strategies intended to insure smooth-running operations without risking official reprimand for their performance. McKorkle and Korn (1954) assert that:

> the guard is under pressure to achieve a smoothly running cell block not with the stick, but with the carrot, but here again his stock of rewards is limited. One of the best "offers" he can make is ignoring minor offenses or making sure that he never places himself in a position to discover infractions of the rules.

Many correctional officers view the expansion of prisoner's rights to due process, e.g, disciplinary proceedings, as an erosion of their power and authority. Consequently, the acceptable degree of official intervention is determined through experience and varies from supervisor to supervisor. Correctional officers often discover that the "underuse" or overuse" of their authority may result in official sanctions imposed by prison management. For example, Cressey (1968: 485) reports that:

> it became impossible then for guards to find a principle for committing their energy to following rules, to using common sense and discretion, or to an acceptable combination of the two. If a guard enforced the rules by formally reporting all inmate misconduct or potential misconduct to a central disciplinary court, the relatively high frequency of such reports when he was on duty was likely to be taken as evidence of poor performance, with demerit as its consequence. Conversely, if he were detected exercising discretion and overlooking violations of minor rules, he also might receive a demerit, in this case for not being alert to potential danger.

Most correctional officers find it to be more convenient to merely accept the frustration that accompanies less well-defined roles and work styles. As a result, a substantial number of correctional officers carry an excessive amount of job-related stress into many facets of their personal lives as well as their on duty assignments. Increased stress then influences on-the-job decisions and relationships with peers and prisoners.

While stress has been recognized as a primary factor in determining police performance (e.g., Margolis, Kroes and Quinn, 1974; Kelling and Pate, 1976; Kroes and Hurrell, 1975), little empirical work has been done with correctional officers in high security prisons. One recent study of 65 state and 78 county correctional officers attending the New Jersey Correction Officers Training Academy (Cheek and Miller, 1979), found that the major perceived areas of correctional officer stress was remarkably similar to that found earlier for police. Cheek and Miller (1979:22) reported that officers saw the lack of clearly defined guidelines for job performance; facility policies not being clearly communicated to all staff members; and getting conflicting orders from your supervisors as being among the most important sources of job-related stress. Like their police counterparts, New Jersey correctional officers viewed their source of stress as arising more from administrative conditions than from relationships with prisoners, although prisoner violence, such as stabbings, was seen as tension-arousing.

Cheek and Miller (1979:22-23) offer a description of correctional officers according to their survey data:

> The picture . . . from the view of the perceptions of the officers, is standard and fairly cohesive. It suggests impassive, tough men, denying their feelings and weaknesses (the macho image), irritated by their encounters with inmates, probably, when disrespect to their authority is shown, and responding with overt, aggressive behaviors, rather than holding on to their anger.
>
> However, as we begin to look at the consequences of correction officer stress in terms of actual indices, like marital relations, physical health, and job performance, a more complex picture emerges, which suggests that their tension and anger may be denied, misplaced and internalized.

Several aspects of the correctional officer's work was found to be similar to police work, particularly in regard to work-related needs. Cheek and Miller (1979:35-36) report that:

> Correction officers were similar to patrol officers and workers in other occupations in general in that [questionnaire] items related to autonomy and self-esteem were high in their list of job stressors. However, the correction officers rated items associated with role ambiguity higher. This observation of differences in the groups is partially supported by the self-esteem items of the questionnaire in which the correction officers . . . saw themselves as more stressful, happier, important and doing a better job than did the patrol officers.
>
> Perhaps, for the patrol officer, who functions largely on his own, autonomy is a more central issue. For correctional personnel, working within a context of

> a tightly controlled environment, it is more important to know the "right way" to do things so that you do not get into trouble for doing them the wrong way. When guidelines are unclear, it is impossible to know the right or wrong way and criticism and punishment for the officers may become arbitrary and perhaps personal.

Job satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) appears to play a major role in shaping the quality of correctional officer performance and in developing officer compliance with official organizational goals. Currently, there is very little research or literature that directly addresses officer perception of their work and the implication that may have on the prison organization. The few works that have recently examined correctional officer work roles (e.g, Kronstadt, 1974; May, 1976) have not revealed substantial new knowledge or contributed to our understanding of prison work. Typically, officers are cast as an "unhappy lot" suffering from lack of clarity or work roles, fear and boredom (Kronstadt, 1974), confusion concerning relationships with prisoners, perceived lack of opportunity for meaningful input into management decisions, and low self-esteem (May, 1976).

During our field studies we learned of a recent study of correctional officers at Auburn (one of the oldest and most historical prisons in the United States) which provided a carefully focused examination of officers in their work place. Lombardo (1978) interviewed 60 of the 359 Auburn correctional officers in an attempt:

> to explore the dynamics of correction officer work-related behavior, with particular emphasis on forces affecting the exercise of discretion in rule enforcement situations and the establishment of personal relations with inmates; to discover those aspects of the work of correction officers that they find dissatisfying; to describe those aspects of prison work from which correction officers derive satisfaction; to find out how correction officers relate to and deal with one another; and to shed some light on how selected aspects of the correction officer's work might interact as clusters, patterns or types.

While Lombardo (1978) addresses a number of issues relevant to our study, such as considerations in officer recruitment, the content of the officer's job, and how the officer performs assigned duties, we found those aspects pertaining to correctional officers' reactions to their work and working conditions to be most supportive and applicable to our research model. For example, Lombardo (1978) identified several work concerns that appear to parallel work themes developed during our pilot study at Soledad and Folsom. Among those job dissatisfaction themes identified were:

> relationships with inmates (physical danger and mental strain, inmate behavior toward officers, maintaining impartiality);
>
> powerlessness (lack of support, lack of responsibility, lack of effective input); and
>
> inconsistency and inadequate communication (inconsistent policies and procedures, inconsistent supervisory direction, inconsistent and inadequate information received from prison administration).

Other concerns expressed by Auburn officers were similar to those reported elsewhere in the literature, e.g., dissatisfaction with general departmental policy, prison administration's policy towards inmates, prison administration's policy towards officers, role expectations, supervision, conflict between custodial and treatment functions, boredom, and the routine nature of their work.

Lombardo (1978) found that most officers were concerned with lack of support from their prison administration, supervisors, and fellow officers (54 percent) and the physical danger and mental strain stemming from their relations with prisoners (50 percent). From the characterizations provided by Lombardo (1978) it appears that a large part of the officers' dissatisfaction apparently involves a blending of these work-related concerns:

> Given the correction officer's general feelings of powerlessness, of isolation and estrangement from

> his work place, it is not surprising that many officers express dissatisfaction with the prison administration's treatment of offenders. Officer description of their treatment by the prison administration are often similar to those of inmates. "Infantilization" and "dehumanization" are two themes central to the officer's perception of administrative attitudes toward officers . . . Some experienced officers trace the administration's behavior to the introduction of the correction officer's union. Prior to the union's existence, the administration was perceived as more amenable to suggestions from officers and as more communicative. With the union's introduction . . . some officers observed the development of an "adversary" relationship between the administration and the correction officers.

While this important research clearly provides one of the most comprehensive accounts of a high security custodial work group, the findings cannot easily be generalized to officers at other prisons across the nation. As indicated in our research design, a wide (and diverse) range of influences are seen as affecting the officer's view of the work place. These influences, arising in part from external sources such as public opinion, legislative support, and other socio-political influence, as well as those dynamics within the internal structure of the prison organization, may promote highly specialized adaptations and strategies for collective survival within a complex organization.

Our interest in correctional officers was focused primarily on their relationship with prisoner organizations, the prisoner community, and prison managment. We saw these relationships as being influenced by both the extent of officer power within the organization and the nature of their (unresolved) work-related concerns. We viewed correctional officers as occupying an important stratum within the prison management hierarchy. Hence, their primary work-related concerns may directly influence the operation of prisoner programs and activities and indirectly influence the direction of organizational change efforts. It is our judgement that the identification of specific correctional officer concerns may assist our understanding of their relationship with prisoners and prison management.

Correctional officer concerns, in our application, include specific job-related social values as well as officers' perception of their role, position, authority, and influence within the organization. Three major themes emerged during our analysis of our pilot study interviews:

> those in which focus is directed towards prisoners (safety, control);
>
> those in which focus is directed towards other officers (racism-sexism); and
>
> those in which focus is directed towards the prison organization (power, communications and support, resistance to change).

These themes were reflected in our 30 item Correctional Officer Occupational Concern Scale which was organized into six dimensions: power, control, safety, racism-sexism, resistance to change, and communications and support.[2] We assumed that the specific concerns of correctional officers would vary according to the unique organizational dynamics of each research site, the extent to which officers had positive (or negative) experiences with prisoner organizations, and the degree to which they are supported by supervisors and upper management. Each of these influences were seen as stemming from the direct involvement of the custodial work force in organizational decisons affecting those policies and procedures most related to officer's role.

Correctional officer work concerns are central to our measurement (and analysis) of officer support for prisoner organizations. It would appear to be unlikely that correctional officers would support the empowerment of prisoners (individually or through organizations), including the extension of greater decison-making ability, when they perceive their own position within the prison organization as being relegated to low status "guarding" and "order maintenance" functions without an opportunity to provide meaningful input into the policy and procedure development process.

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[2] The specific content and description of each scale dimension is provided in subsequent parts of this chapter.

B. SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Based on the relatively small samples obtained during our pilot study, we decided to discard systematic random sampling methods in favor of defining the entire security force as our intended sample. In addition to increasing the likelihood of obtaining a larger number of cases, this procedure avoided several cumbersome procedures such as providing explanations of sampling criteria to those not selected and using replacement methods. Consequently, our sample at each research site consisted of all security personnel currently assigned to full-time duty. Excluded were those officers on their regular days off, vacation, or extended leave (e.g., sick leave, workman's compensation, etc.) at the time of the study.

Recognizing the increasing influence of correctional officer unions, our research methods included making formal contact with union leadership in an effort to obtain their support and cooperation. In every instance union leadership expressed strong support for the objectives of the study and offered their assistance in gaining the cooperation of rank and file officers.

After our initial meetings with elected union officers, we met again with prison management to review procedures (compatible with the institutional routine of each research site) for distribution of our questionnaire. Our originally proposed method was to have each watch commander distribute and collect questionnaires (placed in sealed envelopes) to all members of his/her command. However, we anticipated that this method would vary according to the established security procedures of each facility and the relative collective influence of the correctional officer union.

Considering the importance of having the correctional officer union sanction our study, the need to neutralize any perception of threat in providing information that may be critical of management, and the practical benefit of correctional officer involvement in this phase of our research, we tailored our sampling procedures to accommodate the special concerns (and advice) expressed by the union and security management. Thus, some variation in sampling procedures inevitably resulted from our attempt to obtain maximum participation of line correctional officers and adhere to established institutional routine.

In spite of these deliberate efforts, our rate of return at most sites was disappointing, ranging from only 14 percent for Rahway (New Jersey) to over 96 percent for Oregon State Penitentiary.

The specific dynamics associated with these differences varied from prison to prison. For example, we discovered (after sampling was completed) that quite often the union membership was divided in their approach to management (e.g., veteran line officers were more willing to work with prison management on many job-related concerns, while younger officers favored an adversary approach). Thus, the endorsement of elected union leadership was not, by itself, sufficient to gain the full cooperation of rank and file officers.

However, all of these dynamics cannot be credited to a lack of influence of union leadership or antagonism within union ranks. A substantial number of the officers we contacted through our structured interviews, informal conversation at lunch and other open-ended situations, expressed disinterest in the study and doubted the relationship between their participation and any significant change in security operations or general working conditions. These officers casually informed us that the questionnaire was an imposition on their free time and that it had been appropriately "filed" in a wastebasket. Hence, some officers did not view our research as facilitating any meaningful change in their immediate work environment.

In addition, several modifications made in our research methods at each site may have contributed to the differences in our return rate. For example, the vice president of the correctional officers union (Council #82) at Bedford Hills (New York) directly assisted the project by personally distributing and collecting officer questionnaires. This departure from our original method of having watch commanders assume responsibility for their distribution and collection was based on several staff-management issues affecting officer attitudes at the time of our study. These current issues included the recent promotion and/or assignment of several line officers to supervisory posts and a growing distrust and resentment of prison management stemming from the enforcement of a mandatory overtime policy. Consequently, in an attempt to avoid having the project identified closely with prison management, we decided to involve the union more directly in our data collection process.

In New Jersey, a state that also reflects strong union influence and a line staff that is distrustful of management, we made a similar arrangement. However, due to a death of a fellow officer at the time of scheduled questionnaire distribution (and the failure of union leadership to honor its stated commitment to assist during this phase of the project), their rate of return was the lowest of all our research sites.

While post hoc explanations provided by correctional officers may not accurately reveal the underpinnings of their poor response, we found several criticisms to have some merit and adjusted our methods accordingly. Namely, several officers stated that the demographic characteristics requested on the first page of our questionnaire were threatening (i.e., "they could be used to identify individual officer responses) and, as a result, they discarded the questionnaire without further examining its contents. Others told us that it was too long and required too much time to complete.

Therefore, prior to our data collection in Oregon, we moved the demographic data request to the last page and labeled it "optional." We also eliminated the Prisoner Social Values Scale items from the officer questionnaire as our cursory examination of other site responses indicated that these data would be of little value in our final series of analyses. Finally, we included three questions pertaining specifically to officer relationships with prison management.

The extent to which these modifications contributed to the higher return rate from Oregon cannot be easily ascertained. During our initial meetings with executive and security management at OSP we were informed that we could expect upwards of an 80 percent return from officers with security management supervising the distribution and collection of questionnaires. Furthermore, discussions with union leadership indicated no dissatisfaction with or reluctance to accept management's role in this phase of the data collection. As we have pointed out in our Oregon Case Study Report, management enjoys a long-standing close working relationship with line security staff and the social structure of the security force readily lends itself to compliance and cooperation with management-sanctioned activities.

Table 8 presents the size of each correctional officer defined population and sample included in our study. As indicated, we obtained an aggregate correctional officer questionnaire sample of N = 381, and 104 semi-structured interviews. While there are some variations in sample size and percentage of the populations sampled, in most instances the combined questionnaire responses and interview data (transcripts) accurately portray correctional officer job-related concerns and perspectives toward their role within the organization.

Table 8
DISTRIBUTION OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICER SAMPLES AT FIVE RESEARCH SETTINGS

Site [3]	Defined Population	Questionnaire Sample	Percentage of Population Sampled	Interview Sample
California	195	43	22.1	19
Minnesota	190	55	28.9	32
New York	156	57	36.5	32
New Jersey	200	28	14.0	15
Oregon	206	198	96.1	15
Total	947	381	40.2	104

The sampling procedures used for selecting interview candidates, and the overall response by correctional officers to our interviews, were without variation and were generally productive at each research site, suggesting that personal contact and one-on-one methods may be more appropriate than survey methods with a work group such as corrections security staff.

We obtained our interview sample from a pool of names compiled from three independent sources: those provided by prison management, those given by union leadership, and from the seniority roster maintained by Personnel. We stratified the interview candidates by seniority, including those who appeared on both management and union lists. Where there were differences, we merely selected an equal number from each list to insure a balanced perspective from our sample. This procedure usually generated approximately twenty to twenty-five potential interviewees. Our final selection gave greater weight to officers who were assigned to prisoner contact posts during day and afternoon shifts, although we included several officers from the morning (first) shift at each site. We also intentionally included all women, a substantial number of racial and ethnic minority officers, and union officers, so their (specialized) concerns were reflected in our interview data. We conducted all interviews prior to questionnaire distribution. This allowed us to establish personal contact with a substantial number of officers and provide a more specific explanation of the study and its implications.

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[3] Folsom officers were used as our second pretest (questionnaire) sample. The interview sample was drawn from Soledad (CTF-Central) officers. Since only minor differences were found between these two correctional officer samples, we have included the CTF-Central interview data as an integral part of our California officer sample.

C. CORRECTIONAL OFFICER DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Table 9 presents the demographic characteristics and employment backgrounds for each of the five correctional officer samples included in our study. These data provide a description of each sample and illustrate differences among correctional officers.

With the exception of Rahway (New Jersey), our correctional officer samples generally reflect the characteristics of their respective institutional security force. As shown, Rahway officers tend to have a disproportionate (57 percent) number of officers in the lower (under 31 years) age category and substantially over-represent (93 percent) whites. According to departmental statistics, we would expect to have only 66 percent white officers in our Rahway sample.

Our data pertaining to correctional officer age present an interesting contrast among research sites. For example, compared to all other samples, a substantial proportion of Bedford Hills officers were over fifty years of age. The data reveal that over 23 percent of the Bedford Hills officers, compared to 18 percent of the Folsom officers, 13 percent of the OSP officers, and only five percent of the Stillwater officers were over the age of fifty. In addition, a substantial proportion (40 percent) of the Bedford Hills officers were between the age of 31 and 40, which would tend to contribute to their slightly higher median age (38.2 years). It should be noted, however, that

Table 9

DEMOGRAPHIC AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS AT FIVE MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISONS

	Folsom		Stillwater		Rahway		OSP		Bedford Hills	
AGE	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 31 years	9	23.1	21	38.9	16	57.1	66	34.7	10	21.3
31 to 40 years	14	35.9	16	29.6	8	28.6	56	29.5	19	40.4
41 to 50 years	9	23.1	14	25.9	4	14.3	43	22.6	7	14.9
Over 50 years	7	17.9	3	5.6	0	0.0	25	13.2	11	23.4
Total	39	100.0	54	100.0	28	100.0	190	100.0	47	100.0
Median Age	32.0 years		31.5 years		29.5 years		34.8 years		38.2 years	
RACE	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White	36	87.8	46	86.8	23	82.1	178	93.2	8	15.4
Black	2	4.9	4	7.5	3	10.7	1	.5	36	69.2
Hispanic	1	2.4	1	1.9	2	7.1	7	3.7	2	3.8
Others	2	4.9	2	3.8	0	0.0	5	2.6	6	11.5
Total	41	100.0	53	100.0	28	99.9	191	100.0	52	99.9
SEX	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	43	100.0	48	88.9	28	100.0	190	97.9	3	5.3
Female	0	0.0	6	11.1	0	0.0	4	2.1	54	97.7
Total	43	100.0	54	100.0	28	100.0	194	100.0	57	100.0
EDUCATION	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 13 years	5	11.6	14	25.9	11	39.3	64	33.2	23	40.4
13 to 14 years	25	58.1	27	50.0	11	39.3	76	39.4	22	38.6
15 to 16 years	12	27.9	11	20.4	6	21.4	44	22.8	12	21.0
Over 16 years	1	2.3	2	3.7	0	0.0	9	4.6	0	0.0
Total	43	99.9	54	100.0	28	100.0	195	100.0	57	100.0
Median Education	13.9 years		13.4 years		12.9 years		13.6 years		13.3 years	

Table 9 - continued

	Folsom		Stillwater		Rahway		OSP		Bedford Hills	
MARITAL STATUS	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Single	0	0.0	13	24.1	9	32.1	16	8.4	16	29.1
Married	30	69.8	35	64.8	17	60.7	147	77.8	19	34.5
Split Family	13	30.2	6	11.2	2	7.1	26	13.8	20	36.4
Total	43	100.0	54	100.1	28	99.9	189	100.0	55	100.0
DEPENDENT CHILDREN	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	14	32.6	23	44.2	14	50.0	64	34.0	33	58.9
1 or 2	22	51.1	20	38.4	10	35.7	90	47.8	18	32.1
3 or more	7	16.3	9	17.3	4	14.3	34	18.1	5	9.0
Total	43	100.0	52	99.9	28	100.0	188	99.9	56	100.0
MEMBERSHIP IN CIVIC ORGANIZATION	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	7	16.3	16	29.6	7	25.0	76	40.2	21	37.5
No	36	83.7	38	70.4	21	75.0	113	59.8	35	62.5
Total	43	100.0	54	100.0	28	100.0	189	100.0	56	100.0
MILITARY VETERAN	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	33	76.7	40	74.1	19	67.9	152	80.4	4	7.1
No	10	23.3	14	25.9	9	32.1	37	19.6	52	92.9
Total	43	100.0	54	100.0	28	100.0	189	100.0	56	100.0

Table 9 - continued

	Folsom		Stillwater		Rahway		OSP		Bedford Hills	
JOB CLASSIFICATION	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Trainee	2	5.4	9	17.0	1	3.7	21	12.2	7	13.5
Journeyman	12	32.4	24	45.3	11	40.7	60	34.9	16	30.8
Senior Officer	20	54.1	12	22.6	14	51.9	67	38.9	28	53.8
Sergeant	3	8.1	8	15.1	1	3.7	24	13.9	1	1.9
Total	37	100.0	53	100.0	27	100.0	172	99.9	52	100.0
LENGTH OF CORRECTIONAL CAREER	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 2 years	3	7.3	13	24.0	5	17.9	17	8.9	13	24.5
2 to 5 years	10	24.4	31	57.4	17	60.7	85	44.5	8	15.1
6 to 10 years	17	41.5	4	7.5	4	14.3	50	26.2	9	17.0
Over 10 years	11	26.8	6	11.1	2	7.1	39	20.4	23	43.4
Total	41	100.0	54	100.0	28	100.0	191	100.0	53	100.0
Median Employment	7.7 years		2.7 years		3.0 years		5.1 years		9.4 years	
TIME AT THIS INSTITUTION	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 2 years	8	18.6	16	29.6	6	21.4	35	18.2	17	30.9
2 to 5 years	9	20.9	32	59.3	16	57.1	85	44.2	18	32.7
6 to 10 years	17	39.5	2	3.7	4	14.3	36	18.8	4	7.3
Over 10 years	9	20.9	4	7.4	2	7.2	36	18.8	16	29.1
Total	43	99.9	54	100.0	28	100.0	192	100.0	55	100.0
Median Employment	6.9 years		2.3 years		2.8 years		3.9 years		2.6 years	

Bedford Hills officers were more unwilling to report their age than any of our other officer samples. That is, nearly 18 percent of the Bedford Hills officers, compared to only nine percent of the Folsom officers and four percent of the OSP officers, did not include their age with their responses to our questionnaire. It is not known whether most of these 18 percent were in the lower age categories, which would tend to make the Bedford Hills age range similar to other officer samples.

Our observations and personal contacts with officers during our field research at Bedford Hills suggest that female officers in women's corrections tend to reflect a much more stable work force. Furthermore, we were also informed by a number of our interviewees that officer positions in men's prisons were seen as being more likely to enhance their career in corrections and, consequently, many younger officers entering the field did not choose Bedford Hills as their first preferred work location.

The extent of employment stability among Bedford Hills officers is revealed by our data. For example, over 43 percent of the Bedford Hills officers had worked in corrections for over ten years, with a substantial proportion (29 percent) having worked at the same facility during that same period of service.

The Folsom and OSP officers represent the only male correctional officer samples that reflect a similar pattern of employment. However, neither sample reflects the proportion of long-term employees of Bedford Hills. Conversely, our Stillwater and Rahway samples represent correctional security units with a high rate of employee turnover. The data reveal that only eleven percent of the Stillwater officers and seven percent of the Rahway officers had worked in corrections for more than ten years. Furthermore, 89 percent of the Stillwater officers and 78 percent of the Rahway officers were employed at their respective institutions for five or fewer years, suggesting that most male officers at these facilities either leave the field or obtain positions in other correctional facilities or agencies.

Our samples appear to be comparable in the proportion of different officer positions represented. That is, with the possible exception of slightly more junior officers represented at Stillwater, the five officer samples reflect similar proportions of junior and senior officers.

The correctional officer racial and ethnic characteristics presented in Table 9 point to a white majority at each maximum security prison we studied. Even when we take into consideration black male correctional officers' lack of responsiveness to our research interests, they remain a minority within officer ranks.

According to departmental statistics for each state represented in our research design, white male officers have historically constituted the majority of the maximum security work force at each research site. Some researchers and writers have pointed to the rural location of most maximum security prisons and their corresponding lack of appeal to most urban black families. Others point to the lack of social and cultural support shown by members of the white security work force. Regardless of the underlying reasons for a lack of racial and ethnic minority representation within correctional officer ranks, our questionnaire samples (unlike our interview samples) tend to reflect the dominant view of white male officers.

Bedford Hills, New York State's only high-security prison for women, is an exception to this pattern. Blacks and other ethnic minorities comprise nearly 85 percent of the correctional officers at Bedford Hills. There may be several factors that contribute to these findings. For example, women's corrections may not have the job appeal to white women that men's corrections has to white males. Furthermore, security positions in women's prisons may be seen as an accessible opportunity system by those minorities who have been traditionally limited to lower paying tax-supported occupations.

Another possibility is that many black and Hispanic families may face a greater cost of living burden, and subsequently do not enjoy the option to have only one member be responsible for their household income.

Finally, while Bedford Hills is located within an upper-income area, it nevertheless is within commuting distance of metropolitan New York City -- which is seen by most racial and ethnic minorities as being a more desirable residential area.

Our data also reveal that a very small number of female correctional officers were employed at the male maximum security prisons we studied. Currently, California has one of the most widely acclaimed affirmative action efforts aimed at expanding the role and opportunities for women correctional officers in male correctional institutions. That is, a substantial number of women are employed in all of California's male correctional institutions. In spite of a high rate of return from women during our pilot study at Soledad, none of the female officers at Folsom at the time of our study responded to our questionnaire. However, even if female officers were represented in slightly greater numbers in our samples, it would not be possible to make empirical distinctions between male and female officers. Therefore, our discussion of the concerns of women officers will be limited primarily to the interpretation of our interview data.

Several additional demographic characteristics reveal differences between officer samples. For example, a substantially large proportion of all male correctional officers were military veterans, with OSP officers having the greatest proportion (80.4 percent). Furthermore, approximately one third of all veterans had served as military police.

Of the three male officers employed at Bedford Hills, two were military veterans. Only two women, or four percent of the Bedford Hills sample, were veterans of military service. Apparently, uniformed para-military occupations, such as correctional officer or law enforcement officer, appeal to male military veterans. Many of our officer interviewees told us that they had also considered a career in law enforcement.

The data also indicate that Bedford Hills correctional officers have the least proportion of married officers currently living with their family. For example, only 34 percent of the Bedford Hills officers, compared to 65 percent of the Stillwater officers, 70 percent of the Folsom officers, 61 percent of the Rahway officers and 78 percent of the OSP officers, were married and maintained intact family units. In addition, Bedford Hills officers reveal a high proportion of both single (never married) and separated or divorced (split family) officers. Only Rahway and Stillwater officers reveal a similar proportion of non-married officers.

The underlying reasons for these differences between male and female officers is not apparent from our data. However, when we consider age, length of correctional career and traditional work roles, it appears that women correctional officers experience a substantially different social impact resulting from their employment.

Our data indicate that OSP and Bedford Hills correctional officers tend to be more active in community organizations than any other officers. For example, 40 percent of the OSP officers and nearly 38 percent of the Bedford Hills officers held active membership in a community or civic organization.

No substantial differences were revealed among the five correctional officer samples for the number of years of formal education. Similar proportions of each sample had completed high school, college and post-graduate level education.

C. CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OCCUPATIONAL CONCERNS

As we have indicated earlier, correctional officer work-related concerns have not been widely studied. Furthermore, as officers have tended to occupy the lowest stratum of staff within the organization, their concerns have not been effectively communicated upward to prison management. It has only been since the advent of correctional officer collective bargaining and union representation that work-related concerns have begun to be translated into formal organizational language intended to facilitate resolution. Previously, most officer concerns tended to be individualized and communicated informally to line supervisors and other lower management "gate keepers."

As prisoner populations in maximum security prisons continue to increase and public servant salaries, status, and opportunities decrease, the relative intensity of correctional officer job-related concerns may be expected to become much more specialized and widely acknowledged within officer ranks.

We attempted to identify and assess the relative strength and importance of correctional officer concerns at each of our five research settings. As we have reported in our pilot study report, the concerns included in our instrument were drawn from a larger pool of concerns expressed during our exploratory interviews with California officers. The instrument, a Correctional Officer Occupational Concern Scale (COOCS), is made of six interrelated dimensions: control, safety, resistance to change, racism-sexism, power, and communications and support. Each of these scale dimensions is composed of five items reflecting officer concerns specific to their respective scale descriptions.[4]

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[4] The item-to-scale and scale-to-scale correlations for all five correctional officer samples are presented in Appendix B for those readers who may be interested in the statistical relationships of our instrument. In addition, a discussion of the reliability and validity of our data is included in our section entitled, "A Note on Methodology."

The design of the instrument provides symmetry across each scale dimension and, consequently, makes intrascale data interpretation much more straightforward. In addition, the findings presented in this section have, where appropriate, been organized by descending rank order to allow the reader to readily identify those items or scale dimensions that (statistically) reflect the salient concerns of each officer sample.

Our semi-structured interviews with correctional officers also probed into each scale dimension in an attempt to explore officer concerns within their respective organizational context. Hence, we will present the subjective assessments of officers along with our empirical analyses of each scale dimension in an attempt to provide the reader with a more accurate and realistic picture of the correctional officer concerns revealed at our five research sites.

(1) Power

> A concern about a continuing decrease in correctional officers' power within the organization. Correctional officers may perceive this loss of power as having a direct impact on their ability to influence correctional policy, the selection (and survival) of top management, and their wages and employee benefits.

Item No.	Content
8.	Correctional officers need unions, because top management too often ignores the views of the custody staff.
20.	Correctional officer salaries will always be inadequate until they acquire the power to negotiate rates equal to state highway patrol or city police officers.
12.	Most of the custody staff I know have very little confidence in the direction set by the central department staff up in the State Capitol.
18.	Correctional officers will never get an even deal until they gain more direct input into top management decisions.

29. Correctional officer employee organizations and unions should be given the right to express their vote of confidence before final decisions are made on the selection of middle and top prison managers.

Our data reveal that POWER concerns ranked first among all correctional officers included in our study. However, the specific varieties of power-related concerns and their relative strength differed slightly among officer samples.

Table 10 presents the mean and standard deviation values for our POWER items. These data reveal almost uniform agreement with the position that officers' "salaries will always be inadequate until (we) acquire the power to negotiate rates equal to state highway patrol or city police officers" (item #20). The mean values for this item ranged from 4.67 for Folsom officers to 4.11 for Stillwater officers who saw the need for officer unions (item #8) as being slightly more important. While most other officers tended to reflect a similar perspective, Folsom officers placed much more emphasis on their lack of "confidence in the direction set by central department staff up in the State Capitol" (item #12).

In addition, most officers strongly agreed that they would "never get an even deal until they gain more direct input into top management decisions" (item #18), indicating that officer POWER concerns extend beyond simple wage parity issues.

With the possible exception of OSP officers, little difference is revealed among officer samples for the relative strength of POWER concerns; that is, the mean scale scores are very similar, with OSP officers reflecting the lowest POWER scale score ($\overline{X}$ = 3.86).

It would appear that the job-related concerns explored thus far tend to reflect officers' views that are not affected by differences in geographic

Table 10

POWER SCORES RANK ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

Folsom			Stillwater			Rahway			OSP			Bedford Hills		
Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s
(20)	4.67	.72	(8)	4.46	.77	(20)	4.50	.88	(20)	4.37	.98	(20)	4.49	.91
(12)	4.42	.91	(20)	4.11	1.19	(8)	4.36	.91	(8)	4.10	1.22	(8)	4.34	1.12
(8)	3.81	1.40	(18)	4.02	.98	(18)	4.00	1.22	(18)	3.75	1.25	(18)	4.21	1.00
(29)	3.79	1.36	(29)	3.89	1.25	(29)	3.93	1.18	(12)	3.72	1.24	(29)	3.71	1 36
(18)	3.69	1.12	(12)	3.63	1.15	(12)	3.61	1.07	(29)	3.36	1.45	(12)	3.44	1.09
mean scale score	4.08	.58		4.02	.44		4.08	.35		3.86	.54		4.04	.44

location of our samples, the type of facility and/or departmental policy reflected at each research site, or the demographic characteristics of the officers. POWER concerns appear to be an integral part of the shared work-related experiences and expectations across officer samples.

With the exception of California officers (who had received legislative authorization to organize for collective bargaining), correctional officers at each research site had formal employee organizations (unions) representing their interests. However, the extent of power and influence wielded by these unions and their ability to directly influence institutional decisions and policies varied from state to state. While correctional officer unions were able to address collective concerns such as wages and benefits, issues evolving from officers' concern for greater control over the prisoner population, their personal safety, and their communications within the organization often remained outside the scope of the union's power and authority. As a result, many correctional officers were very sensitive to their limited role and influence within the prison organizational hierarchy and often expressed a "need" to have their union take a much more active stance in protecting officer interests.

A former elected union officer at OSP told us that before any significant changes can be made, the union must meet with top management to clarify the role of the correctional officer within the organizational structure. He also saw the bureaucratic structure surrounding the Department of Human Resources as being the major obstacle to the acceptance of the officer as a professional worker:

> I would like to see the employee organization and the management take the time to sit down and go over the roles a little better, better define the roles, and have management accept the fact that the correctional officer is a little more professional. I don't think that our basic problem is with our management in

> corrections, I think you have to look at Human Resources and then on to the executive department and the legislature, for the simple fact that all of the people in corrections in this state have been in the institution. But the people who have the power to change, the Human Resources Department, the executive department and the legislature, that's where the real changes have to be made. Those are people who have to realize that we do something besides stand out there and knock heads together, you know, the TV image of the prison guard. (OSP-OF-44)

Another Oregon officer told us that many rank and file officers are reluctant to challenge management's authority. In his view, officers will continue to have the same basic relationship with management until the union gains greater strength and solidarity:

> The officers here, some of them are scared of the administration's retaliation. Others don't go to the meetings, they don't vote on the important issues, and then when something comes down that they don't like, they drop out, they quit, or they scream and yell that it's the union's fault. They don't realize that they are the union, and this is our biggest problem. We've got to get interest in the union generated. I think there's got to be a union, but if the union gets too strong then everybody loses there, too. But I think here the union needs to be a little stronger than most places, a whole lot stronger than it is. (OSP-OF-20R)

Many officers felt that their union was merely a vehicle for asserting a collective voice within the corrections organization. Others, however, viewed their union in an active "political" role intended to influence decisions at a higher level. For example, one Rahway officer viewed his union (P.B.A.) as having substantial power within the state political bureaucracy as well as within the organizational context of the prison:

> The union has got a lot of power. We've got close to 1,300 members. Not just in this institution, but throughout all the institutions. If you have everybody

> voting for a politician, multiply that by three for each family. You have a powerful organization there. We're struggling and a politician won't do anything unless you get him elected. In the past the union wasn't really that much involved, but if it involves security, officer's complaints, or if it's going to cause a problem, then the union will sit down and talk it over with the administration. (NJ-OF-10A)

It should be noted that a substantial number of officers at each prison felt that their union was often unresponsive to individual officer's problems. They represented a wide range of personal conflicts with management that were ignored by their union leadership. In these officers' views, membership and payment of union dues entitled them to support and assistance in employee-management disputes. For example, an MSP (Stillwater) officer saw the Teamsters role as being supportive of officers who may be the target of prisoner litigation. He tells us that:

> I think that's essentially what's involving the Teamsters now. I think in this day and age in the prison context, the lives of inmates have been really focused. Therefore, we are saying as staff that we have to be really careful what we do to inmates, and how we process inmates, and how we deal with inmates. Because if we don't, we're going for criminal cases, OK? So we want some more support from the Teamsters in regard to an attorney, to our rights. If I go into a cell and have to subdue an inmate and in subduing that inmate I break his jaw or really severely hurt that guy, I want to be able to feel comfortable that the union or the state is going to provide me with legal assistance. (MSP-OF-39)

Quite often the union leadership was accused of promoting an implied "service" contract to obtain a broader base of membership support and then fail to honor its agreements. We also found that many officers were unsure of the appropriate or legitimate role of their union and how it served individual members. It appears that the relatively new experience of correctional officers with union representation has stimulated some confusion and unfilled expectations among the rank and file membership.

(2) Control

A concern over the expansion of personal freedoms of prisoners arising from an increase in special privileges, program opportunities or court-mandated rights. These freedoms may be perceived as a threat to the security and custody interests of correctional officers and/or as disruptive to institutional routine.

Item No.	Content
4.	Prisons would be much easier to operate if prisoners who simply didn't want to cooperate with the system were locked up.
17.	Tight security and close supervision are absolutely necessary because too many prisoners take advantage of the opportunities given to them.
*19.	Very few inmates use their special passes or privileges to engage in unauthorized activities.
3.	With few exceptions, the involvement of outside groups supporting inmate organizations is an invitation to disorder in a high security prison.
*27.	In this institution we rarely depend on coercive procedures to keep the peace.

*Reversed during analysis.

Correctional officer CONTROL concerns ranked second to POWER concerns (with aggregate mean values of 3.53 and 4.01, respectively) among the 381 officers included in our study.

Table 11 presents the rank-ordered CONTROL items means and standard deviation for each correctional officer sample. As shown, there are more similarities than dissimilarities across correctional officer samples. The data reveal that correctional officers at all five research sites expressed their strongest concern over a need for "tight security and

Table 11

CONTROL SCORES RANK ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

Folsom			Stillwater			Rahway			OSP			Bedford Hills		
Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s
(17)	4.42	.85	(17)	4.09	1.03	(17)	4.25	1.01	(17)	4.49	.82	(17)	4.15	1.06
(4)	4.16	.95	(4)	3.76	1.23	(19)	3.68	1.02	(4)	3.93	1.29	(3)	3.59	1.13
(3)	3.91	1.21	(3)	3.28	1.35	(4)	3.64	1.45	(3)	3.61	1.22	(4)	3.37	1.22
(19)	3.77	1.07	(19)	3.28	1.16	(3)	3.00	1.09	(19)	3.42	1.22	(19)	3.11	1.17
(27)	2.86	1.04	(27)	2.72	1.10	(27)	2.74	1.35	(27)	2.50	1.25	(27)	2.85	1.39
mean scale score	3.82	.63		3.42	.68		3.47	.74		3.59	.64		3.36	.58

close supervision," which, in their view, are needed "because too many prisoners take advantage of the opportunities given to them" (item #17). In each instance, correctional officer mean item scores were well over 4.00, indicating substantial agreement with this control concern. In addition, most correctional officers appear to favor strict custodial approaches in dealing with prisoners perceived as being uncooperative with official institutional goals. For example, the data reveal mean scores ranging from 3.37 at Bedford Hills to 4.16 at Folsom for item #4, which ranked second or third for all five correctional officer samples. These findings, together with officer responses to item #17, strongly suggest that correctional officers at each site are primarily oriented toward control and restraint in their supervision of maximum security prisoners. However, officers at each research site appeared to place little emphasis on the use of coercive restraints to maintain control over their respective prisoner populations. The data reveal mean values for item #27 ranging from 2.50 at OSP to 2.86 at Folsom, pointing to a relatively low concern among officers for greater use of coercive practice.

These data indicate that correctional officers at the four male maximum security prisons, and the officers at the only female prison included in our study, tend to be very similar in their CONTROL concerns. Furthermore, the differences in both the strength (as reflected by the rank mean item values) and the relative importance (as reflected by the rank order of these values) of officer CONTROL concerns appear to be more related to specific features of each institutional policy concerning prisoner activity than to differences in officer perspectives toward their responsibility for maintaining of institutional security and control. For example, we observed a much greater use of restrictive confinement for "troublemakers" at Folsom, OSP, and Stillwater, respectively, than we did at either Rahway or Bedford Hills. That is, the institutional policy toward the management of prisoners who tend to present management or security problems appeared to be consistent with our empirical findings at these institutions.

Of the five correctional officer samples, Folsom officers appear to express the strongest CONTROL concerns. That is, their mean scale value (3.82) is substantially above those revealed for all other research sites, indicating a stronger concern for the same CONTROL items.

Our personal observations and impressions developed during our contacts with management staff and security personnel are further supported by the assessments provided by correctional officer interviews.

Correctional officers' concern for control within the prison took a number of different forms at each of our research sites. For example, some officers saw the erosion of their control stemming primarily from the articulation (or in some perspectives, the expansion) of prisoners' rights by the courts. Others saw their control concerns as being related to increasingly unacceptable prisoner-staff relations and/or inadequate security procedures and policies. Regardless of the specific cause of these concerns (which were most often linked to current security-related issues), officers at each prison included in our study saw their authority and power for exercising control as being weakened by decisions and policies they were expected to enforce, but which overlooked their interest in providing specialized perspectives.

One officer at OSP told us that the role of correctional officer is being undermined by outside liberals who fail to recognize the inherent danger in lessening institutional control:

> One of our concerns is losing complete control over the inmates, as far as being able to control them as well as we'd like. Such as in a case of violence, to be able to subdue him or put him where he's supposed to be. I think this is one of our concerns, that inmates could probably do something to you and they would not get anything from it. There's so much of these "bleeding hearts" from the outside that don't understand that some of these men need help. And just because we have them here doesn't mean that we're picking on them. But you can't let them walk all over you. I think this is the main concern of the officers, losing complete control, to being just plain guards, just

> plain dummies, standing there so that anybody can throw a rock at them if he wants to. And if he can do it good enough, he can get away with it. Of course, we always worry about if they're going to lessen up on the security in the area. In other words, we don't want them to downgrade it, we want to keep it as tight as it is...for our own protection. (OSP-OF-40)

However, a lieutenant at the same institution provides a broader perspective. She describes the dynamics surrounding the silent abdication of officers' responsibility for control during a period in which prisoners sought legal clarification of the legitimacy of official power and control:

> Well, of course the controls have diminished. The rules have changed through the years quite a bit. I was talking to an officer, she said, "Inmates have so many rights you can't do anything because they've got all their constitutional rights, and the courts have given them these rights." I said, "Now, wait a minute, wait a minute, they've always had rights." And that's what you've failed to realize, it's never been taking rights away from inmates, their rights have never been taken away from them, the few rights that were taken were very specific, they couldn't vote, they couldn't hold a driver's license, and maybe a few others," I said. And you know, the court says an inmate is entitled to every privilege that's not specifically taken from her or him by law. And when inmates began to realize that they weren't dead citizens after all, they began to assert themselves. I think that staff hostility -- that might be too strong a word to use, maybe resentment is better -- probably stemmed from the fact that they, too, were not aware of the rights that existed. I think they were afraid that it might change, they were really afraid. The inmates saw that the officers were being passive during the period of change and they took advantage of it and they became stronger. The officers didn't really know what they should do and what they shouldn't do because the whole staff was in sort of a chaotic condition at the time. Guidelines weren't coming down the way they should have and everybody just came and worked with what they had. Nobody wanted to upset the inmates, I think that's caused the problem. (BH-OF-32)

Many of the CONTROL concerns raised by correctional officers appeared to stem from work-related issues that, in their opinion, had not been adequately addressed by security management. The officers tended to view themselves as being the front line observer of needed security modifications but were unable to communicate the importance of the problem to prison management. Consequently, many correctional officers directed their frustration back to the source (which, in most cases, was the prisoners or prisoner organizations) of the problem rather than seek a more effective channel of communication.

In a similar vein, an officer at Rahway told us that the movement of large numbers of prisoners within the institution presents an undesirable risk to officers. He feels that given the current staff-prisoner ratios, prisoner traffic should be severely limited and that prisoners should be locked whenever they are not engaged in structured activities:

> You can't have too much control on the mass movement because you've got a lot of inmates going back and forth. At any given shift, take the first shift, maybe 50 or 55 officers with all those inmates...what are you going to do? The ratio is about ten to one. Sure, it's dangerous, you have no control. You can't run tier by tier, the only time we run that procedure is when we have problems in the jail. Other than that, we run a wing at a time. You've got to have mass movement to the mess hall, to the yard, or to the shop area, but as far as other freedoms, I feel this way: a man who is not working, or not eating, or is not in recreation, he should be locked up. (NJ-OF-38)

A Bedford Hills officer expresses feelings of indecisiveness emerging from a perceived fear of prisoner-initiated litigation. She tells us that staff and management are reluctant to respond with traditional control techniques to avoid legal implications:

> Well, it has gotten to the point now...I can't say the law has done it, but it seems that the facility is a little bit leery to do certain things. A fear that...a lawsuit is the basic thing now. Everybody's afraid of a lawsuit. So

> I feel they're bending over backwards to avoid being sued. So in the meantime they lose control, because you're not even using the...well, the basic things you can do...we're kind of sitting on the fence and really not knowing what we can do for the inmate. (BH-OF-27)

(3) Safety:

A concern about the increasing stability and volatility of prison populations and the impact it may have on correctional officers' safety. This concern may be accompanied by a perceived decline in the emphasis and priority given to security and discipline by prison management.

Item No.	Content
23.	Correctional officers are not safe here because certain inmate groups and gangs have gained too much power.
13.	Correctional officers should be considered peace officers and allowed to carry weapons while off duty, the same as police do.
*2.	Legitimate prisoner organizations with clearly stated objectives can make the correctional officer's work much easier.
30.	More personal safety for correctional officers ultimately depends on the priority given to institutional security.
21.	If it weren't for information given by inmate informers, correctional officers would be faced with many more situations involving prisoner-made weapons.

*Reversed during analysis.

SAFETY concerns ranked third most important of all six scale dimensions for our aggregate officer sample with a mean value of 3.47.

Table 12 presents the mean and standard deviation values for each SAFETY concern item and officer sample. As shown, only minor differences are revealed among correctional officers. For example, the data reveal that all five officer samples place the greatest importance on institutional security as a means of insuring personal safety (item #30). The data

Table 12

SAFETY SCORES RANK ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

Folsom			Stillwater			Rahway			OSP			Bedford Hills		
Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s
(30)	4.53	.70	(30)	4.44	.66	(30)	4.63	.49	(30)	4.64	.67	(30)	4.46	.76
(13)	4.35	.97	(21)	3.13	1.40	(13)	4.39	.92	(21)	4.18	1.01	(13)	4.07	1.25
(21)	3.74	1.12	(23)	2.83	1.29	(21)	3.93	1.02	(2)	2.86	1.29	(21)	3.51	1.18
(23)	3.19	1.11	(13)	2.76	1.78	(23)	3.07	1.18	(13)	2.77	1.66	(2)	2.72	1.14
(2)	3.02	.96	(2)	2.24	.95	(2)	2.64	1.03	(23)	2.01	1.11	(23)	2.54	1.21
mean scale score	3.77	.46		3.08	.65		3.73	.38		3.29	.59		3.46	.51

also reveal that Folsom, Rahway, and Bedford Hills officers place substantial importance on the belief that they "should be considered peace officers and allowed to carry weapons while off duty" (item #13), while this was not seen as a strong SAFETY concern by Stillwater or OSP officers.

These findings suggest that Folsom, Rahway, and Bedford Hills officers may extend their concerns for personal safety outside of their respective work environment and/or identify strongly with law enforcement roles and responsibilities.

OSP and Stillwater officers appear to place emphasis on their personal safety within the prison. That is, OSP and Stillwater officers' mean values for item #21 (4.18 and 3.13, respectively) indicate that their primary safety concerns stem from a perceived need to maintain informant networks as a safeguard against injury from prisoner-made weapons. It should be noted, however, that the mean value revealed for Stillwater officers ($\overline{X} = 3.13$) is substantially lower than those for Folsom ($\overline{X} = 3.74$), Rahway ($\overline{X} = 3.93$) and Bedford Hills ($\overline{X} = 3.51$) officers on this same item. These data reveal that while the latter officer samples tend to perceive a threat of injury from prisoner weapons as being somewhat less important than their perceived need to carry weapons during off-duty hours, they nevertheless consider prisoner weapons to be an important SAFETY concern.

Of the five officer samples included in our study, Folsom and Rahway officers tend to reveal the strongest SAFETY concerns. For example, their mean scale values (3.77 and 3.73, respectively) are substantially higher than all other officer samples. Stillwater officers, in contrast, appear to have fewer SAFETY concerns than all other officers in our study.

These findings suggest that most correctional officers view personal safety as being primarily related to greater institutional security and expansion (or redefinition) of their law enforcement powers. It would appear likely that these officer concerns would mitigate against any further autonomy and empowerment of prisoner organizations, particularly those that are seen by correctional officers as presenting a threat to personal safety and institutional security.

These perspectives are further illustrated by personal observations and impressions provided by our interviewees.

For example, one Rahway officer told us that his concern for personal safety arises from widespread availability of special machinery and equipment which prisoners use to manufacture sophisticated weapons. He sees a relationship between officer safety and institutional security procedures:

> Your safety is on the line all the time. When you're in an environment where shops are open to the inmates to the degree you see here, and inmates have access to machinery and other equipment, they can manufacture anything they want. Then your life is on the line all the time. Nobody really talks about it. One of our guys went down to the shops and found a couple of shotguns that were manufactured by the inmates. Last year we found a guy who was making a 15 foot ladder who had a shotgun. He even took it across the street and test fired it. There are revolvers being made, and I've seen automatic and semi-automatic weapons. I don't think it's going to be solved unless they change the whole structure of this institution, security-wise. They call it rehabilitation. The shops are open to the inmates and there are not that many security officers down there for supervision. (NJ-OF-10A)

Another officer at OSP informs us that safety concerns are not limited to staff. He expresses a commonly stated fear of officers that a major disturbance may occur while they are on duty and views the majority of the prisoners as being caught up in a situation they would personally choose to avoid:

> There's apprehension not only in staff, but in inmates alike. There's a lot of inmates out there who don't want to see any

> trouble. But being the inmate population, if anything does come down, they're going to have to be part of it whether they want to or not. Then you have apprehension and it's been voiced many times, "Hey, man, I hope to hell if anything does come down that I ain't on duty." It's a poor way to feel for a man who has picked this type of business as a career, but there is a lot of apprehension, a lot of it. (OSP-OF-38)

A woman officer at Stillwater, recognizing that personal safety can never be assured in prison, tells us that officer safety is primarily related to the manner in which officers treat prisoners:

> The safety of an officer here, well, you can never say...You walk in the building, you can never say, will I walk out that door? And that's the point, you never know what will happen. You could fall off one of the tiers, you could fall down the stairs. And then again, your safety comes from how you treat people. That has a lot to do with it. You can be an asshole, or whatever you want to be, and I think that has a lot to do with your safety, walking in here and being an asshole. You don't have to cater to the inmates, but you can treat them like human beings. (MSP-OF-41)

(4) Communications and Support

A concern about the correctional officers' ability to communicate effectively with supervisors and prison management. These concerns may arise from a feeling of being denied important information related to specific job duties, institutional security and job performance expectations. Correctional officers may also view themselves as having little support from supervisory and management staff on their discretionary judgments.

Item No.	Content
10.	Conditions of work and morale have deteriorated in this institution because management has gradually reduced the importance of the correctional officers' point of view.
26.	Most correctional officers feel supported by management in the administration of prison discipline.
14.	It seems like the supervisors here pay more attention to what an inmate has to say than to what a line officer says.

25. The only way correctional officers can be sure of what has happened during the last shift is to develop their own intelligence network.

1. Correctional officers can nearly always count on the support of supervisors and management to uphold officers' decisions and judgments.

Table 13 presents the mean values for COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT items. Just as officer responses to our POWER items tended to illustrate their concern about their diminished role and influence within the organization, their responses to our COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT items tend to reveal frustration stemming from a perceived reduction in support by prison management and a disregard for officer viewpoints on custodial practices within the institution.

For example, our data reveal that correctional officers at each research site see their work conditions and morale as having been deteriorated because "management has gradually reduced the importance of the correctional officers' point of view" (item #10). The mean values for this item ranged from 4.21 among Rahway officers, who along with Bedford Hills officers expressed the strongest concern about this issue to 3.20 for Stillwater officers.

Some differences were revealed among officer samples for their secondary concerns. For example, while Folsom, Rahway and OSP officers pointed to a communications vacuum during shift changes (which required the development of private intelligence networks) as being a secondary concern (item #25), Bedford Hills and Stillwater officers saw greater concern resulting from greater attention being paid to prisoners' than officers' interests (item #14).

Folsom, OSP, and Rahway officers revealed the strongest communications and support concerns with scale values of 3.28, 3.25, and 3.24, respectively. Stillwater and Bedford Hills officers expressed slightly lower concerns,

Table 13

COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT SCORES RANK ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

Folsom			Stillwater			Rahway			OSP			Bedford Hills		
Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s
(10)	3.74	1.14	(10)	3.20	1.39	(10)	4.21	.96	(10)	3.63	1.42	(10)	4.18	.99
(25)	3.54	1.32	(14)	3.19	1.47	(25)	3.57	1.35	(25)	3.29	1.48	(14)	3.54	1.28
(1)	3.33	1.04	(25)	3.00	1.41	(14)	3.32	1.39	(14)	3.28	1.44	(26)	2.85	1.25
(26)	3.07	1.22	(1)	2.96	1.20	(1)	2.70	1.17	(1)	3.19	1.21	(1)	2.56	1.15
(14)	2.71	1.19	(26)	2.56	1.37	(26)	2.32	1.12	(26)	2.83	1.34	(25)	2.48	1.36
mean scale score	3.28	.39		2.98	.46		3.24	.49		3.25	.52		3.14	.49

suggesting that they may enjoy greater support from their respective prison management staff.

Correctional officers, like line staff at any total institution, may never be able to experience a "desired" level of communication within the organization. They may also never be able to feel fully supported by their respective supervisors, particularly in situations involving the use of officer discretionary judgment. Correctional case law decisions had markedly changed the nature of the relationship between officer and prisoner as well as between officer and management. As a result, many officers feel that their ability to make decisions has been restricted and that the security of lower management support has disappeared.

Prison management has not been responsive to these organizational problems. It has not invested in the development of mechanisms for extending recognition of the importance of correctional officers' contribution to the organizational goals. Consequently, correctional officers often feel in competition with prisoners in their relationship with management. They, like prisoners, have realized that the "squeaky wheel gets the grease" and that collective voices are much louder than any single outcry of dissatisfaction or frustration.

Our interviewees at each research site expressed this point vividly. In addition, officers frequently pointed to a lack of certainty of support for many judgments made in their exercise of authority over prisoners. Many of these officers saw their frustration stemming from the ambiguity of their discretionary powers, the inconsistency of responses from various supervisors, and the frequent dismissal of disciplinary charges against prisoners. Some officers pointed to ineffective communications from prison management regarding rule changes and guidelines for prisoner conduct. Others felt that the "new way" of handling disciplinary proceedings tended to undermine their traditional authority and power.

We found that COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT concerns varied among officers to a far greater extent than any of the other officer concerns we explored. For example, while some officers saw their supervisors as failing to provide support for their decisions, others viewed the supervisory staff as extending outstanding support and leadership. Similarly, some officers viewed themselves as being outside the flow of information essential to their posts, while others felt that the amount of information available to correctional officers was sufficient.

These differences in officer perspectives appeared to be related to their ability to develop positive working relationships with fellow officers and prisoners. Many of the line supervisors we interviewed told us that those officers who frequently extended their range of discretionary powers to its acceptable limits were not likely to receive consistent support. For example, a sergeant at OSP with nine years of line experience told us that his supervisors provided support for their sergeant's decisions in nearly all instances except when very poor judgment was used:

> With two exceptions, I've worked with every captain or lieutenant in here at one time or another, and while they may not always agree with me, and we may sit down and have a talk about it later, at the point that it happens, especially if there's inmates standing there that are involved in it, they'll back you. And then they may tell you later that they felt you were wrong, and leave it up to you to get the situation straightened out, which is fine. I think we get very good backing. As long as you use some common sense when you're making the decisions. If you go off half-cocked and you've got a chip on your shoulder, chances are that you're not going to get any backing. (OSP-OF-44)

Another Oregon sergeant, asserting his own position, told us that his practice is to give his line officers support for action requiring immediate judgments, and that he would accept the responsibility of shielding them during an investigation by higher ranking supervisors:

> Well, speaking for myself, any staff member that is working under me, if he makes the decision that, all right, it has to be done this way, it's a situation that has to be handled now, I will back him all the way. We have run into problems with higher supervisors that say, "That was wrong, you should have handled it that way," and they don't back the man up at all, I've seen this. And I wouldn't do it. I don't believe in it. Like I say, whether it was a right or wrong decision, the man had to make it. I'll back him up and if any heat comes down from the supervisors above me, I'll say, "Okay you blame me. That was that man's decision, and as far as I'm concerned it was a correct decision. So you get me; you don't get him." (OSP-OF-38)

However, approximately one half of the officers we interviewed at each prison saw their relationship with supervisors quite differently. One officer at MSP explains that the amount of support given to officers depends on how much risk any given supervisor is willing to take in each situation. He tells us that his supervisors consider the impression their support will make on their own image and reputation:

> I mean if it won't look bad on them, they will back you up. But if it's gonna look bad on them, maybe a rule that they put out and I have to go enforce it, if it's gonna cause a stink, they won't back you. They are going to protect their name. You talk to anyone, you ask this next guy who's coming in, I think he will tell you the same thing. You don't know who will back you or what they want. And we get so many new guys here, that don't even know what's going on. So if you boil it down to these few older guys...if it don't affect their job, they will probably back you up, but they are going to protect their own hide first. (MSP-OF-21)

Officers commonly referred to this as an unwritten standard of "C.Y.O.A." or "cover your own ass (first)." Even officers who worked closely together assumed that individual officers had the burden of defending their own actions whenever their decisions were reviewed by lower management.

Communications within the organization appeared to be closely linked to the amount of support from supervisors. For example, when institutional rules and policies were seen as being clearly communicated, enforcement and, subsequently, line supervisors tended to be more supportive. On the other hand, ambiguity and inconsistency often fostered a reluctance on behalf of the officers in enforcing rules regulating prisoner conduct:

> One thing that is one of the biggest problems, I think, is just communication. For a new officer, it makes it tough because none of the supervisors work alike. You can get away with one thing with one captain or lieutenant or watch commander, and the other one you can't. You've got to learn by mistakes; nobody tells you anything. There is definitely a communiications gap in this place. It's a big one, too. A lot of times they just stick you on a post, you never worked it before, you've got to learn all about the post just by working it, nobody is going to tell you what the hell to do. There's no consistency, that's another communication gap, too. (OSP-OF-43)

Another officer told us that line staff cannot respond appropriately to their daily responsibilities:

> That's one thing at this institution here. And the administration knows it; everybody knows it. The line of communications is almost nil. It needs to be looked at very, very seriously. Something has to be done because the convicts know a lot of times before you do what's happening. They're better informed than the staff is. And this is not a good way to run a ship. If your staff is not kept informed properly and your line of communications is not what it should be, then your staff is not going to respond. They can't respond properly. (OSP-OF-38)

Correctional officers' perception of the need for more and better communications tended to take a very broad scope. Among the areas mentioned as needing improvement were more officer input into larger organizational decisions and more effective information-sharing for posts inside the institution.

One sergeant told us that many rule and policy changes were first seen by officers as "orders to be carried out," rather than as problems for which they provided some perspective. He views lower management as being the only organizational element close to line officers with any opportunity to influence policy:

> It's your line of communications. It's shot down the drain. I have never been -- in the ten years I've been here -- I have never been questioned as to my feelings about any policy, what my thoughts were, what I would think about this policy being changed and so on. The policy goes in where the committees, captains, lieutenants, superintendents, assistant superintendents -- they meet and change policy. The next thing you know, the change comes out, you don't know what brought it on, you don't know when the meeting was, you've never been given prior information. All you know is you walk into work, say in one of the big blocks, and the man you relieve says, "All right, this is the new policy." You say, "Where in hell did this come from, when did this change?" And it just keeps your staff in a turmoil; they don't know which way to jump; they don't know what to do. (OSP-OF-38)

(5) Resistance to Change

A concern resulting from a perceived erosion and decay of the traditional roles and responsibilities of the correctional officer. These concerns may produce staff resistance to change strategies and may signal a personal commitment to maintaining (and expanding) the traditional custodial functions of institutional corrections.

Item No.	Content
*6.	Prison reform should be given a higher priority by our justice system.
*22.	Well-staffed alternative and community corrections programs offer more effective approaches to correcting criminal behavior than large institutions.
*9.	Correctional officers should be working with prisoners' personal growth and development rather than acting exclusively as guards and performing strictly custodial tasks.

15. Given the number of studies indicating that prison rehabilitation programs are a failure, it makes more sense to use prison solely as a means of isolating offenders from society.

*7. Prisoners in this institution should be given much more say in decisions that affect their lives in confinement.

* Reversed during analysis.

Table 14 presents the distribution of mean values for the RESISTANCE TO CHANGE items. Just as we have observed for both CONTROL and SAFETY concerns, correctional officers at each research site tend to express similar concerns about organizational change. For example, the data indicate that correctional officers uniformly oppose greater prisoner participation in decisions that affect their lives in confinement (item #7). The mean values for this item ranged from 4.14 for Folsom and Rahway officers to 4.54 for OSP officers who expressed the greatest resistance to prisoner participation. The data also indicate that Folsom, Stillwater, and OSP officers believe that prisons should be used "solely as a means of isolating prisoners from society" rather than providing what is perceived as dysfunctional rehabilitation programs (item #15).

In addition, Rahway and Bedford Hills officers tend to view community corrections programs as being less effective in correcting criminal behavior than large correctional institutions (item #22), suggesting that these officers have a greater investment in continuing institutional corrections than in evolving community-based approaches. To a somewhat lesser degree this view is shared by all other correctional officer samples.

The data also indicate that all officer samples do not perceive a need to give prison reform a higher priority (item #9) in an attempt to develop a more efficient system of justice.

Folsom and OSP officers appear to have the strongest RESISTANCE TO CHANGE concerns. The data reveal that their mean scale values (3.48

Table 14

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE SCORES RANK ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

Folsom			Stillwater			Rahway			OSP			Bedford Hills		
Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s
(15)	4.16	1.13	(7)	4.17	.99	(7)	4.14	1.08	(7)	4.54	.78	(7)	4.33	.80
(7)	4.14	1.10	(15)	3.04	1.37	(22)	3.11	1.29	(15)	3.24	1.40	(22)	2.74	1.15
(9)	3.16	1.54	(22)	2.61	1.19	(9)	2.75	1.35	(9)	2.94	1.48	(15)	2.56	1.29
(22)	3.21	1.23	(6)	2.40	1.15	(15)	2.71	1.21	(22)	2.79	1.30	(9)	2.38	1.37
(6)	2.74	1.51	(9)	2.39	1.16	(6)	2.04	1.11	(6)	2.64	1.34	(6)	2.30	1.36
mean scale score	3.48	.83		2.91	.74		2.95	.68		3.23	.82		2.87	.66

and 3.23, respectively) are well above those for all remaining officer samples, indicating that Folsom and OSP officers are less likely than all other officers to be supportive of change initiatives that may result in a reduction of their custodial function.

It appears that officer resistance to organizational change, in part, stems from their attitudes toward crime and its correction. A substantial number of the officers we interviewed were strongly supportive of the contemporary trend toward retributive justice. The advocacy of punishment, rather than rehabilitation, was usually equated with a desire for greater restriction of prisoners' rights and privileges. For example, a female officer at MSP tells us that prisons have become too permissive and that convicted felons have abdicated their civil and constitutional rights. She also sees prisoners as having a higher quality existence during confinement than in their respective communities:

> I think the overall opinion of most of the staff members is that the prison environment has changed drastically throughout the years. We've completely done away with the whole idea of punishing the inmate. When he's been sentenced, he has given up his right to freedom, he has to give up all of his rights. He is in a controlled environment, and even though we have control, we don't have too much. The inmates have so much power here that I think the inmates have completely forgotten why they were put here. These inmates are better fed than normal people on the outside. They've got excellent hospital care. I believe the inmates, even though they don't want to realize it, they've got it a whole lot better than they did on the outside. And I don't know, we all feel very strongly that we'd like to see that pendulum swing back so that the inmate does realize that he's here for a reason. They're not appreciating all of the things that they do have, in comparison to how little care they did receive many years ago. (MSP-OF-05)

In a similar vein, an officer at Bedford Hills views a relatively new psychological services program as being too lenient. She tells us that women prisoners with adjustment problems are merely being recycled through the program:

> They've got this new thing someone thought up called a "satellite," and they have a color TV up there, and they've got the women, you know, they're not locked up. So when the inmates feel they need a rest they go up there, and they keep them there for a couple of days. But there's nothing wrong with them, they just want to get away, so they go, that's fine. But what I resent about it is that, what are you doing for this person? Why are you just letting her come and stay a couple of days, and, okay, so she'll talk to a psychiatrist, big deal, what is the psychiatrist to evolve? She's gonna go back on campus and raise hell again, and they're going to send her back up there. (BH-OF-07)

Change that results in greater "benefits" and opportunities to prisoners tended to be viewed with caution and disregarded by many officers. However, when these changes also were seen as resulting in a greater burden on officers, they were resented by the vast majority of correctional officers.

Another Bedford Hills officer, who like many of her fellow officers was subject to mandatory overtime, tells us that she would be much more supportive of prisoner programs if adequate officer coverage was provided. In her opinion, too little attention was given for the officers' time and interests:

> I'm not against programs, don't misunderstand me by any means. I am against trying to have a program on Saturday morning, a movie on Saturday afternoon, and something else going on Saturday evening. I'm against having to pay all of us overtime, and make officers work overtime every other night or something so that these women can be kept busy every day. I cannot see it. They've lost sight of the fact that they have committed a crime to get here. Now they have great big plans for the holidays for them, wonderful. But

> it's also a holiday for the staff. They will cram everything they possibly can in the holidays to keep the little darlings happy. I feel that's wrong. I think they should have programs, but if you're going to have the programs, I think they should have the coverage for them. (BH-OF-45)

There were several officers, particularly those in supervisory positions, who saw change as a desirable (and inevitable) aspect of prison operations. Their concerns were more frequently centered around the process for determining the nature of any given change and the procedures for its implementation. To a large extent, these officers expressed concerns emerging from the relationship between change and communications within the organization, rather than simple resistance to organizational change initiatives.

The following officer at Rahway provides a broad perspective on the dynamics surrounding officer resistance to change and the problems in implementing policy changes within the organization:

> I think one of the cries of the younger officers is how come the inmates have so much. But they don't understand, first place, that the inmates are entitled to it by law, and we don't make the law. We only carry it out. They don't understand that, and the courts have handed down edicts in late years which forced us to change our method of doing business. No question, we have to change, we have to respond. The superintendent is responsible and he issues the order, and we do it. And it's going to be done and there may be flaws and all that; nothing is perfect, but basically the drive is to give the inmates what they're entitled to by law. I think the officers here are just like anybody else in any organization. If there is a change, they just resist the change. You know, "Why do we have to do it that way?" It takes time to get across a change, but they get across. And you'll hear guys gripe about things, but they'll do them. I would say that it would be the same in any large organization where people don't fully understand the reason for change or how to implement the

> change. A lot of times you get changes that are policy changes, and in the process of doing the mechanical part of the change, conflict arises and has to be ironed out and a different tack tried, and so on.

(6) Racism-Sexism

A concern stemming from changes in employment patterns that may be perceived as favoring minority races, ethnic groups, and women. These concerns may also extend to questions about the performance capabilities of these groups and the possibility that they will be given preferred assignments and promotions based primarily on their physical characteristics.

Item No.	Content
5.	The use of female correctional officers in male prisons tends to put more work and responsibility on the male correctional officers and supervisors.
*11.	Nearly all black correctional officers I know perform their duties in a very capable and professional manner.
16.	Except for language, Hispanic correctional officers are no more effective than black or white officers in dealing with Hispanic inmates.
24.	Female officers' assignments should be restricted to non-security posts.
28.	Male corrections officers and supervisors should be given more consideration than females on job assignments.

*Reversed during analysis.

This scale dimension was ranked least important according to the mean value (2.98) for our aggregated officer sample (N = 281).

Table 15 presents the distributions of RACISM-SEXISM scale item mean values for each of our five correctional officer samples. As indicated,

Table 15

RACISM-SEXISM SCORES RANK ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

Folsom			Stillwater			Rahway			OSP			Bedford Hills		
Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s
(5)	4.63	.82	(5)	3.46	1.53	(5)	4.07	1.15	(5)	4.15	1.24	(16)	3.56	1.37
(16)	3.67	1.11	(24)	3.32	1.62	(16)	3.29	1.24	(24)	3.59	1.56	(5)	2.47	1.20
(24)	3.05	1.75	(16)	3.15	1.17	(24)	3.25	1.58	(16)	3.58	1.22	(11)	2.30	1.10
(28)	2.95	1.52	(28)	2.69	1.43	(28)	2.82	1.49	(28)	3.04	1.51	(24)	1.39	.73
(11)	2.42	1.14	(11)	2.19	.91	(11)	1.75	.84	(11)	2.42	1.23	(28)	1.32	.79
mean scale score	3.33	.83		2.96	.92		3.04	.65		3.35	.78		2.21	.45

Bedford Hills (female) officers differ substantially from all other officer samples in their views toward the use of women officers in male prisons. The data reveal that officers at each of the male facilities included in our study express strong disapproval of female correctional officers, asserting that women officers tend to "put more work and responsibility on the male correctional officers and supervisors" (item #5). The mean values for this item ranged from 4.63 for Folsom officers to 3.46 for Stillwater officers. It should be noted that a substantial proportion (11 percent) of our Stillwater officer sample were women, whereas few (if any) women were included in other officer samples drawn from male prisons. The Stillwater female officer views, strongly in favor of expanding the roles and opportunities for women officers, tended to result in a lower mean value for those items that specifically relate to sexism concerns.

The data also indicate that Bedford Hills officers strongly disagreed with decisions that give post and position preference to male officers (items #24 and #28).

All officer samples tend to view Hispanic officers as no better (or worse) than black or white officers in their relationships with Hispanic prisoners (item #16). Essentially, this perspective acknowledges the advantages of Spanish-speaking officers in this situation, but does not recognize additional cultural or social advantages.

None of the five officer samples expressed strong (mean values greater than or equal to 3.00) concerns about the performance of black officers. For example, the mean values for item #11 (for reversed items a lower value represents stronger agreement) ranged from 1.23 at OSP to 2.42 at Folsom, suggesting that most (male) correctional officers accept blacks and other racial minorities much more readily than they accept women.

Overall, OSP and Folsom officers tend to reflect the strongest RACISM-SEXISM perspectives and concerns. Expectedly, Bedford Hills officers tended to reveal less concern about these issues, which in all likelihood is related to their greater representation of racial and ethnic minorities in addition to being essentially an all-female sample.

These findings were not a surprise, as women officers have only recently been introduced into the security force of male prisons. Previously, women at MSP and OSP were limited to special posts such as the switchboard, the visiting room, and the front desk where they provided a "good public image" to official visitors of the prison. Consequently, these posts tended to be viewed as "female posts" by the vast majority of male officers who had little or no previous experience in working with women.

The transitional period in which women entered the security force in the prisons included in our study tended to evoke very similar male attitudes and responses. For example, one common pattern we observed was the casual use of the term "girls" when male officers addressed or gave reference to their female colleagues. Many male officers we interviewed tended to avoid direct reference to women officers by the almost constant use of "they" and "them."

Other male responses were more salient and, in our judgment, much more consequential. For example, a substantial majority of the male officers we interviewed felt that the presence of women officers inside the prison increased the risks of personal injury. Some saw this likelihood as stemming from a need to come to their aid when they would inevitably be sexually assaulted by prisoners. Others saw women as providing a sexual stimulus in an environment becoming increasingly more unstable.

Further concerns about women correctional officers and the performance expectations of blacks and other racial minorities were much more sharply illustrated by our interviewees.

The most frequent justification given by male officers was their doubt that women could perform comparably during crisis situations. For example, a sergeant at Minnesota State Prison, who experienced an early riot, arbitrarily imposes a standard of performance used to measure the capability of women officers during a collective disturbance:

> Women are good in their place. When I got taken hostage, I was sure glad I didn't have to ask for a female to come and help me. They might be smarter than men, and they can do a lot of other things that men can't do, but when it comes to physical stamina like a man has, not too many women have that physical ability to outmaneuver a man. (MSP-OF-31)

Another officer with a long work history at Oregon State Penitentiary expressed a similar concern. He tells us that women would be of little assistance if he encountered a group of prisoners intending to inflict personal injury:

> I don't believe a woman should hold down a correctional officer's job that means coming in contact with prisoners. If I'm in trouble out here, particularly in the yard, and I've got four inmates who are going to jump me, and I blow my whistle and here comes some woman running up to me, this isn't a very good help at all, I don't care whether she's black belt or not. As you well know, if somebody slapped her on the jaw it would probably bust up her face. She doesn't have the strength, number one. Number two, some of these men -- and I'm sure I would feel the same way after being here so long, and actually have the urge, they haven't been around women. I think it's just a temptation to put a sexy looking broad working around them. (OSP-OF-40)

Male officers' concern about their female counterparts' ability to defend themselves against physical attack or to respond during a crisis is somewhat unrealistic and fails to consider the physical strength and ability of many male officers (some of whom by virtue of age, weight, and lack of exercise have little defensive skills). Women officers' behavior is consistently subjected to critical evaluation, while the responsiveness of men during crisis is assumed, without doubt, to be exemplary. This view, however, is not held by all male officers. Our observations are that officers who have been recently hired by the department, and those with academic as well as on-the-job knowledge, tend to have less concern with this issue.

An officer at MSP (Stillwater) who expressed an awareness of the probability of either sex being the victim during collective disturbances, nevertheless sees women as a target of prisoners' sexual aggression:

> Some of the officers are concerned that women officers are making their jobs harder because they have to watch for women as well as the other...you know, if the woman's in the block, they have to worry that she might be taken or something. Personally, I feel that any one of us could be in the same position.
>
> That these women are good looking and pretty, eventually, these inmates are going to find out that they don't have anything to lose by taking one of these women. Because if you are doing life, obviously by taking a woman and raping her, or whatever, in a cell block...What are they going to do, put him in the hole for a year? What does he have to lose by doing it? (MSP-OF-19)

An officer at Rahway sees women as "susceptible" to male sexual manipulation, as indicated by a recent resignation of a female officer:

> Well, look at it like this...in a prison atmosphere where you bring a female in to work, and we'll say you have 500 inmates, the only contact they've had in the past two years with the outside world is through letters and restricted visits. Now we have a female officer who, at times, is going to be in areas out of sight of fellow officers. I'm

> going to tell it just like it is, if I were an inmate and a female correctional officer was in my area, as the word goes, I'd rap to her, and if she got weak, well, then we'd do our thing. The guys are going to talk to her, and they've got to be strong enough to keep their distance, or they're going to get burned. I say this because we've had a couple of incidents here. We just recently had one officer resign, she was fooling around with an inmate. And we had another officer, maybe six months ago, who was given an alternative, either face charges or resign, and she resigned. I won't say that she initiated it and I don't think there's a female who would want to be a correctional officer with the thought in mind that, gee, I'm going into the institution, there's going to be lots of them, and I'm going to pick who I want. I don't think they'd come here with that attitude. I think what it is, after they're here awhile, they might see about it, and this is normal. Males and females were born and bred to either like or dislike, and if a girl sees an inmate she likes, she's more susceptible, I believe, to possibly do favors for him. (NJ-OF-11)

The concern for the "sexual safety" of women officers is not as clear-cut as many male officers may be willing to openly admit. It is possible that this male officer concern may evolve from a linking of their attitudes toward women in the free community and their attitudes toward prisoners (and other social deviants). One possible interpretation is that the male officers' perception of prisoners' "uncontrollable sexual desire" is, in part, a reflection of their own sexual appetites (inhibited by organizational and social restraints) coupled with a basic dislike for prisoners. The prisoner, in this scheme, becomes a handy mirror for revealing male officers' sexual fantasies.

Clearly, the all-male prison environment, absent of normalized social and sexual interaction, psychologically impacts, to a limited degree, on correctional officers as well as on prisoners. In our view, these dynamics would become more like those within the free community when women officers represent a larger proportion of the security force and more experience has been gained by their presence in male prisons.

The male concern for the safety of women was not shared by a majority of female officers. That is, many of our female interviewees saw the potential of sexual assault as a risk they could accept in corrections work and tended to be much less concerned about sexual abuse than their male counterparts. Several of the women we interviewed told us that fear of sexual violence was a constant threat (in prison or the free community) that they long ago accepted as the social reality of womanhood.

One female officer identifies an attitude among male officers that she views as potentially dangerous to all women officers. She also tells us that men react inappropriately to the likelihood of sexual abuse and fail to consider the potential of their own victimization:

> There is a mind set of officer here who feels that women don't belong at Stillwater and they are waiting for one of us to get sexually assaulted because then we will all leave. They think that we will make a mass exodus. And what concerns me is that they (the male officers) might in some way, inadvertently, set up or allow the situation to escalate to the point where that isn't necessary. I might not have the back-up I need just because I am a woman officer. It's a test to see what kind of stuff we are made of, not on an individual basis, but as women officers. As far as that goes, fear of sexual assault is all around us. It goes into the territory of walking down the street, too. I would personally rather be in a sexual assault situation that I could live through, than to have my throat cut. The worst thing that could happen to me here would not be a sexual assault, it would be being killed. And that particular mind set of officer doesn't consider that. They see the worst thing that can happen to a woman as some kind of sexual violation. (MSP-OF-28)

It appears that most male officers fail to completely understand the implications of their "set ups" intended to "test" the performance capability of women. According to our observations, these actions (unsanctioned by prison management) occasionally subjected women to unnecessary security risks and personal humiliation. For example, at one of our research sites, there were official reports that prisoners and officers had attempted to stage a "game" that would have seriously jeopardized the personal safety of a female officer.

Nearly all the women we interviewed at each of our field study sites were extremely qualified, intelligent, and street-wise officers who approached their work in a professional manner. One of the most outstanding traits we observed among our female interviewees was an ability to withstand varying degrees of harrassment and intimidation from both prisoners and officers.

However, nearly all women stated that their primary source of irritation came from male co-workers, not prisoners. The self-control and discipline we observed among women officers appeared to be an unnecessary and counterproductive utilization of human energy which is useful only for self-survival in a hostile work environment. Women, under these circumstances, are forced to submit to the male-established norm of "only the strong survive" or accept posts or positions which carry little opportunity for promotion or professional advancement.

Those who do endure the gauntlet of male performance measures appear to be extremely determined workers with a feminist perspective of the organization. This is not to say that all female officers may be classified as "feminist," but that many women we interviewed expressed an awareness of male socialization and its impact on the formation of barriers to women within correctional officer ranks.

For example, an officer at OSP told us that she did not expect equal treatment because OSP, in her opinion, was a traditional male institution. As a correctional officer, she sees herself as representing a different image of women and that many men cannot make an easy transition to a heterosexual work environment:

> First of all, you've got to understand that this has been a male institution for a long time, so they're very much

> into their macho, into their male-identified place here. So I'm very much a threat to that, and all their wives are at home or they're doing something, but it's not quite as important, so to speak. So for me to come in and expect to be just on the same level as anybody else, and to be treated just the same is an impossibility. We have a very conservative penitentiary as far as attitudes and ideals are concerned, and most of the men around here can't relate to a woman other than as a sex object or in stereotypical terms of some sort, and so it has to take a lot of consciousness raising for them. (OSP-OF-03)

She also describes two reactions by male officers, assumed to be harmless and playful, but which had the potential for undermining her role and authority as an officer:

> There was one sergeant who always used to say, "Hi, babe," when we'd come down. Well, that's not appropriate for this place, on the outside, well, big deal. But down here, the inmates reflect the attitudes of the male officers and for the sergeant to be putting me in that kind of a category, I was no longer an officer, I was a toy. And I have to bring out those kinds of set-ups that maybe a lot of times they don't even realize, because it just comes off as a natural part of their inculturation or whatever.
>
> Another time when I was out in the yard, I was working on the shakedown line, and on the shakedown line you have four officers lined up, and as inmates come down a line, you pick them out at random to give them a shakedown. And you have the watch commander standing behind, viewing the whole line. Well, this one particular morning when I was shaking down this one inmate, they worked with him closely out with the yard crew or something, and since I had only been out there a week or two I was getting a lot of razzing and stuff. I was trying to be very professional, not emotional, and I was shaking him down and the officer and the lieutenant started smirking behind my back at the inmate, kind of making fun of me shaking that inmate down, which not only made me look like a fool and as a joke, but also intimidated the inmate because the inmate has a very male-identified ego, and for a woman to be shaking him down...It really humiliated him, along with making me look like my shaking him down was just a joke. And that happened a couple of times when I was on the shakedown line until I turned around one day and just walked over to the lieutenant and the officer and pointed out the situation to them. I was really angry so they quit doing it. (OSP-OF-03)

While our empirical data do not clearly identify strong negative attitudes toward blacks and other minority officers, our interviews with both white and minority officers suggest that many white officers either carry a basic misunderstanding about minorities or harbor feelings of resentment and distrust.

As we have indicated earlier, attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities do not manifest themselves as openly or as pointedly as officer attitudes toward women. In part, this may result from the ability of male minority officers to counter officer hostility or social rejection on a more equal footing than women. Furthermore, as prisoner populations in most states included in our study tended to reflect a non-white majority, black and other racial minority officers may have a consistency among prisoners, if not among fellow officers. This may alter the "balance of power" and may inhibit blatant acts of racism. The potential for "alliances" between minority prisoners and officers may also soften many of the perspectives white male officers hold toward their minority colleagues.

Several distinct negative perspectives were observed among officers. For example, some white officers, particularly those who had lengthy careers as correctional officers, doubted the performance ability of blacks, suggesting that they were unable to maintain the level of dependability required for the job. Others indicated that racial and ethnic minority officers were more likely to traffic contraband for prisoners. While these views tended to be relatively low-key, and were not held by the vast majority of officers, they nevertheless raise a number of important concerns about racial relations among prison staff.

The following officer, reflecting the viewpoint of a small, but salient, group of whites who question the performance of black officers, tells us that blacks are more vulnerable to the pressures and temptations of easy money and fail to measure up to the standards imposed by the line officers:

> A lot of the problem is that many of the minority staff come up here and for some reason or other, having nothing to do with the fact that they're a minority, they are either lazy officers, lousy as far as their approach with people, or they're on the take. They're bringing in drugs, or bringing in money for the inmates, or something like that. But there's another side of it, too, because finally they say, "Well, it's practically like I'm being accused of being on the take anyway, so there's no reason why I shouldn't do it." It's a real struggle for a minority officer to make it here, I'm going to say that, too. I want to give you both sides of the picture. (MSP-OF-45)

He also tells us that the acquisition of large cars and other material goods make minorities suspect:

> I remember several instances of a black officer coming to work here, he'd go through the training academy, he'd take his courses, get to be a CCII, and next thing you know, he's driving a brand-new big car and all this other stuff. And the next thing you know, the guy gets caught trading off money with an inmate or something. And you wonder, what's been going on, have I been blind? How did he get that new car, he came in here with a junker, and all of a sudden he got rich overnight and he's driving a Cadillac. The same thing has happened with one of the Native American fellows who was here. (MSP-OF-45)

Disgruntlement over the influx of women and racial and ethnic minorities is a counterproductive, but predictable, reaction in an employment area traditionally dominated by white male interests. California may well have the edge on most other states in fulfillment of its commitment to affirmative action principles, but this policy has not been generously accepted by line staff who feel threatened by a recent "advantaged" minority.

For example, one officer in California told us that the Department of Corrections plays ethnic politics with promotion and career enhancement:

> There are too much politics in the Department of Corrections -- too liberal. If you do not believe me, examine the turnover rate here at CTF-Central over the past five years. Why do so many C.O.s quit? And look who is getting promoted, qualified people, no! Promotion is based on who gets along, by what race you are, black, Mexican, and lately, sex. Females working only a few years become lieutenants, sergeants, and associate superintendents. (SO-OF-11)

Affirmative action in corrections is an extremely complex issue and it appears that equitable solutions are difficult to evolve. Employment practices and promotional policies resulting from efforts to correct an imbalance which has historical roots, to some officers, smacks of short-term "injustice." This perspective was adamantly expressed by one officer whose father also worked as a career correctional officer:

> I'm speaking of whites now, we recognize a need for minorities in the prison system and into other areas, and we recognize their right to gainful employment. However, we had to work our way up to it, nobody came in and handed me the silver platter and said, "go to it." I had to earn what I got, but to see females or minorities come in and just be handed it (jobs and opportunities) is very depressing. Not only that, the quality of people they select is an atrocity. I don't know where they get off going down and recruiting at an unemployment office. If a guy is at an unemployment office, he's down there because he's lame, he can't hold a job as a dishwasher. So why the hell recruit him to work in a prison? It's ridiculous. (SO-OF-16)

According to our observations, only Bedford Hills had a proportion of racial minorities among officers similar to that of the prisoner population. Racial and cultural differences not only between officers and prisoners, but among officers as well, appear to promote a greater reliance on coercive methods of control.

Many white officers, inexperienced in social relationships with blacks, particularly those from urban communities, lack the flexibility to develop effective working relationships with their black fellow officers. Their relationships with prisoners, in many instances, are bonded by the use of coercive force, rather than by human concern and understanding. White officers tend to see black prisoners and social misfits as one of the same because their observation of black culture has been largely tempered by their power and control over black convicted offenders. As a result, many of the problems in race relations with prisoners, as well as with fellow officers, stems from an ignorance of black culture and social dynamics.

For example, we learned that minority officers often experienced many of the same "tests" that female officers do in working as a fellow officer. Many officers (black and white) told us that black officers were often asked to intervene in a potentially volatile situation involving black prisoners because "blacks are more effective in dealing with hostile prisoners." It was common for white officers to admit their inability to respond effectively (de-escalation) to hostile black prisoners and point to a need for more black officers to control prisoners, rather than address the spirit of affirmative action principles. However, their lack of experience in working with blacks tends to reveal their motives:

> We have several black sergeants and a black lieutenant, and simply because they are black and have grown up in a situation that's very familiar to most of the inmates, their ability to calm down a cell hall, especially at a time when there's a black uprising or unrest, is incredible. And I think they're needed very much because they can go in and say a few words like, "Look, you motherfuckers, calm that shit down, the shit stops now or we'll bring..." And I can say these things, but I have trouble getting the rap down, they don't, so they're very effective people. (MSP-OF-45)

Blacks, who were willing to express their candid observations and impressions about their fellow workers, saw the same picture, but from a different perspective. We found that younger blacks were more willing to share their experiences, while older officers who had been correctional officers for lengthy periods were somewhat reluctant to draw the same conclusions.

One officer we interviewed (outside of the prison setting for fear of being identified) was very blunt about his experiences with white officers. He told us that he became aware of racial differences and role expectations since the early weeks of his training and that whites were ready to pit him against hostile black prisoners to test his effectiveness:

> From my account, I saw that I was going to be the "token," even when I was in training. The guy I worked for eventually made statements to the effect that he thought that I was too slow, which was brought to my attention by other people. So already, it was happening when I got here. What they used to do was, the guys who were established were trying to set me up in situations, hoping that I would fail, that I would look bad in these situations. It didn't work that way, they didn't have enough yang to set me up, period. Like so and so would be on the phone too long, and they would say, "You go down there and tell him to get off the phone." They expected this guy to blow up, and I'd just go down there and tell him, "Look here, time's up, and you have to go." No problem, see, being black, I really had an edge on them. They (the white officers) are looked at as the "system." I'm looked at as "what the fuck are you doing here?" I just told them quite frankly how I felt about the whole thing, "Were I not here, you would have a harder way to go." (MSP-OF-35)

Black prisoners tend to support the perspectives of black officers, although they often have interpersonal disputes with members of the same race, but of a completely different nature. One black 53-year-old prisoner told us that systematic stereotyping of TV and the lack of earlier contacts with black culture contributes to the racial conflict:

> You have a lot of guards in here who never have any communication with black people at all until they start working here. They've never had any contact with a black

> man at all until they started working here. See, a white man is from up north, never had any communication with a black man in his whole life, you put him in this environment where he's with blacks, and all he's read in history all his life is the black man was a slave and he was the master. He sees this all the time on TV, Tarzan and Jane, you know. You see, a lot of white people are brainwashed and the black people are brainwashed. You take Tarzan, he's white, and Jane's white, and they live in the jungle and rule the whole jungle and all the African tribes. You see Wonder Woman on TV, she's a white woman, so naturally the kids feel a complex about themselves. And all the things that we portray on TV, like Starsky and Hutch, we're dope dealers and snitches. (MSP-IN-04)

The empirical data and interview excerpts presented thus far have indicated that correctional officer work-related concerns are vastly similar at each of our five research settings.

Table 16 presents a summary of the mean and standard deviation values for the six Correctional Officer Occupational Concern Scale dimensions. As shown, few differences are revealed among officer samples for mean values of CONTROL, SAFETY, and POWER concerns, suggesting that these may be common job-related concerns shared by the vast majority of correctional officers in maximum security prisons. Similar agreement is illustrated for COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT. However, Stillwater officers tend to express considerably less concern about their communications with supervisors and support by prison management.

The greatest differences among officer samples are revealed in the mean values of RESISTANCE TO CHANGE and RACISM-SEXISM which possibly correspond to attitudes and values not necessarily shared by the majority of officers. That is, it may be possible for some correctional officers to share common concerns about POWER, SAFETY, and CONTROL but maintain personalized concerns about the role of racial minorities or women officers and change initiatives within the organization. In this instance, we would expect to observe differences within as well as between officer samples. Unfortunately, our samples do not permit

Table 16

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OCCUPATIONAL CONCERN SCALE SCORES

	Folsom		Stillwater		Rahway		OSP		Bedford Hills	
Scale Dimension	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s	$\bar{X}$	s
Control	3.82	.63	3.42	.68	3.47	.74	3.59	.64	3.36	.58
Safety	3.77	.46	3.08	.65	3.73	.38	3.29	.59	3.46	.51
Resistance to Change	3.48	.83	2.91	.74	2.95	.68	3.23	.82	2.87	.66
Racism-Sexism	3.33	.83	2.96	.92	3.04	.65	3.35	.78	2.21	.45
Power	4.08	.58	4.02	.44	4.08	.35	3.86	.54	4.04	.44
Communication and Support	3.28	.39	2.98	.46	3.24	.49	3.25	.52	3.14	.49

the use of analysis methods which are designed to assess this type of relationship.

Earlier in this chapter we identified some of our problems in obtaining sizable correctional officer samples and expressed a concern about the reliability of our data. We stated that at least one questionnaire sample (Rahway) did not appear to be representative of its respective security force.

These methodological concerns have not disappeared. Nor have they allowed us to perform the kinds of analyses we feel our instruments would permit under different circumstances. However, it appears that we may have subjected ourselves to more self-criticism than was warranted.

For example, recognizing the relatively small samples obtained at each of our field study sites, we made a special effort to obtain a larger sample at our final research site in Oregon. As we have indicated, this coincided with favorable conditions such as a highly cooperative line and management staff. Consequently, we were able to gather data from nearly 98 percent of the OSP officers.

We anticipated that differences in sample size, as well as differences in policy and procedures at each research setting, would be reflected in officer responses to our COOCS items and scale dimensions. Obviously, with two possible sets of influences it is extremely difficult to accurately determine the "source" of measurement differences. However, such a dilemma has not presented itself as the data presented thus far convincingly indicate that with the exception of the employment of female officers, correctional officers' occupational concerns tend to be very similar regardless of site or sample differences.

CHAPTER 4

MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISONERS

A. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Research on prisonization and social organization of prisoners has attracted substantially more attention in the prison research literature than correctional officers, prison management, or the prison organization. Most early studies tended to view the prisoner society as a unitary, holistic association of prisoners sharing common cultural origins and concerns (Clemmer, 1940; Sykes, 1958). Prisoners were characterized as being expected to demonstrate their loyalty and solidarity against the prison administration. In this vein, the "inmate code" was seen as a reflection of subcultural norms and values. Furthermore, much of the earlier sociological work tended to focus on social roles within the prisoner community and described how prison subcultures (combined with institutional influences) mitigate against official goals (Caldwell, 1956; Giallombardo, 1966; Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Schragg, 1944; Ward and Kassebaum, 1965).

The theoretical framework with which most early studies began was based on the assumption that prison subcultures emerge in response to prison-related deprivations (Sykes, 1958; Sykes and Messinger, 1960). This view has received criticism from more recent scholars. Irwin and Cressey (1962) and Irwin (1970), for example, have characterized the Sykes (1958) model as a "functional-structural approach which assumes indigenous origin." They argue that patterns of social organization which emerge in confinement settings are not entirely indigenous. Instead, the roots of prisoner social organization are tied to the larger criminal subculture. In Irwin's (1970) view, the early perspectives do not take into consideration external factors such as subcultural commitments and criminal identities. For example, many prisoners enter prison with firmly established criminal orientations and identities.

Consequently, these influences play a major role in the development of social relationships within the prisoner community.

The prison literature contains a preponderence of research on prisonization. Two major concerns can be identified. First, prisonization is seen as a process by which prisoners adopt the tenets of the inmate code. Research of this type can provide greater understanding of the internal mechanisms of the prisoner community. Secondly, prisonization is seen as an independent variable related to a range of adaptive behavior within and beyond the confines of the institution.

Numerous attempts have been made to develop objective measures to assess the extent to which prisoners identify with sub rosa values, attitudes, and normative behaviors (e.g., Thomas and Foster, 1972; Thomas, 1973; Thomas and Poole, 1975; Thomas and Zingraff, 1976). Most early studies attempted to identify relevant dimensions of prisoner assimilation and/or identification with prison subcultures. As a result, a number of different approaches have been used. For example, Wheeler (1961) conceptualized prisonization as the degree of adherence to the inmate code - measured by the extent to which prisoners were in low conformity to staff norms. Others (e.g., Glaser, 1964; Wellford, 1967; Schwartz, 1971) have used similar measures. Tittle (1968, 1970) and Thomas (1973, 1976, 1977) have developed prisonization scales which correspond to the prisoners' endorsement of items describing normative attitudes and behaviors of the prison subculture and rejection of official goals and values.

Thomas (1977), in recent work (drawn from numerous earlier studies), developed an instrument using seven operational measures of prisonization; powerlessness, postprison expectations, normative assimilation, social role adaptation, opposition to the prison organization, criminal identification and opposition to the legal system. Using multivariate methods, Thomas (1977) examined both determinants and consequences of normative assimilation and role adaptation. The data indicate that preprison factors (e.g., age at first convictions, social class, etc.) play a substantial role in the degree of normative assimilation and formation of antinormative roles during imprisonment. Conversely, prisoners with positive postprison expectations tended to be less alienated by their prison experiences and less likely to become assimilated into the prisoner community. Thomas (1977) also found that assimilation variables (degree of normative assimilation and antisocial prison roles) were strongly related to negative attitudes toward the prison organization, opposition to the legal system, and criminal identification. According to Thomas (1977), these findings suggest that coercive organizations such as maximum security prisons, are least likely to attain any rehabilitative goals. Rather, they are more likely to foster attitudinal changes which are related to postrelease involvement in criminal activity. Similar findings have been reported by Thomas and Zingraff (1976), Thomas and Foster (1976), and Cage and Thomas (1977).

Most of these studies tended to view prisonization as being related to the impact of the institutional environment. Thus, length of sentence served and exposure to antinormative value systems are seen as indicators of prisonization. In an attempt to determine the relationship between prisonization variables and institutional environment, Akers, Hayner, and Guninger (1977) conducted a comparative study of five different countries: the United States, Mexico, England, West Germany, and Spain. Akers, et al. (1977:530) assumed that "if variations in the harshness of incarceration make for variation in the degree of prisonization they should do so in a similar way from one society to the next."

Most of their findings offer support to both the "importation" and "deprivation" models of prison subcultures. Akers, et al. (1977), like many American and British prison studies, found a greater degree of prisonization (social distance between prisoners and staff and positive or negative orientation toward the prison and its program) in the more custodial institutions. While prisoners' perception of a hostile environment was present in all five prison populations, substantial differences were found amongst treatment, intermediate, and custodial institutions. Akers, et al. (1977) suggest that total institutions create a condition which demands collective solutions to common problems of adjustment, but the type of solutions evolved and the tendency to become prisonized are tied to preprison experiences.

The literature concerning women in confinement departs in essential details from the male prison literature. Throughout, it is implied or stated that the problems of women and their patterns of social interaction in prison differ considerably from those of males (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Heffernan, 1972; Fox, 1975). The difference between male and female prisoners' adaptive styles has been explained as a product of different patterns of socialization, cultural experiences, and sex roles. According to Giallombardo (1966), several aspects of the larger culture of women are brought into the prison community and influence women's primary social relationships during imprisonment. For example, many women face imprisonment with a degree of uncertainty regarding the care and custody of their children and the stability of their family relationships. As a result, the structure of the female prisoner community tends to reflect needs and concerns commonly associated with the "female role" of the larger society.

One of the few empirical studies of the female prisoner community has provided a slightly different perspective on the "solidarity" model of prison subcultures. Heffernan (1972), using an approach developed from Schrag's (1944) role types, found three major variations within the female prisoner community. According to Heffernan (1972), the female social system is composed of multiple subsystems, each reflecting its own values, norms, and means of group support. Heffernan (1972:38) asserts that:

> . . . the varying orientations to prison life are related to existing systems of interaction that function within the institution. In other

> words, women who come into prison from a conventional background, the "rackets," or "off the street," can find like-minded companions who share their reactions to imprisonment and may introduce them to alternative ways of "making out" during their prison lives.

Like the literature concerning the nature of the male prisoner community, the women's prison literature suggests that prison subcultures encompass a wide variety of free world roles and lifestyles. While it is recognized that the prison subculture may provide "solutions" for many prison-related deprivations, these strategies are often tied to values and experiences of the free community. Thus, many behavior patterns are "imported" into the prison community and serve to differentiate a large number of roles and attitudes.

Empirical research has indicated that prisoners tend to hold more negative attitudes toward the law and legal institutions than do non-institutionalized populations (Reckless, 1965; Toroo, et al., 1968). It should be noted, however, that the organizational structure of correctional institutions plays a major role in shaping these attitudes. For example, oppositional values and attitudes, as well as patterns of assimilation into the prisoner community, are more readily observed within high security prisons, particularly those which emphasize coercive control. However, Smith and Hepburn (1979), in a recent work, found prisoner opposition to the prison organization and alienation to be higher in maximum and minimum security prisons than in medium security prisons. They (1979:259-260) indicate that:

> Whereas alienation among inmates within maximum security prisons is a result of absolute, objective deprivation, alienation may result among minimum security prison inmates due to relative, subjective deprivation . . . Alienation may also be high among inmates in minimum security prisons because of the unstructured environment within which they live. Inasmuch as force or its threat are control mechanisms even in minimum security prisons, high levels of inmate alienation are expected. The significantly

> more punitive staff attitudes found at minimum security prisons may be transmitted by word and deed to the inmates. When the presence of such force is combined with vague, ambiguously defined rules that are arbitrarily enforced, the inmate may indeed become even more alienated than his counterpart at a prison with clear rules and uniform enforcement.

These findings suggest that the nature of coerciveness within organizations, as well as the extent of its application, may be important considerations in the formation of anti-normative values and attitudes among prisoners.

Faine and Bohlander (1977:60) examined the presence of radical attitudes among male prisoners upon admission to a large reformatory (first week), during the early stages of confinement (fifth week), and approximately during the ninth month in an attempt to assess the "patterns and extent of politicization produced by pre-prison experiences and the subsequent solidification of a radical world-view as nurtured by the manifest deprivations of incarceration." Three "subsets of attitudinal variables": denial of systemic legitimacy; perceived class oppression; and advocacy of revolution were used to measure prisoner radicalization.

Faine and Bohlander (1977:63), examining the first of their three radicalism scales (denial of systemic legitimacy), report that:

> Well over half of the prisoners interviewed indicated the belief that the state does not adequately protect and guarantee the rights and civil liberties of the imprisoned. Social control efforts as carried out through the system of social justice are perceived as inherently unfair, unduly harsh, discriminatory, and implicitly an illegitimate implementation of coercive power . . . this implicit sense of social injustice is not simply an emergent quality of the actual prisonization process, but in large part is an attitude set developed prior to imprisonment -- perhaps affected by the pre-prison actions of the criminal justice process -- and imported into the

> prison. Thus, the process of imprisonment serves to solidify and aggravate, but generally not to originate, a frame of reference among inmates through which they see themselves as the unwilling victims of the exercise of discriminatory power.

Simlar findings were reported for perceived class oppression; Faine and Bohlander (1977:65) posit that:

> Feelings of being oppressed and powerless also seem to originate in pre-prison experiences. These imported attitudes then serve to aggravate the expected level of alienation which is present when prisoners are first admitted to confinement.

Data from the advocacy of revolution scale (1977:66) suggest that prisoners' perception of the conditions surrounding their imprisonment tend to kindle consideration of violent solutions for commonly experienced problems:

> Although only 17% of those inmates interviewed responded that violence was the only way to change the system, by the ninth month of imprisonment revolutionary fervor and a strong propensity for involvement in radical action -- a form of incipient violence -- was clearly endorsed by between one-half and two-thirds of the sample.

These findings raise a number of serious questions concerning the formation of anti-normative attitudes and values during confinement. The traditional view that prisoners are more or less a community of common interests concerned primarily with enhancing their status, role, and conditions of confinement by evolving specialized modes of collective adjustment is open to serious debate.

Contemporary prisoners and prison organization has changed markedly during the past decade. Most noticeably, state prisoner populations have continued to increase in spite of numerous court orders prohibiting overcrowded conditions. According to a recent LEAA report, over

275,000 prisoners were confined in state facilities at the end of 1978, an increase of 10,600 over the previous year.

As maximum security prisoner populations continue to increase, internal (and organizational) conflict may be expected to intensify and become more specialized. Recent works (e.g, Irwin, 1980; Jacobs, 1977) point to racial and ethnic conflict and polarization as being one of the primary factors in prison organization discord.

Racial self-segregation has always existed in prisons, and we cannot realistically expect prisoner communities to be less racially divided than free society, but the degree to which race and ethnicity has become a basis for prisoner social organization and prison management decisions is unprecedented in contemporary corrections.

Irwin (1980) asserts that these influences have promoted a more obvious manifestation of racism:

> Races, particularly black and white, are divided and hate each other. In general, prisoners distrust most other prisoners whom they do not know well . . . Other than race, prisoners retreat into small orbits based on social characteristics, such as; (1) criminal orientation; (2) shared pre-prison experiences (i.e., coming from the same town or neighborhood and having been in other prisons together), (3) shared prison interests, and (4) forced proximity in cell assignment or work.
>
> The hate and distrust between white and black prisoners is the most powerful source of divisions. Black prisoners not only hate but disrespect white prisoners and blame them for their oppression.
>
> White prisoners, whether or not they were racially hostile before prison tend to become so after experiencing prison racial frictions.

These racial pressures, according to Irwin (1980) and others, e.g., Davidson, 1974; Carroll, 1974, 1977; Jacobs, 1975, 1977, have reshaped traditional prisoner roles and the dynamics of the prisoner social system. The former "convict" role (Irwin, 1970) appears to have been replaced with a newly emerging "convict identity" (Irwin, 1980) that no longer reflects values held by the larger prisoner community. Instead, new convict identities reflect specialized adaptations to contemporary prison influences (Irwin, 1980):

> Today, the respected public prison figure -- the "convict," or "hog" -- stands ready to kill to protect himself, maintains stong loyalties to some small group of other convicts (invariably of his own race) and will rob and attack or at least tolerate his friends robbing and attacking other "weak" independents or his and his friend's foes. He openly and stubbornly opposes the administration even if this results in harsh punishment. Finally, he is extremely assertive of his masculine sexuality even though he may occasionally make use of the prison homosexuals or less often enter into more permanent sexual alliances with a "kid."
>
> . . . prisoners who embrace versions of this ideal and who live according to it with varying degrees of exactitude dominate the indigenous life of the large violent prisons. They control the contraband distribution systems, prison politics, the public areas of the prison and any pan-prison activities, such as demonstrations and prisoner representative organizations. To circulate in this world - the "convict world" - one must act like a "convict" and with a few exceptions have some type of affiliation with a powerful racial gang.

Racial and ethnic gangs have become a major concern in a number of state prison systems, such as California, Illinois and Arizona. The activities of gangs and gang-related violence has contributed to a substantial shift in prisoner social values, including a greater acceptance of inter-racial victimization and predatory violence, closer social relations with prison guards (most frequently among whites and ethnic "independents"), and a greater willingness to use collective action for the resolution of problems stemming from restrictive policies and procedures of prison management. Prisoner violence, or acceptance of violence as a means of resolving conflict, appears to be one of the more obvious indications of this shift in values. Conventional prisoner values, manifested in stable prisoner communities, tend to inhibit violence or at least restrict its use to personal vendettas and defense of integrity or reputation.

Ethnic-related conflict emerging from gang activities also tends to make violence and victimization more commonplace and, consequently, an available social role for young ethnics seeking status and acceptance from their respective ethnic groups. Hence, the normative system of the prisoner community may serve to intensify criminal values and attitudes in much the same way that the official responses of the prison system served to heighten radical political views (Faine and Bohlander, 1977).

The assertion that prisoner populations are more criminally oriented has not been systematically examined. The absence of reliable baseline data on criminal involvement makes it extremely difficult to pursue a longitudinal investigation, which would be one method of addressing this question. Furthermore, there is little agreement among sociologists and criminologists on what actually constitutes "criminality" or how it may be reflected in attitudes and values.

Many perspectives of criminality have been based on subcultural theory. Among these views are those that posit that subcultural members subscribe to values which are oppositional to the values and norms of larger society (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955); that they adhere to values derived from peer group associations (Thrasher, 1927; Sutherland, 1947; Miller, 1958; Yablonsky, 1963); that they respond to the absence of social controls (Hirschi, 1972; Briar and Piliavin, 1965); and that they become "deviant" as a consequence of society reactions to their unconventional behavior (e.g., Lemert, 1951; Becker, 1963; Erickson, 1962).

The early work of Sutherland (1939) suggests that criminal behavior patterns are acquired in association with intimate groups and through personal relationships with those involved in delinquent and/or criminal behavior. According to Sutherland (1939), these groups provide a frame of reference from which members learn specific techniques for participating in criminal activity, procedures for avoiding arrest, and attitudes consistent with and supportive of the lifestyle of members of the group.

Daniel Glaser (1956:440) presents a reformulation of the Sutherland theory. He introduces the concept of differential identification as being central to the process by which criminalization takes place.

Developing his assessment of Glaser's theory of "differential identification," Stratton (1967:259) employed objective measures to test the hypothesis that "attitudes favoring violation of the law will be positively associated with criminal reference group orientation." His scale was comprised of four dimensions: (1) Criminal Identification (which measures the similarity the respondents saw between themselves and the "general" criminal population); (2) Associated Preference (which assesses the degree to which respondents prefer to associate with law breakers); (3) Inmate Loyalty (which dealt with the respondent's willingness to trust, share with, or sacrifice for his fellow inmates); and, (4) Violation of the Law (items selected from a previously developed scale by Rundquist and Sletto (1936) that reflects the individual's attitudes toward the law).

Cohen (1955), focusing on the development of delinquent subcultures, saw the crucial condition for the emergence of a subculture as being the interaction of a number of individuals with similar cultural and social adjustment problems. He further states that persons who are normally denied an opportunity to achieve status in the parent culture may resolve their social conflicts by seeking collective solutions which includes the establishment of new norms, new criteria for status and achievement, and by engaging in conduct which is valued by peers.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) carry this line of theoretical reasoning to a slightly different level. They assert that the relative availability of legitimate and illegitimate opportunities for achieving status and success influence the adjustment problems leading to deviant behavior. Thus, members not only must be denied entrance to conventional opportunity systems, but also must have access to illegitimate means of obtaining status.

Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) have developed a more descriptive analysis of subcultural relationships. In their work on the "subculture of violence," they assert that:

> an expression of violence is a part of a subcultural normative system, and that this system is reflected in the psychological traits of the subcultural participants.

Thus, a specific manifestation of subcultural behavior, such as violence, may be seen as being normative within that group. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) like most subcultural theorists, hypothesize that members of a specific (deviant) subculture adopt different perceptions of their environment and its stimuli.

Thus far we have observed that coercive features of the prison organization, as well as dynamics within the social structure of the prisoner community, tend to promote specialized social roles and adaptations. We also recognized that the influx of greater numbers of youthful ethnics into maximum security prisons has influenced both the nature and the focal concerns (Miller, 1958) of the prisoner community. Under these organizational influences, racial polarization has tended to become more concentrated and has fostered criminalized values and attitudes. Prisoner opposition to the prison organization, alienation, and the spawning of racial and ethnic gangs appear to be highly interrelated and to have affected prison administration policy regarding the empowerment of prisoners.

It is important to remember that not all prisoners have adopted the "new convict identity." Nor have they all become highly "criminalized" or "radicalized." What has happened, however, is that prison management, correctional officers (and their unions), and other observers have perceived a "clear and present" threat to their authority and have tended to respond with more coercive controls. In our judgement, this, in turn, has fostered further specialization of prisoner values and social organization.

The following sections of this chapter present our assessment of the relative strength and importance of prisoner social values for each of our research sites. These values were measured on a 47 item Prisoner Social Values Scale that was organized into five related dimensions: prisonization, criminalization, radicalism, racism-sexism, and collective action.

Our prisonization items and several criminalization items were taken from an earlier study of maximum security prisoners in Pennsylvania (Fox, Miller, and Bullington, 1977). Many of the radicalism items were drawn from Faine and Bolander's (1977) study of prisoner attitudes towards the justice system. Each of the remaining scale dimensions (racism-sexism and collective action) were developed using items which reflected themes, concerns, and attitudes expressed during our pilot study at Soledad and are intended to reflect contemporary prisoner perspectives.

Item selection for each of these scale dimensions was based on (a) previous empirical application, (b) *a priori* theoretical application, (c) item analysis, and (d) pretest results from similar respondents.

For clarity and convenience to the reader we have presented our results by dimension, in order of descending (combined sample) mean scale scores.

Following this chapter, we present a more focused analysis of prisoner organizations and the organizational issues that emerge from their activities.

B. SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Obtaining sizable questionnaire samples from large prisoner populations presents several methodological problems which tend to vary from prison to prison. These problems often include, but are not limited to the availability and accuracy of population rosters, the language skills of prisoners included in the sample, and the security measures accompanying prisoner traffic from work and housing assignments to the area within the prison used for the research. In addition, many complex social dynamics related to prisoners' perception of any given research effort tends to influence their willingness to participate.

Persons familiar with these problems will recognize the difficulty in obtaining complete questionnaire data from all intended participants. Realizing that these problems would differ at each of our field study sites, we chose systematic selection methods (every nth case) in an attempt to obtain representative prisoner samples.

Excluded were those prisoners who were currently on "out count" status of whose regular work assignments removed them from daily contact with the mainstream prisoner community. However, we intentionally included representative proportions of prisoners assigned to special housing units, e.g., segregation, protective custody, so that their perspectives and experiences were reflected in our data. We also had spanish language versions of our questionnaire available for those Spanish-speaking prisoners who preferred to respond in their primary language.

In most instances, these procedures provided samples that were representative of the total population for major demographic characteristics such as age, ethnicity, offense and amount of time served on current sentence(s). However, influences unique to each research setting inevitably resulted in a departure from our systematic selection methods. For example, at Rahway it was necessary to add a greater number of blacks and youthful prisoners to our pool of respondents to ensure that they were proportionally represented in our sample. At Bedford Hills, our project activities stimulated interest among the prisoners which resulted in a number of prisoners volunteering to participate. Thus, we obtained approximately 35 additional completed questionnaires, giving us a slightly larger sample than originally anticipated. Our systematic selection procedures remained unaltered at Soledad (CTF-South), OSP and Stillwater.

Most of the minor problems we encountered during the selection and scheduling of prisoners for questionnaire administration were linked to the structure established by institutional routine. Other problems, such as the differential participation of some age and/or racial groups, tended to be influenced more by current prisoner attitudes and general conditions within the prison. It should be emphasized that our primary objective was to gather information portraying the social climate and social values of the prisoner community, rather than to obtain "typical" responses to predetermined theoretical constructs of hypotheses.

In advance of our planned questionnaire administration at each research site, we posted an announcement to the entire prisoner population outlining the purpose of the study and the procedures to be used for sample selection. These announcements were placed in each housing, work and recreation area of the prison. While this procedure did not provide direct communication with each individual respondent, it appeared that most prisoners had a basic understanding of our objectives prior to his or her participation in the study. For example, approximately two-thirds of those appearing to complete our questionnaire reported that they had seen the notices and were acquainted with our objectives. A more detailed explanation was given to each questionnaire group.

With the assistance of various staff and prisoners at each prison, individual names were selected from our sample list and organized into groups of approximately 20 prisoners according to their respective work and housing assignments. An attempt was made to schedule most prisoners at times that presented the least amount of inconvenience to their daily activity schedules.

Our semi-structured interview respondents, at all sites except Stillwater, reflected two principle groups: those who held leadership positions in formal prisoner organizations and those who had considerable prison experience. The former group consisted primarily of elected or appointed officers of authorized prisoner organizations. In some instances, we also interviewed previous leaders to obtain a broader perspective on the activities of some organizations.

The latter group was solicited from each questionnaire respondent group. Near the end of each questionnaire session we would merely ask for interviews with prisoners who "had been around awhile and knew what was happening." We also stated that we were interested in understanding the prisoner's perspectives on how various activities, programs and policies were functioning. This request typically yielded approximately five or six volunteers from each session. By necessity, we recorded their names (and length of time served on current offense) so that interviews could be scheduled and arbitrary selection of interviewees could be made from the larger pool of names. Generally, we tended to select prisoners who had served more than 24 months, although we included several who had been confined for only a short period of time.

These interviews were not intended to systematically explore the entire range of prisoners concerns and experiences. Rather, they were intended to provide us with subjective responses to salient issues and conflicts between prisoners and staff and within the prisoner community. In addition, they offered an opportunity to supplement many of our empirical measures and observations with personalized assessments and impressions. While our interviews tended to focus more sharply on personal experiences, we also explored general impressions during "low points" of the interview.

Table 17 presents the sample size and proportion of population sampled at each of our research sites. As indicated, we obtained a total of 757 completed questionnaires and 125 semi-structured interviews from prisoners at five prisons. We intentionally sampled a slightly greater number of prisoners at Bedford Hills to give us a larger data base for possible male-female comparisons, although as we stated earlier, this sample proved to be somewhat larger than originally anticipated.

Table 17

DISTRIBUTION OF PRISONER SAMPLES AT FIVE RESEARCH SITES

	Questionnaire Sample	Population	Percent	Interview Sample
SOLEDAD (CTF-S)	45	349	12.9	16
STILLWATER	186	952	19.5	10
RAHWAY	146	1070	13.6	39
O.S.P.	189	1473	12.8	28
BEDFORD HILLS	191	412	46.4	32
Total	757	4256	17.8 (of total)	125

Approximately six to nine percent of those selected at each research site failed to appear for scheduled questionnaire sessions. As participation in our study was entirely voluntary, some prisoners elected to remain at their respective assignments rather than report for questionnaire administration. Others had conflicting "call outs" such as visits, dental or medical appointments, or were scheduled for personal activities such as commissary or shower. At any given day, a large proportion of prisoners are engaged in limited activities, such as use of the legal library, which take priority over voluntary participation in research. We have little reason to believe that the "refusal" rate was unusual or that the characteristics of those who completed our questionnaire were substantially different than those who did not participate.

C. PRISONER DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Complete descriptions of demographic and social background characteristics for each of our prisoner samples are presented in Table 18.

These data indicate that Bedford Hills (female) prisoners had a lower median age (28.2 years) than any of the male samples. The data also reveal that three of the four male prisoner samples, OSP (29.6 years), Rahway (29.9 years) and Stillwater (30.2 years), had similar median ages. Our Soledad (CTF-S) sample was slightly older (31.9 years), but their age characteristics were consistent with the prisoner population.

According to Table 18, Rahway reflects the highest proportion of black prisoners (66.2 percent) within the prisoner population, although Bedford Hills reflects the highest proportion of non-white prisoners (79.3 percent). While Stillwater and OSP have very similar racial and ethnic characteristics, they contrast sharply to the prisoner populations of all other samples. For example, Stillwater and OSP each had a relatively low proportion of blacks (18.3 and 10.6 percent, respectively) in their predominantly white prisoner populations. However, both had larger Native American populations than any of our remaining research sites. In each instance, our prisoner samples reflected racial and ethnic characteristics of their respective prisoner populations.

While racial and ethnic minorities tended to be overrepresented at each site, the extent to which they were overrepresented appeared to be related to their representation within the larger state population. For example, blacks comprise only 1.3 percent of the Oregon state population and 1.0 percent of the Minnesota state population. In contrast, New Jersey (11.9 percent) and New York (13.2 percent), particularly their urban centers, have substantially larger black populations (Statistical Abstracts of the United States, Table 34, 1978:33).

The median educational achievement levels were surprisingly similar for each site, although Rahway, Bedford Hills and Soledad (CTF-SOUTH) prisoners had a higher proportion having terminated their education prior to completion of high school. For example, the median educational achievement for all sites ranged from 11.3 years (Bedford Hills) to 12.2 years (OSP). However, the data reveal that over 50 percent of the Bedford Hills and Rahway prisoners and 42 percent of the Soledad (CTF-SOUTH) prisoners had not completed high school.

The data reveal that compared to all other prisoner samples, a slightly greater proportion (48 percent) of Soledad prisoners were married (intact family units). Rahway and Bedford Hills prisoners reflected a greater proportion of single (never married) prisoners, possibly stemming from a greater concentration of urban-approximate and racial and ethnic minority prisoners.

Several differences were indicated between our sample for current offense (most serious). For example, Stillwater, Rahway and OSP prisoners reveal a greater proportion of offenders with crimes against the person, 51 percent, 55 percent and 59 percent, respectively. Conversely, Soledad (29 percent) and Bedford Hills (37 percent) prisoners reflected substantially fewer violent personal offenders.

The data also reveal that the Bedford Hills and Soledad samples had a greater proportion (26 percent and 22 percent, respectively) of drug

Table 18

PRISONER DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

	Soledad (CTF-S)		Stillwater		Rahway		OSP		Bedford Hills	
	(N = 45)		(N = 186)		(N = 146)		(N = 189)		(N = 191)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
AGE										
25 and younger	5	11.6	34	18.6	35	25.4	46	25.3	64	34.8
26 - 30 years	11	25.6	60	32.8	42	30.4	51	28.0	54	29.3
31 and older	27	62.8	89	48.6	61	44.2	85	46.7	66	35.9
	43	100.0	183	100.0	138	100.0	182	100.0	184	100.0
Median age	31.9 years		30.2 years		29.9 years		29.6 years		28.2 years	
RACE										
White	18	41.9	137	73.7	31	21.4	156	83.0	39	20.7
Black	13	30.2	34	18.3	96	66.2	20	10.6	111	59.0
Hispanic	11	25.6	5	2.6	14	9.6	2	1.1	36	19.1
Native American	1	2.3	10	5.4	4	2.7	10	5.3	2	1.1
	43	100.0	186	100.0	145	99.9*	189	100.0	188	99.9*
EDUCATION										
Less than 12 years	18	40.9	54	29.5	71	50.4	48	25.9	102	55.4
12 or 13 years	21	47.7	101	55.2	55	39.0	95	51.4	64	34.8
14 or 15 years	4	9.1	21	11.5	13	9.2	32	17.3	15	8.2
16 or more years	1	2.3	7	3.8	2	1.4	10	5.4	3	1.5
	44	100.0	183	100.0	141	100.0	185	100.0	184	99.9*
Median education	11.7 years		11.9 years		11.5 years		12.2 years		11.3 years	

Table 18 -- continued

	Soledad (CTF-S)		Stillwater		Rahway		OSP		Bedford Hills	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
MARITAL STATUS										
Single	11	25.0	70	37.8	74	51.0	66	35.1	93	48.7
Married	21	47.7	51	27.6	44	30.3	59	31.4	50	26.2
Split Family	12	27.3	64	34.6	27	18.6	63	33.5	48	25.1
	44	100.0	185	100.0	145	99.9*	188	100.0	191	100.0
DEPENDENT CHILDREN**										
None	9	25.0	71	41.5	46	35.4	90	49.2	56	32.7
1 or 2	20	55.6	65	38.0	64	49.3	78	42.6	77	45.0
3 or more	7	19.4	35	20.5	20	15.3	15	8.1	38	22.2
	36	100.0	171	100.0	130	100.0	183	99.9*	171	99.9*
CURRENT OFFENSE										
Violent Personal***	12	29.3	92	51.1	75	55.1	109	58.9	68	36.8
Property	15	36.5	50	27.8	27	14.9	58	31.3	57	30.8
Drug	9	22.0	7	3.9	19	14.0	10	5.4	48	25.9
Other	5	12.2	31	17.2	15	11.0	8	4.3	12	6.5
	41	100.0	180	100.0	136	100.0	185	99.9*	185	100.0
AGE AT FIRST ARREST										
17 and younger	10	24.4	87	47.3	70	52.6	103	56.3	39	22.0
18 to 25 years	18	43.9	64	34.8	38	28.6	50	27.3	82	46.4
26 and older	13	31.7	32	17.9	25	18.8	30	16.4	56	31.6
	41	100.0	183	100.0	133	100.0	183	100.0	177	100.0
Median age	20.3 years		17.8 years		17.0 years		17.0 years		22.0 years	

Table 18 -- continued

	Soledad (CTF-S)		Stillwater		Rahway		OSP		Bedford Hills	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS										
None	15	38.5	56	30.6	36	27.5	47	26.3	92	52.9
1 or 2	16	41.0	48	26.2	45	34.4	56	31.3	72	41.4
3 to 5	7	17.9	58	31.7	33	25.2	61	34.1	7	4.0
6 or more	1	2.6	21	11.5	17	12.9	15	8.3	3	1.7
	39	100.0	183	100.0	131	100.0	179	100.0	174	100.0
Median number of convictions	1.0		1.9		1.9		1.8		.45	
TIME TO BE SERVED ON CURRENT SENTENCE(S)										
Less than 6 months	5	11.4	39	21.2	15	10.6	29	15.8	27	14.7
6 to 12 months	10	22.7	37	20.1	27	19.0	26	14.1	40	21.9
13 to 24 months	14	31.8	30	16.3	25	17.6	38	20.7	61	33.3
25 to 48 months	6	13.6	38	20.6	48	33.8	59	32.1	41	22.5
More than 48 months	9	20.5	40	21.8	27	19.0	32	17.3	14	7.6
	44	100.0	184	100.0	142	100.0	184	100.0	183	100.0
TIME SERVED (LIFETIME)										
Less than 1 year	7	16.3	21	11.4	11	7.9	18	9.7	49	28.0
1 to 2 years	3	7.0	28	15.2	9	6.5	20	10.9	59	33.7
3 to 5 years	12	27.9	33	17.9	34	24.5	52	28.3	40	22.9
6 to 10 years	12	27.9	55	29.9	47	33.8	55	29.9	21	12.0
More than 10 years	9	20.9	47	25.5	38	27.3	39	21.2	6	3.4
	43	100.0	184	99.9	139	100.0	184	100.0	175	100.0

Table 18 -- continued

	Soledad (CTF-S)		Stillwater		Rahway		OSP		Bedford Hills	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
TIME REMAINING ON CURRENT SENTENCE(S)										
Less than 6 months	5	11.9	19	10.5	10	7.3	11	6.0	18	9.9
6 to 12 months	2	4.8	30	16.6	7	5.1	12	6.6	19	10.4
13 to 24 months	11	26.2	31	17.1	15	10.9	26	14.2	41	22.5
25 to 48 months	15	35.7	48	26.5	46	33.6	43	23.5	57	31.3
More than 48 months	9	21.4	53	29.3	59	43.1	91	49.7	47	25.8
	42	100.0	181	100.0	137	100.0	183	100.0	182	99.9*
NUMBER OF VISITS (PAST 30 DAYS)										
None	19	48.7	65	36.1	37	28.0	81	46.0	41	23.4
1 or 2	16	41.0	50	27.8	30	22.7	53	30.1	63	36.0
3 or more	4	10.3	65	36.1	65	49.3	42	23.9	71	40.6
	39	100.0	180	100.0	132	100.0	176	100.0	175	100.0
MOST FREQUENT VISITOR										
Spouse only	9	27.3	10	6.4	6	4.6	24	17.1	7	4.0
Spouse and children	6	18.2	20	12.8	21	16.0	12	8.6	9	5.2
Children only	1	3.0	4	2.6	3	2.3	5	3.5	14	8.1
Family members	9	27.3	37	23.7	44	33.6	33	23.6	93	54.1
Friends	8	24.2	85	54.4	57	43.5	66	47.2	49	28.6
	33	100.0	156	99.9*	131	100.0	140	100.0	172	100.0
NUMBER OF CLOSE FRIENDS IN PRISON										
None	14	35.0	40	22.1	43	30.9	52	27.8	26	14.1
1 to 3	17	42.5	58	32.0	65	46.8	75	40.1	115	62.5
4 or more	9	22.5	83	45.9	31	22.3	62	32.1	43	23.4
	40	100.0	181	100.0	139	100.0	189	100.0	184	100.0

* Percentages do not total 100.0 due to rounding.
** Under 16 years of age.
*** Includes forcible rape (Bedford Hills not included).

offenders (sale or possession). The relatively greater proportion of drug offenders within the Bedford Hills prisoner population may be attributed to New York's stringent drug legislation (now repealed) commonly known as the "Rockefeller Drug Law."

Our data reveal several differences among samples for age when first arrested (juvenile or adult) and prior felony convictions. For example, all male prisoner samples had median ages substantially lower than our female sample (Bedford Hills), indicating that male offenders may have earlier criminal involvement than females. The data indicate that Bedford Hills prisoners had substantially fewer prior felony convictions than any male sample. Furthermore, 53 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners were first offenders (no prior convictions), which was markedly greater than all male samples.

Of the four male samples, Rahway and OSP prisoners revealed the earliest (official) criminal involvement. The data indicate that 53 percent of the Rahway prisoners and 56 percent of the OSP prisoners were arrested prior to the age of 18 years. In contrast, only 22 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners were first arrested before their eighteenth birthday. Substantial difference was also found between male and female prisoners for extent of criminal involvement. For example, the data reveal that 43.2 percent of the Stillwater prisoners, 42.4 percent of the OSP prisoners, 38.1 percent of the Rahway prisoners, and 20.5 percent of the Soledad prisoners had three or more prior felony convictions, compared with only 5.7 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners.

Similar differences were revealed between prisoner samples for the total amount of time served in correctional institutions. The data indicate that women prisoners had served less total time in confinement than men. As shown in Table 18, nearly two-thirds (62 percent) of the Bedford Hills prisoners had served two years or less in confinement, compared to 27 percent of the Stillwater prisoners, 23 percent of the Soledad prisoners, 21 percent of the OSP prisoners, and 14 percent of the Rahway prisoners.

The data clearly indicate that male prisoners had spent substantially more time in confinement than female prisoners. For example, 27 percent of the Rahway prisoners, 26 percent of the Stillwater prisoners, and 21 percent of the OSP and Soledad prisoners had been confined ten or more years during their lives, compared to only 3.4 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners.

The greater length of time spent in confinement may have had an impact on male prisoners' contact with family and friends. For example, a greater proportion of male prisoners had not received visits within a 30-day period.

According to Table 18, 23 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners had not received visits, compared to 49 percent of the Soledad prisoners and 46 percent of the OSP prisoners. While Stillwater and Rahway prisoners were somewhat more likely than other male prisoners to receive visits, they still had a greater proportion not receiving visits than female prisoners. However, of all those having visits, few differences were revealed in the frequency of visits within a 30-day period.

Data illustrating the most frequent visitors provide several interesting patterns. For example, Bedford Hills prisoners were more likely to receive visits from members of their family, while males (except Soledad prisoners) were more likely to receive visits from friends.

Greater differences were revealed between male and female prisoners than between male samples for demographic and social background characteristics. These findings are likely to stem from sex roles, relative access to criminal opportunities, offense patterns, and a number of other influences which may be associated with sex differences.

Major distinctions may also be found between male and female prisoner social structures. As discussed earlier, the female prisoner community tends to be organized around common experiences, needs, and interests not widely shared or held by male prisoners. For example, our data reveal that a substantial proportion (27 percent) of the Bedford Hills sample had current affiliation within the kinship system (pseudo family structure), a social structure unique to the female prisoner community. Of these, 35 percent assumed the role of mother, 27 percent the daughter, 6 percent the father, 13 percent the son, and the remaining 19 percent ancillary roles such as aunt or in-laws.

Furthermore, approximately one-fourth (24.7 percent) of the Bedford Hills prisoners were currently involved in a close personal relationship with another prisoner, suggesting that interpersonal relationships (and a social structure that is supportive of interpersonal needs) may be more important to women during periods of confinement than they are to men. According to our observations, the male prisoner social system appeared to support impersonal rather than interpersonal relationships, and the primary social units were more likely to be gangs, cliques, or "homies" (hometown members) organized around racial or ethnic identity.

D. PRISONER SOCIAL VALUES

As we have indicated earlier, the conceptual framework of this study views prisoners as participants of the larger organization and as being involved to some extent in its daily management and routine. In this framework, the prison cannot function effectively (except in short-term situations) without the cooperation of all its organizational members. It is essential that the basic values and concerns of each organizational participant are understood before we can assess their organizational role and potential for increased involvement in organizational decisions.

An organization in which members share common goals and values may have a greater likelihood of developing and maintaining effective working relationships. In this instance, the majority of participants may share an investment in the success of the organization.

Prisons, under conventional management, do not operate with these principles. Rather than having common organizational goals and values, they more often reflect diversity and conflict. Furthermore, there is some indication that the coercive environment of the prison may actually perpetuate conflict through competition for power and control over limited opportunities and resources.

Since prisoners comprise the largest group of participants (but have the least amount of legitimate power), their social values may play a part in shaping organizational dynamics and influencing management policy. For example, a prisoner community that places an emphasis on the use of personal violence to resolve conflict will likely stimulate management responses that express concern for control and the personal safety of staff.

The design of our Prisoner Social Values Scale allows an independent analysis of each of the five scale dimensions. Each item was scaled on a Likert-type scoring format (one-to-five) ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." In addition to providing a framework for comparing mean (average) scale scores among our five samples, this format allows the data to be easily organized into ordinal level categories for crosstabulation with other independent variables such as age, ethnicity, type of offense, and length of time in confinement.

Preliminary analysis of our pilot study data indicated that all items were significantly correlated with their respective scale dimensions and that all scale-to-scale relationships were statistically significant.

The findings presented in this section have, where appropriate, been organized by descending rank order to allow the reader to quickly identify those scale items or scale dimensions that (statistically) reflect the salient social values of each prisoner sample. It should be also noted that our instrument was developed primarily from male prisoner interviews and questionnaire responses. Consequently, it may not accurately portray the special values and experiences of women prisoners. Thus, while our scale items were modified to reflect gender for our Bedford Hills sample, the data are limited to a comparative analysis of male and female prisoner social values.

Few studies of prisoner perspectives have compared male and female responses to the same instrument. It is hoped that the data presented in this report will illustrate differences (or similarities) in the five PSVS dimensions that may offer theoretical and empirical support for future comparative efforts.

D. PRISONER SOCIAL VALUES

(1) PRISONIZATION

> A configuration of specialized social values, attitudes, and normative role expectations differentially held by various elements of a prisoner population which illustrates their acceptance of a value system intended to promote the common interests, needs, and concerns of the prisoner community.

As we have indicated earlier, prisonization has traditionally been defined as the process by which prison inmates are assimilated into the normative culture of the prisoner social system. While there are a number of approaches that may be used to measure prisonization, we have elected to focus on attitudes and values that characterize commitment to the normative social structure of the prisoner community. Our interests centered on the degree of adoption of these values and attitudes rather than on the process by which they were adopted.

We recognized that values manifested at any one maximum security prison change over time, as internal and external influences effect prisoner adaptation to the prison organizational environment. We also anticipated considerable variation among our samples in the relative strength and order of importance of any particular set of social values. Our task, in this framework, was to assess the extent to which these values and attitudes were adopted by any particular prisoner group at each of our research sites.

The ten items included in our prisonization scale are presented below:

5. When an inmate talks to a guard he'd (she'd) better talk loud or he's (she's) likely to be seen as a snitch.

10. If someone steals from you in this prison, you are expected to go up the side of his (her) head or you're a punk.

15. You have to go along with the program they set up for you in here if you're going to do easy time.

20. I don't hang with anyone in prison that I can't identify with.

25. Nobody will bother you in this joint as long as you don't mess with their business.

* 30. I don't mind snitches as long as they don't drop a dime on me.

* 35. Today it's no longer important to stand behind your manhood (womanhood) to survive in this prison.

40. The staff won't listen to anything you have to say around here.

44. I nearly always have someone watch my back when I move around in here.

47. There isn't any convict code anymore, people around here will snitch on anybody about anything.

*Reversed during analysis.

Table 19 presents the rank ordered mean and standard deviation values for each of the ten prisonization scale items. A number of similar responses emerge from these data. For example, prisoners at each site expressed strong rejection of snitches (item #30), one of the most traditional prisoner social values. However, the maintenance of social distance between prisoners and guards (item #5) was not a value strongly supported by our prisoner samples. Somewhat surprisingly, prisoners did not view other prisoners' personal communications with guards suspiciously, suggesting that while snitches remain outcasts of the prisoner community, their rejection does not impede the development of informal relationships between prisoners and guards. This appears to be a departure from the observations of many earlier studies which identified proscriptions of limited contact between prisoners and staff.

Prisoners at each site also perceived prisoner solidarity as being eroded by flagrant abuses of the "convict code" (item #47), although Stillwater prisoners tended to be less concerned than all other prisoner samples. These data illustrate strong prisoner support for the classical "code of silence." However, they also indicate that prisoners tend to call into question the behavior of their peers, pointing to basic distrust and a lack of solidarity. These findings suggest that contemporary prisoners may have been "atomized" by their own exaggeration of the actual number of snitches within the prisoner community. Under these circumstances, the safest position may be to suspect all others - at least until their trustworthiness is proven.

Our interviewees frequently suggested that this stemmed from management's efforts to undermine and discourage large-scale prisoner solidarity. In this situation, prisoners tended to perceive more fragmentation and disloyalty than may have actually existed.

An Oregon prisoner who had served over three years on his current sentence told us that OSP management unequivocally does not tolerate

Table 19

PRISONIZATION SCORES RANK-ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

SOLEDAD			STILLWATER			RAHWAY			OSP			BEDFORD HILLS		
Item No.	X	s	Item No.	X	s	Item No.	X	s	Item No.	X	s	Item No.	X	s
30	4.42	1.06	30	4.33	1.16	30	4.49	1.13	30	4.34	1.10	30	4.38	1.23
35	4.18	1.25	35	3.98	1.16	47	4.41	1.12	35	3.89	1.34	47	3.98	1.31
25	3.95	1.28	10	3.65	1.43	35	3.86	1.54	15	3.69	1.38	15	3.95	1.29
47	3.77	1.42	25	3.62	1.32	25	3.71	1.40	20	3.68	1.30	25	3.76	1.47
15	3.46	1.39	15	3.42	1.33	15	3.59	1.45	47	3.68	1.32	20	3.59	1.58
20	3.25	1.61	20	3.29	1.43	40	3.46	1.37	10	3.57	1.43	35	3.53	1.59
10	3.21	1.47	47	3.24	1.31	10	3.41	1.60	40	3.62	1.22	40	3.48	1.33
40	2.85	1.42	40	3.07	1.27	20	3.37	1.60	25	3.59	1.28	5	2.94	1.54
5	2.42	1.24	5	3.00	1.27	5	3.03	1.53	5	3.31	1.40	10	2.86	1.55
44	2.42	1.60	44	2.10	1.27	44	2.26	1.39	44	2.06	1.23	44	2.73	1.31
Mean Scale Score	3.43	.59		3.37	.50		3.56	.58		3.56	.53		3.50	.53

prisoner solidarity unless it serves organizational goals:

> They feel that they have to control us. They feel that the more they harass us and keep us unsettled and wondering, the better control they have on us. And it's a fact, there hasn't been any kind of prisoner unity. Because up front, the warden has said that if you organize against me, I'll throw you in the hole. If he couldn't control it or wouldn't have the ability to manipulate it, he doesn't want it. The only things that they allow in here are things that they can control and manipulate. (OSP-IN-13)

Another prisoner who had served sentences in other prison systems, provided a similar perspective. He tells us that during a recent work strike the prison administration was able to further undermine prisoner unity by the use of coercive tactics during routine investigations:

> They got a bunch of people in there and told them "Listen, we know you were a part of this, and if it happens again we'll throw you in the hole and you'll never get back out again. We've already got five of your buddies in the hole, do you want to follow them?" So they got a lot of people who were on the borderline of this thing who said, "Well, wait a minute, I don't want to go to the end of the block for a year on a trumped-up charge." And the (prisoner) work force here is basically one that isn't going to stand up. You've got a bunch of cowards trying to stand up against a well-armed imposing enemy, and there's no way of beating them. (OSP-IN-17)

Our data reveal that prisoners tended to adhere to the "do your own time" tenet of the prisoner community (item #25). While our data indicate that all prisoner samples tend not to be concerned with personal protection from predatory or assaultive prisoners (item #44), they suggest that prisoners hold fairly strong views regarding the perceived requirement for the use of personal violence to settle (or prevent) disputes arising from theft of personal property (item #10). This *prisonization* value appears to carry greater emphasis among Stillwater prisoners and less emphasis among Bedford Hills prisoners. Our interviews with Stillwater prisoners and correctional officers indicated that cell "rip offs" were becoming commonplace and that "rip off artists" were often protected by their respective racial or ethnic groups if their victims were members of different (or opposing) racial groups. These findings tend to support the observations of recent writers that the prisoner community is structured much more around racial/ethnic identify than it was several decades ago.

Marked difference between male and female prisoners were revealed for attitudes and values related to prison survival, particularly the "manly man" posture of male prisoners and its hypothetical counterpart within the female prisoner community (item #35). The data indicate that male prisoners tended to place considerable importance on the projection of "manhood" to insure prison survival during imprisonment.

One of the most commonly expressed concerns of many male maximum security prisoners (especially younger prisoners who lack experience with the "street culture" and who may be seen as being physically "attractive" by members of a racial majority) is a constant threat of predatory sexual aggression of "being taken off one's manhood." This social value appears to be derived from several facets of the male "macho" image, such as an emphasis on physical strength and endurance, the use of physical force to resolve (or avoid) interpersonal conflict, and a conscious avoidance of conduct, speech, or social relationships which may imply a tendency toward homosexuality. These focal concerns tend to portray a male prisoner social system that fosters or encourages intimidation and physical violence. Our observations indicated that recognition and status within the prisoner community was usually gained from adherence to these values, whereas social rejection often resulted from "backing down" or being a "punk" by not retaliating for economic or sexual victimization.

According to our interviews and observations at Bedford Hills, women prisoners do not tend to place a strong emphasis on the achievement of status or recognition within the prisoner community or impose severe behavioral restrictions on the sexual (or emotional) conduct of other members. Rather, they tend to view womanhood as a personalized virtue arising from individual taste in dress, appearance, and expression. These traits and preferences are analogous to self-respect and feminine pride rather than to the male self-concept based on strength and status and recognition within the male peer group.

The data presented in Table 19 indicate that Bedford Hills prisoners do view some need to protect womanhood during imprisonment to insure survival, but the concepts of manhood and womanhood are not derived from the same set of social values and, therefore, do provide a useful comparison of male and female responses to this item (item #35).

Our findings appear to be strongly related to differences between male and female prisoner social systems. The kinship system (psuedo family) of the female prisoner community is the major unit of social organization, although membership is not universal and, at times, is short-lived. This social system is primarily structured around dyadic and small group helping relationships with an emphasis on helping and sharing of resources.

One of our Bedford Hills interviewees told us that her prison family serves as a mechanism for prison adjustment and as a collective for sharing and problem-solving:

> The families sort of try to look out for their own. Like, I have a family here. __________, she's kind of old and she has high blood pressure, and a lot of other things wrong with her, so she's my mother. And if she thinks that I'm getting into something that she doesn't like, then we talk about it. I have a brother, I have a sister, and we all sit and talk. But all the families aren't the same. Ours is sort of calm. __________believes that we shouldn't get charge sheets, and if one of us gets

> a charge sheet, it's really something because we haven't had any. So we try to stay on the cool side. When any of us get visits, we all cook together. When we go to the commissary, we put our sheets together and we buy food. (BH-IN-17)

The "family" is an extended primary social unit consisting of both maternal and paternal roles, although the maternal roles tend to be the central figures within the family. The maternal roles consist of "mother," "daughter" and "sister," with the mother-daughter dyad being the most frequent primary social pattern within the kinship system.

One of our Bedford Hills interviewees provides an elaborate explanation of the complexity of the mother-daughter dyadic relationship. She also told us that mutually satisfying prison family roles overcome racial barriers:

> I have a jailhouse daughter, she just left Wednesday, and it hurt me when she left, it hurt me badly. I was glad she was going home, but it hurt. There's a lot of us with a maternal thing, motherly instincts. So a kid may latch on to me and especially like my jailhouse daughter, she was a very big woman, about 185 pounds and seventeen years old. And I took a liking to her, because everybody thought that she was mean. We got along very well, she would curse a white woman out in a minute, and then she would turn around and say, "Not you Mom." And I'd say, "Well, it's alright." It's like some people need guidance or special care or special love. And like you may have a brother or sister or whatever, you know, things like that. Because some people don't have a family at all, or their family may be down south or whatever, or can't see them. And if you've got those kinds of instincts, you look for that kind of outlet or friendships. (BH-IN-10)

In addition, she told us how the informal relationships between the prisoner community and the official world of the prison staff break down conventional custody oriented procedures and policies:

> The officers, they don't really like the family at all, but then again there was many a time that the officer called me to get my daughter off of another officer. Because they had her caged up in a corner one time and the officer called me immediately. I said, "What the hell is going on? You'd better get away from her before she knocks you down." And she had just tore out the bubble, just literally punched out the bubble and all the glass shattered, just completely fell apart. She was strong as an ox. And I told them, "you all don't just understand." Instead of hitting an officer, she hit the bubble. At that moment I had more control than they did. Although ______ was in control because of her strength, because they were scared of her, I had control of the situation.
>
> One time when she tore up her room, the officers were scared to go down there and talk to her. So they came down to my room and said, "__________ is tearing up her room, would you please go down the other side?" Which is a violation of the rules, you're not allowed to go from corridor to corridor. So I went down there and I stayed the whole night in her room. They asked me to break the rules, because they were scared of what could happen. (BH-IN-10)

Most prison families begin with the mother-daughter dyad as the primary social unit and evolve subsequent extensions such as "in-law" relationships and other extensions.

The paternal figures (father, brother, son, uncle) are essentially ancillary roles accommodated in the family in exchange for occasional protection from predatory (unaffiliated) prisoners, stability, and a basis for reciprocity in sharing goods and services such as packages from home or cleaning duties. These male figures tend to have substantially less community contact and occupy a role within the family consistent with their "down and out" social image.

The maternal figures (mother, sister, daughter, aunt and "gran") are the dominant family roles. They make most of the decisions, provide most of the resources, and render the appropriate intervention during moments of crisis.

Prison families share their resources with few conditions except loyalty to the kinship norms established within each individual family. This is in marked contrast to the mainstream of the male prisoner community which emphasizes self-sufficiency, autonomy, and an ability to cope with one's own problems (except those occurring within the context of racial or ethnic conflict). Our observations suggest that sharing among male prisoners tends to be limited to short-term or conditional economic assistance to "homies" (hometown acquaintances), "gifts" given to "kids" in exchange for sexual favors, or exchange of goods and services (usually obtained through illegitimate means) among members of the same racial or ethnic group. Male prisoner "sharing" rarely crosses racial or ethnic boundaries, whereas women prisoners tend to share limited resources without conditions or self-interest across all racial boundaries. The only exception is that Hispanic female prisoners tend to form families around language, although it is not uncommon to see prisoner families with black, white and Hispanic members.

Our individual prisonization scale items were combined into an aggregate prisonization score reflecting the total amount agreement to the ten items shown in Table 19. This was accomplished by recoding "strongly agree" or "mostly agree" responses and including them into a prisonization score ranging from zero to ten. These scores represent low (agreement with less than three items), moderate (agreement with three to six items), and high (agreement with more than six items) adherence to prisoner community attitudes and values.

Table 20 presents the distribution of aggregate scores among the three categories for four of our five prisoner samples.[5] As shown, each of our male prisoner samples revealed substantially higher prisonization scores than our Bedford Hills sample. The data indicate that only 32 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners revealed high prisonization, compared to 48 percent of the Stillwater prisoners, 58 percent of the Rahway prisoners, and 59 percent of the OSP prisoners. The majority of each of our male prisoner samples revealed high prisonization, whereas the majority of Bedford prisoners revealed moderate prisonization.

Table 20

DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATED PRISONIZATION SCORES

	STILLWATER		RAHWAY		OSP		BEDFORD HILLS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW (0-2)	15	8.7	1	.9	12	7.1	22	14.9
MODERATE (3-5)	74	43.0	46	40.7	57	33.7	78	52.7
HIGH (6-10)	83	48.3	66	58.9	100	59.2	48	32.4
TOTAL	172	100.0	113	100.0	169	100.0	148	100.0

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[5] Aggregated scores for each of the PSVS dimensions are not reported for Soledad (CTF-SOUTH) due to a computation error discovered after final analyses were completed. These cases (N=45), however, do not appear to reveal any major departures from the four remaining prisoner samples.

(2) CRIMINALIZATION

> A configuration of specialized social values, attitudes, and normative role expectations held by some members of a society which illustrate their adherence to anti-normative and/or unlawful conduct as a means of satisfying personal needs and ambitions.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, many writers have used the concept of criminalization to denote a process of assimilation into a criminal lifestyle as well as the acquisition of values and attitudes resulting from criminal association. Our focus is primarily on the pool of shared values and attitudes which signal identification with or adoption of an anti-normative value system. Among such values are those which positively sanction the use of violence to achieve criminal objectives, the rejection of conventional lifestyles (and the concomitant postponement of personal gratification), and the rationalization of the victimization of those with greater economic or social resources.

The following nine items comprised our criminalization scale:

4. Good thieves are not much different from straight folks because they work hard for what they get.

9. If someone gets in your way during a gig, you have no choice but to take him out.

14. When you're down-and-out, it's OK to plot and scheme to outsmart people who have money.

19. Sometimes the use of force or violence is the only way to get what you're after.

24. I usually respect junkies and street hustlers, even if they rob and steal from their friends.

* 29. I rarely get off on the excitement of crime and the satisfaction of knowing that I got over on somebody.

34. Only a fool would work if he (she) could skim it off the top.

39. In order to survive, everybody has to have some kind of hustle.

* 43. Even though I am in prison, I really don't consider myself a "criminal."

*Reversed during analysis.

Table 21 presents the item and scale mean and standard deviation values for each of the five prisoner samples. As shown, there are few substantial differences among samples for either the order of importance (rank ordered item means) of items or the total scale values. For example, the criminalization scale means range from a low of 2.36 for O.S.P. to 2.65 for Soledad, suggesting that each of our prisoner samples did not hold highly developed criminal attitudes and values. Furthermore, the data reveal that criminalization scores were the lowest of all our prisoner social value scale dimensions.

Several similar responses were revealed by these data. For example, each prisoner sample saw the necessity of having a "hustle" to survive in contemporary society (item #39). While many conforming and conventional members may also agree with this statement, the term "hustle" has special meanings which tend to differ from one socio-economic stratum to another. Generally, criminal actors consider "hustles" to be money-making activities which lie outside the realm of legitimate and lawful economic behavior (Polsky, 1969; Becker, 1963, 1964). Among these activities are gambling, fencing, swindling (and other con games), pimping, and "wheeling and dealing."

According to Table 21, all male prisoner samples also placed substantial importance (mean rank 2nd or 3rd) on the use of physical force or violence to achieve criminal objectives (item #19). However, some minor variation among male samples can be identified. For example, Soledad prisoners (X=3.18) tended to place slightly greater

Table 21

CRIMINALIZATION SCORES RANK-ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

SOLEDAD			STILLWATER			RAHWAY			OSP			BEDFORD HILLS		
Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s	Item No.	$\overline{X}$	s
39	3.51	1.57	39	2.93	1.44	39	3.27	1.57	39	3.10	1.49	39	3.25	1.55
19	3.18	1.58	29	2.81	1.39	29	3.10	1.62	19	2.78	1.49	29	3.18	1.69
29	3.14	1.55	19	2.71	1.52	19	2.62	1.47	29	2.61	1.49	4	3.07	1.57
9	2.81	1.51	4	2.56	1.43	4	2.50	1.58	14	2.47	1.36	19	2.43	1.47
4	2.46	1.52	43	2.42	1.39	14	2.46	1.47	4	2.35	1.33	9	2.36	1.40
14	2.42	1.40	14	2.30	1.31	34	2.11	1.39	43	2.27	1.35	14	2.21	1.30
43	2.23	1.50	9	2.02	1.10	9	2.03	1.32	9	2.15	1.37	34	2.12	1.43
34	2.07	1.44	34	2.02	1.13	43	1.99	1.36	34	2.11	1.27	24	2.03	1.36
24	1.79	1.23	24	1.59	1.04	24	1.98	1.34	24	1.51	.90	43	1.58	1.14
Mean Scale Score	2.65	.76		2.39	.72		2.50	.70		2.36	.75		2.48	.67

emphasis on this value than either OSP (2.78), Stillwater (2.17), or Rahway (2.62) prisoners, which is somewhat surprising considering that Soledad prisoners had the lowest proportion (29 percent) of violent offenders among male prisoner samples.

The data reveal that Bedford Hills prisoners tend to place more emphasis on values supporting skilled criminal activity (item #4) than on those supporting the use of force or violence (item #19).

Few remaining differences between male and female samples were observed. The data indicate that all prisoner samples tended to derive personal satisfaction from successful criminal activity (item #29). This particular criminal value was shared equally among male and female prisoners, suggesting that while differences may be noted for criminal values emerging from differential cultural and social experiences, few differences can be found for values stemming from personal involvement in criminal conduct. That is, socialization into sex roles may have an effect on shaping anti-normative values but once criminal conduct (regardless of type of offense) is performed, male and female prisoner responses to the amount of personal satisfaction gained from successful completion are markedly similar.

Table 22 illustrates the distribution of aggregated criminalization scores. As shown, substantial differences between male and female prisoners are revealed for criminalization scores. The data indicate that female prisoners hold stronger criminalized attitudes and values than male prisoners. For example, nearly 68 percent of the Stillwater prisoners, 69 percent of the OSP prisoners and 58 percent of the Rahway prisoners had low criminalization scores, compared to only 45 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners. The data reveal that a slightly greater proportion of Bedford Hills prisoners have moderate and high criminalization scores. With the exception of values surrounding the use of physical violence, female prisoners appear to have adopted more firm criminalized attitudes and values.

Table 22

DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATED CRIMINALIZATION SCORES

	STILLWATER		RAHWAY		OSP		BEDFORD HILLS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW (0-2)	115	67.6	64	58.2	117	68.8	64	44.7
MODERATE (3-5)	45	26.5	40	36.3	42	24.7	65	45.5
HIGH (6-10)	10	5.9	6	5.5	11	6.5	14	9.8
TOTALS	170	100.0	110	100.0	170	100.0	143	100.0

Finally, all samples tended to reveal values rejecting the predatory behavior of "junkies and street hustlers" (item #24), although Bedford Hills prisoners tended to be somewhat more supportive (2.03) than any of the male samples.

Overall, the five samples reveal vastly similar responses to the criminalization items and no outstanding differences were noted for total scale values.

(3) RADICALISM

> A configuration of specialized social values, attitudes and normative role expectations held by some members of a society (at liberty or in confinement) which illustrate their rejection of the predominent political and economic structure.

Within the past decade or so prisoners (particularly those of racial and ethnic minorities) have become increasingly outspoken on issues pertaining to social and distributive justice. A number of factors, including the popularization of radical political writings, increases in the proportion of racial minorities in confinement, changes in public attitudes toward criminal justice, and greater prisoner involvement in civil rights litigation, may have contributed to the development of "radicalized" perspectives toward the justice system.

While the development of radical political attitudes and perspectives among prisoners has been of some concern to corrections administrators, particularly after the early stages of the Muslim movement, the events of George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers, and the tragedy of Attica, there has been comparatively little empirical investigation of the radicalization of prisoners. The process of radicalization has been the least studied aspect of radical prisoner attitudes. The exceptions are the Faine and Bolander (1977) study reviewed earlier in this chapter and a few recent works, e.g., Alpert and Hicks, 1977; Glaser, 1971.

We view radicalism as the manifestation of values and attitudes rejecting the legitimate political, legal, and economic powers of larger society. Our application of this concept differed somewhat from previous studies in that we merely intended to measure the relative strength (mean item value) and importance (mean item rank) of radical perspectives held by maximum security prisoners. In our judgement, radical attitudes and values (if held by a substantial proportion of the prisoner community) may impede the development of cooperative relationships between prisoners and representatives of prison management and possibly promote the use of oppositional strategies and collective action.

The eight items which were included in our radicalism scale are presented below:

2. The solution to the problem of crime is to tear down prisons and rebuild the whole society that forces people into crime.

7. Most inmates are nothing more than victims of an oppressive society.

12. People who have money or power almost never wind up in prison.

* 17. The police were only doing their job when they arrested me.

* 22. The way I see it, I'm more of a common criminal than I am a political prisoner.

27. The ruling class has no right to imprison the poor when all they've done is try to survive in an unjust system.

32. The laws in this country mainly protect the interests of the rich and powerful.

37. Most of the real criminals in this society wear business suits to work.

* Reversed during analysis.

Table 23 presents the mean and standard deviation values for our radicalism scale. As shown, nearly all prisoner samples revealed strong views (mean values ranging from 4.47 to 3.88) asserting that the rich and powerful do not experience the same consequences for their criminal acts (items #12, #32).

Prisoners also expressed firm viewpoints that "real" criminals are found in conventional dress and occupations (item #37). Each of these attitudes appears to reflect a sense of injustice related to disparity of criminal justice sanctions imposed on affluent and disadvantaged defendants. They also represent prisoners' perception of the type and extent of "criminal" involvement performed by members holding secure positions and roles within the legitimate opportunity system.

Table 23

RADICALISM SCORES RANK-ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

SOLEDAD			STILLWATER			RAHWAY			OSP			BEDFORD HILLS		
Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s
37	4.03	1.25	12	3.98	1.12	32	4.47	1.03	12	4.37	.91	32	4.37	1.17
32	3.92	1.44	32	3.88	1.09	12	4.20	1.13	32	4.17	1.10	37	4.09	1.24
12	3.78	1.46	37	3.48	1.32	37	4.00	1.31	37	3.81	1.16	12	4.04	1.44
27	3.23	1.41	22	2.75	1.47	27	3.69	1.40	27	3.31	1.26	27	3.65	1.32
22	3.03	1.57	27	2.68	1.21	7	3.36	1.48	22	2.94	1.57	7	3.43	1.51
7	2.89	1.48	7	2.51	1.36	22	3.25	1.55	7	2.87	1.44	22	2.90	1.58
17	2.58	1.57	2	2.42	1.33	2	2.87	1.65	2	2.76	1.56	2	2.89	1.62
2	2.34	1.54	17	2.38	1.50	17	2.51	1.62	17	2.31	1.50	17	2.72	1.63
Mean Scale Score														
	3.22	.81		2.99	.72		3.51	.72		3.33	.74		3.54	.73

One of our Rahway interviewees expressed this viewpoint vividly. He saw the criminal justice system as serving the interests of those with political and economic power. He also told us that judges appear to respect the behavior of white collar criminals while giving much heavier penalties to less serious offenders.

> I feel that you have to deal with the whole aspect of the entire criminal justice system as it relates to this country. And it's my personal opinion that the laws, and the criminal justice system, the police, their primary concern is to protect the power structure, the people who control the money. See, it's the money. Like they talk about us ripping off the taxpayers. The criminal, the guy who sticks up or breaks in a store, snatches a pocketbook, whatever crime, he's seen as ripping off the taxpayers. Well, they're ripping them off too. They're ripping them off more than I am. And then white collar criminals get caught what do they get? Nothing. Three months, six months, or a fine. I can understand them not getting that much time because it goes back to the power structure, OK? It seems like judges or whoever they deal with, when they sentence them, they respect the fact that it wasn't petty. They like guys ripping off big money, so consequently they give them a small amount of time because the guy was thinking big. But another guy goes in there and pulls that nickle and dime stuff, and they hide him forever. So it keeps going back to money. (NJ-IN-25)

Another Rahway prisoner told us that many of those given power and authority over prisoners' lives commit illegal acts but are not apprehended for their crimes.

> As far as I'm concerned, what I see and what I know is that the entire criminal justice system here is just as crooked as we are. They talk about the guys in prison, there are a lot of criminals out there who haven't been caught. There are people who work right in these systems and they're criminally oriented just like we are. They use the system. Misappropriation of money and everything. Maybe the illiterates can't see it but the guys who have a little common sense, who've been here for awhile, they see a lot of things that go on. And it doesn't make you feel any better. . .

> It makes you hostile and gives you a lot of animosity because you say, look at these people, they've got me in here for 15 to 30 years, and they're stealing hundreds of thousands of dollars and nothing happens to them. It makes the guys bitter and angry, and most guys want revenge. (NJ-IN-34)

The perspectives provided above tend to be more slightly representative of Rahway prisoners than of our remaining prisoner samples. Overall, the data indicate that prisoner attitudes towards criminal justice authority (items #2, #7, #17) were not highly scored (mean values ranging from 2.89 to 2.34), suggesting that prisoners generally accept the legitimacy of authority used in their apprehension, conviction, and incarceration.

While few differences were revealed between samples for the relative importance of radicalism items (rank order), substantial differences in strength (mean value) were observed. For example, the data reveal that Bedford Hills prisoners tend to hold much stronger radical attitudes than Stillwater prisoners; however, little difference between the remaining male samples was indicated. Nevertheless, we would not have expected our female prisoner sample to hold more radicalized attitudes than any of our male prisoner samples.

We have viewed radicalism as one indicator of prisoner's alienative-involvement within the prison organization. According to Etzioni (1975) alienated members are involved in the organization, but in an oppositional manner. Hence, radicalized prisoner attitudes may indicate the nature of their relationship within the organizational structure.

We also view radicalism as a salient, but insignificant, concern that does not present a major threat unless it is accompanied with a strong commitment to translate radical attitudes and values into action. In this vein, those attitudes and values supporting a willingness to seek collective action may be of greater concern to prison administrators than radical ideas, literature, or interpretations of prison management policy.

It may be argued that many otherwise conforming members of society also hold radicalized attitudes and values. Our intention was not to suggest that prisoners hold exclusive rights to radical perspectives or to a sense of injustice, since many disadvantaged or politically oriented members may hold similar views. Rather, we attempted to assess the extent to which radical attitudes were shared among prisoners. Furthermore, our interests were aimed at understanding the relationship between prisoner social values and the nature of prisoner organizations. In this vein, we saw many prisoner radical attitudes as being aimed at the control exerted by prison management and the prison system. That is, much of the prisoner hostility and dissatisfaction we observed appeared to be related to the extent of administrative control maintained over their lives during imprisonment. Prison-related anger and hostility was expressed much more frequently than hostility toward the criminal justice system. Prisoner's attempt to counter these pressures frequently took the form of prisoner activism and solidarity against the policies of management. This form of radical expression appears to serve the purpose of providing a more concrete outlet for prisoner hostility and may offer a greater likelihood of accomplishing meaningful objectives.

At Oregon we observed substantial prisoner interest in providing input into the legislative process. While much of this input was similar to conventional political expression, the direction of prisoner interests through a common perspective was seen as being a radicalized political expression by many correctional officers and some peers.

One Oregon prisoner saw a need for a prisoner's union and a newspaper to express prisoner perspectives to the general public. He also told us that prisoner empowerment lies in their ability to express the reality of imprisonment and prison conditions.

> The things that this institution needs, I think, are more of a form of prisoner's union. They need a newspaper, they need a way to air out their inside turmoil here within the institution to the people out on the streets, so that people can find out the real gist of what's happening in here. Not what the warden and his associates are putting in the media. And with a prisoner's union you would have some sort of rebuttal, you would have some input into the system. That isn't saying that your demands would have to be met, but they would have to listen to them. That gives prisoners the power to be assertive. I think the power is being able to let people on the streets understand what's happening in here. (OSP-IN-17)

Table 24 presents the aggregated radicalism scores. These data indicate that women prisoners tended to hold stronger radical attitudes and values than male prisoners. For example, nearly 92 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners revealed moderate or high radicalism, compared to only 67 percent of the Stillwater prisoners, 86 percent of the Rahway prisoners, and 80 percent of the OSP prisoners. Stillwater prisoners tended to reflect less radicalized attitudes than either of the remaining male prisoner samples.

Table 24

DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATED RADICALISM SCORES

	STILLWATER		RAHWAY		OSP		BEDFORD HILLS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW (0-2)	57	32.8	16	14.0	33	19.5	12	8.2
MODERATE (3-5)	97	55.7	58	50.9	94	55.6	78	53.4
HIGH (6-10)	20	11.5	50	35.1	42	24.9	56	38.4
TOTALS	174	100.0	114	100.0	169	100.0	146	100.0

(4) RACISM-SEXISM

> A configuration of specialized values, attitudes and normative role expectations held by some members of the prisoner community which illustrate their rejection of other racial, ethnic or sex groups (particularly when their own achievements and/or opportunities are seen as being threated by one or more of these groups).

One of the most significant changes in the social structure of the prisoner community stems from racial conflict and violence within large maximum security prisons. Racial polarization in prisons has gradually increased to the point where it has become a major factor in the social organization of prisoners in nearly every prison in the United States.

While racial attitudes have, historically, divided the prisoner community, contemporary trends suggest that deep-rooted racism may have turned the prisoner community into an arena of multi-racial conflict. Attitudes and values underlying racism and sexism are among the most concerning but least studied aspects of prisoner social values. The recent scholarly works of Jacobs (1977), Carroll (1974) and Irwin (1980) identify marked changes in prisoner social organization (i.e., the emergence of racial and ethnic gangs) which have increased the likelihood of racial violence.

Existing sociological theory of prisoner social organization does not adequately consider the impact of racial and ethnic influences. Nor does it address the underlying attitudes and values held by different participants within the total organization (i.e., correctional officers and management).

Our assessment of prisoner social values attempts to identify and quantify attitudes toward members of different racial and ethnic groups and determine prisoners attitudes toward the utilization of women correctional officers. While the latter attitudes may have less theoretical appeal, they nevertheless reflect social values currently under examination in larger society (which may be related to changes in the normative social environment of the prisoner community). Male prisoner attitudes and values related to their social relationships with women have not been studied in spite of recent trends in the employment of female correctional officers in male maximum security prisons.

Our application of these concepts within the context of prisoner social values was intended to assess the extent to which racist and/or sexist attitudes influence the nature of prisoner social organization (formal and informal). We were equally interested in understanding how prisoner attitudes may affect their relationships with correctional officers and prison management.

The ten items included in our racism-sexism scale are presented below:

3. A prisoner's race is more important than anything else in determining who hangs together in the joint.

8. When it comes to making money on the street, you have to put your hustle above the feelings of your woman (man).

13. Black correctional officers tend to do more for black inmates than they do for other inmates.

18. It's OK to be friendly toward a prisoner of another race, but in here you stick to your own kind.

23. The use of female (male) guards in male (female) prisons just puts more pressure on the inmates.

28. If I know that a dude (woman) is OK, it doesn't matter to me whether he's (she's) black, white or brown.

33. Female (male) officers are easier to get over on because women (men) are more (less) emotional than men (women).

38. Around here, it seems like most decisions are made by the standard, "If you're white, you're right."

42. The better jobs for inmates are hardly ever decided by the racial preferences of the administration in this prison.

46. The prisoners here will never be able to get themsleves together because of the racial conflict that exists.

*Reversed during analysis.

Table 25 presents the mean and standard deviation values for our racism-sexism scale items. The data reveal several different patterns of racial attitudes. For example, Stillwater and Bedford Hills prisoners, two markedly different populations (i.e, sex and racial characteristics), each saw racial conflict as being an impediment to prisoner solidarity (item #46). Rahway and Soledad prisoners also expressed this perspective, but it ranked third to their primary racial views. Rahway and Soledad prisoners each identified racial discrimination as their strongest perspective. Soledad prisoners saw a racial bias favoring whites in many organizational decisions (item #38), while Rahway prisoners viewed the prison administration as using racial preferences in awarding the "better" jobs to prisoners (item #42).

One black Rahway prisoner told us that racial conflict among prisoners was minimal put pointed instead to the racist attitudes of officers as being the major source of racial unrest.

> Between the inmates, as far as racial discrimination, it's not like it used to be. . . it's always going to be there to some extent because of the mentality of certain people. But both black and white agree that in order to get along, in order to survive, they have to get along. You understand, fighting in here is only fighting a losing battle because both sides are going

Table 25

RACISM-SEXISM SCORES RANK-ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

SOLEDAD			STILLWATER			RAHWAY			OSP			BEDFORD HILLS		
Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s
38	4.03	1.28	46	3.29	1.98	42	3.24	1.38	23	3.38	1.57	46	3.12	1.53
3	3.57	1.32	3	3.24	1.36	23	3.02	1.53	13	3.29	1.32	42	3.02	1.44
46	3.10	1.37	23	3.11	1.43	46	2.76	1.48	3	3.10	1.47	38	2.97	1.54
42	3.08	1.34	13	3.08	1.17	38	2.74	1.56	18	3.00	1.39	23	2.83	1.62
18	2.98	1.39	42	3.07	1.21	3	2.73	1.53	42	2.98	1.15	33	2.79	1.43
23	2.81	1.69	18	2.74	1.38	18	2.26	1.34	38	2.42	1.21	3	2.49	1.47
13	2.73	1.45	33	2.43	1.06	8	2.24	1.47	33	2.38	1.16	8	2.31	1.50
8	2.45	1.55	38	2.15	1.25	13	2.07	1.36	46	2.32	1.14	13	2.05	1.32
33	2.38	1.46	8	2.12	1.42	33	2.02	1.24	8	2.10	1.46	18	1.97	1.34
28	1.68	1.03	28	1.68	.94	28	1.34	.82	28	1.94	1.27	28	1.24	.73
Mean Scale Score	2.74	.53		2.69	.57		2.42	.61		2.70	.59		2.48	.59

> to lose. So if both sides lose, where is the sense of fighting? We're all inmates, and we're all locked up, and we all want to be free. Now the racial problem between the inmates and the correctional officers is something different. Because you have some people who keep the same kind of racial mentality like blacks should be here and whites should be there. And they feel that many of these organizations in here are run by black inmates even though they have white people backing them in the organization, or serve as officers such as vice president, secretary or treasurer. They feel that we (blacks) have too much power. And as long as they have that kind of mentality there's always going to be racial conflict. They've got this thing, it's an old fable, "If you're white, you're right." And this is the thing with the correctional officers, they feel they're right. The inmates are not supposed to be smart, I guess because we came to jail, we're dumb, and we have to remain dumb. (NJ-IN-29)

However, this view was not shared by all of our interviewees. One white prisoner who worked in the law library told us that clear racial division existed within the Rahway prisoner community. He saw prison management and officers as fostering racial division to insure their control interests.

> There's a lot of racial hatred in here. The blacks hate the whites, the whites hate the blacks and the Puerto Ricans look down their nose. The administration forces a lot of it, the trouble is that the administration is just power happy. What they do is to keep us isolated and against one another in order to keep power - the old colonial approach. As long as the energy is divided, then it's expended against one another, not against the administration. So we're still fighting amongst ourselves. You can't really get anywhere in here, unity is very much discouraged. (NJ-IN-09)

Soledad, Stillwater, and OSP prisoners tended to view race as being "more important than anything else" in determining social relationships within the prisoner community (item #3), an attitude or social value which was not widely held by Rahway and Bedford Hills prisoners. However, it should be noted that all prisoner samples saw trust as being more important than racial or ethnic identity when forming primary relationships. This may appear to be a contradictory finding. However, the data suggest that while prisoners perceive racial self-segregation to be the predominant pattern in prison and most social groupings to be determined by race, the need for trust within the prisoner or criminal subculture may make race a secondary consideration.

Substantial differences in racial attitudes were found among prisoner samples. For example, OSP prisoners, a predominently white prisoner population (80 percent), tended to reveal marked different racial perspectives. The data indicate that OSP prisoners saw black correctional officers as favoring black prisoners (item #13). The only other prisoner sample with a similar view was Stillwater, which also had a high proportion of white prisoners (74 percent). These data suggest that the smaller the black prisoner population (and the fewer the number of black correctional officers), the greater the likelihood that a "blacks help blacks" attitude will be revealed.

Such a perspective was not manifested by Soledad, Rahway or Bedford Hills prisoners, who have had substantially more experience with black officers. Futhermore, a number of black prisoners told us that black officers tended to be harder on blacks than on members of other racial or ethnic groups.

For example, one black female prisoner at Bedford Hills told us that social awareness and cultural familiarity do not necessarily result in sensitivity and understanding:

> There are some white officers here who I think brought their prejudice and racism, but you're going to find that anywhere. Most of the officers here are black or Puerto Rican. We have a few whites, and I feel like some of the whites are prejudiced, but not that some of the blacks aren't. Some of the Puerto Ricans are prejudiced against their own kind, too. So it's just oppressed people on top of oppressed people. You get poor people from the ghettos and you put them in here to work over poor people who are from the same ghettos,

> and you know what happens. I'm poor and you're poor, and somebody gives you a little bit more authority than me, and you get power-stricken. You feel like you're better, then you have that type of conflict, you're superior and I'm inferior. So that's where it comes from, it's not really a prejudice, where I could really blame the white officers. That would be better, but I can't even say it's just them, because I've seen blacks being prejudiced over their own people. They forget about their own people when it comes time to put their foot in our stomach or on our head, or whatever. You will find that your own kind will write you up more than a white officer. You'll find those black officers who know where you came from and have been out there and dealt with the same thing that you dealt with, and know how you feel, they will write you up quicker and get nastier and harass you more than the white officer. (BH-IN-05).

Native Americans in confinement tend to face a different form of racial discrimination and prejudice than blacks or Hispanics. Since they comprise only a small proportion of the prisoner population, their interests are often seen as being secondary to the interests of the larger prisoner community. For example, most prison management responses to Native American requests are routinely considered in light of the possible reaction of other racial and ethnic groups.

Most Native American requests are linked to their desire to follow traditional religious and cultural customs. These customs and practices are clearly not understood by the vast majority of line staff. Furthermore, their attempt to pursue religious and cultural practices has tended to foster greater solidarity among Native American prisoners and, in some instances, has served to further divide the prisoner community into competitive racial and ethnic groups.

Where prison management has acted responsibly and appropriately to Native American interests (e.g., allowing the use of sweet grass, traditional pipes, drums, sweat lodges, and other cultural practices), there has been substantial conflict emerging from staff ignorance and/or intolerance to these Native American customs. Much of the conflict appears to stem from line correctional officers, who are either unfamiliar with Native American culture and religion or are prejudiced in their views.

One of the Native American group leaders at OSP told us that correctional officer's ignorance and prejudice is one of the most frustrating experiences of imprisonment.

> Like our religion, our pipe ceremony, they don't consider it a religion. We are told that we have to have a certain amount of supervision and a certain amount of this and that, whereas any other religious denomination in here, all they do is call it over the microphone, and they go right on up there to the services. In the first place, the Indian religion, the word "religion" really is a misconception with Indians. It's not a religion . . . it's a way of life. It's something that is done every day, it's something that is with you 24 hours a day. There are many, many different ways of practicing it. . . not just with the pipe or the sweat lodge or peyote ceremonies or things like that, it's something that you live. I keep in touch with the trees. An Indian believes that we're related to everything, everything alive has meaning, it has something to say. With the sweat lodge, there are Indians who don't sweat, they don't have a sweat lodge. There are some who don't smoke the pipe. In here, we're all in the position where we pretty well have to, in order to practice a part of the religion anyway, because we're in a penitentiary, and you can't live your religion in here. . . the way it's supposed to be lived anyway. If I could, I would go up on the mountain every week and pray. You can't do that in here, so I go to the sweat lodge, or I go to the pipe ceremony, one of the two. The materials that are used are no different than the wine that's used in the Catholic church, in fact, it's less, but we had a hell of a time getting the sweet grass for our ceremony. The sweet grass is used for purification, it's our sacred tobacco. Before we can get it, it's got to be sent downtown and be analyzed to make sure it's not a narcotic. This is a sad thing, I think that they ought to worry more about that jug of wine that they keep in the chapel. These people make a mockery of our religion. After we go through a bunch

> of hassles to get anything, it's still a mockery. They don't recognize the religion. I hear officers all the time, like on Saturday morning when we're going up for the pipe ceremony, "Well, it's time for that Indian shit." Stuff like that. Well, this angers me, it hurts me inside and it makes me feel bad. I don't disrespect their religion, but they don't even recognize ours as a religion. (OSP-IN-12)

Our data reveal that OSP prisoners were strongly opposed to the use of women correctional officers (item #23). While other prisoner samples (e.g., Stillwater and Rahway) expressed similar attitudes, OSP prisoners tended to be more sensitive to the issues surrounding the employment of women in security positions.

At the time of our data collection in Oregon, there were only six female correctional officers, none of which were working inside the main areas of the institution as a result of a court order stemming from prisoner initiated "right to privacy" litigation.

One Oregon prisoner told us that women officers' "emotional make-up" is different than men's and that he strongly objected to being skin searched by women.

> I got shook down by one of the women officers out in the yard, going to work. She shook down just like the men do. I haven't run into a situation of having a woman stand by and watch me take a shower, and I don't know what my on-the-spot reaction would be. My reaction right now is that I don't particularly like the idea. My mother and wife were violently opposed to it. I don't like women in a penitentiary because a woman's emotional make-up is such that. . . I don't know exactly how to say this. . . guards, male guards, can be friendly to convicts and he's still a guard. A female guard could be friendly to convicts and suddenly she becomes a woman. A woman's way is to be nice to men, to try to get the vibes from them. . . that a woman wants from a man. And you put her in a prison and she's going to be dying to get those vibes. If it comes to the point where a woman wanted to skin search me, I'm afraid that I'd have to refuse. Now a man is bad enough,

> but I'm not going to have a woman look up my ass, that's all there is to that. I've heard of a few guys who have turned down their visits simply for the fact that she was standing there shaking them down going into the visiting room. (OSP-IN-09)

Oregon prisoner responses should be considered in light of the salience of the issue. Not only because of recent litigation, but also because of considerable coverage in the news media during our period of data collection.

According to our interviews, prisoners at all of our research sites expressed mixed feelings about women correctional officers. Some, perhaps a small majority, saw women officers as having the potential to normalize the prison environment and as providing a new source of interpersonal contact. Others, divided into a number of perspectives, saw women officers as a new (or different) threat to the established routines of the institution and proven relationships within the prisoner community. For many of these prisoners, women were a new element of uncertainty in a desire for a stable and structured environment. These views were more frequently associated with long term prisoners or those who had already spent a considerable period of time in correctional institutions.

There was a tendency for some male prisoners to emphasize situations highly unlikely to occur. For example, the common scenario was a collective disturbance in which women officers were taken hostage and sexually assaulted. It is interesting to note that this was also a commonly expressed concern of male officers, suggesting that male prisoner perspectives may be formed, in part, by their discussion with male officers.

A small number of male prisoners also expressed a concern for a loss of personal privacy, assumed to be respected by male officers. These prisoners frequently pointed to the possibility of being directly supervised during their use of the shower or toilet facilities. In our observations, female officers were rarely given assignments which would have made this situation possible. The only possible exception was at Soledad, where officers apparently are assigned to posts with consideration given to only experience and seniority.

Female prisoners tended to express similar concerns about the presence of male correctional officers at Bedford Hills, but the proportion of women opposed was substantially lower than the proportion of male prisoners opposed to female officers.

Several women raised the issue of personal privacy, an issue that was being litigated during our period of data collection at Bedford Hills. The issue arose from allegations of male officers intentionally viewing women in various states of undress during showering or during the evening hours while prisoners were asleep. A court injunction, Forts v. Ward 471 F. Supp. 1095(1978), ordered the removal of male officers from housing areas until the court completed an adequate review of the complaints.

A small number of women raised a different concern. Namely, they felt that male officers represented a greater amount of force to be used at the discretion of management or supervisors during minor skirmishes involving prisoners and line officers. Given the increased use of physical violence against line staff during the past four years, and the corresponding increase in the use of force by staff, this concern appears to have merit.

Our interviewees told us that staff tolerance to prisoner complaints was decreasing and the threat to "call the men" was frequently used in an attempt to resolve conflict or stop verbal harassment. While many prisoner complaints appeared to be legitimate, they frequently were outside the individual discretionary powers of line staff. In addition, part of the present problems appears to have been affected by past practices, where line officers tended to resolve minor conflict with their own discretion -- which was sometimes not officially sanctioned. Prisoners, in turn, anticipated the actions of line staff in being responsive to their needs and concerns and demanded satisfaction of their complaints. Thus, the dynamics of conflict intensified and line staff began to develop an increased dependency on the intervention of male officers in these conflicts. The increase in reliance on male officers appears to have encouraged as much conflict as it may have resolved, particularly because conflict resolution was being made at higher rather than lower staff levels.

One Bedford Hills prisoner told us that a judgement error of the floor officer concerning the number of women in a shower stall triggered an escalated conflict which resulted in serious injury:

> It was a holiday, we didn't have our regular officers on the floor, we had the evening officers and there was no lieutenant on duty. So when I got up in the morning and went out, they were rushing us to get dressed and get out of the cells. Women were bitching right and left, saying, "It's a holiday, leave the doors open." So I went into the shower, there were a whole bunch of people in there just cat-calling. While some were showering others were waiting and goofing, typical female bullshit. So anyway, the officer walked into the shower and says, "Who's in the shower?" So the curtains were drawn to the side and we stepped out. There was no one in there except the three individuals in the three stalls. So the fact that she did this upset the women and they started cursing her. When we finished with our showers we left and the other group came in. I walked down the corridor to put my robe and stuff away and when I reached my room, the officer says, "Step inside, I'm locking you up." So I said, "For what? I want to know what you're locking me up for, and on who's orders." She says "Well, I'm writing you up for having a woman in the shower with you." I tried to talk to her and she says, "Well, I suspect. . ." So I got into this type of bickering with her, because I feel if a person is wrong, I'll argue and argue and argue. So I kept on and this went on from 10:30 to 2:30 that afternoon. I pleaded, I whined, I cajoled, and I said, "Call the sergeant." I was not allowed to see the sergeant or the lieutenant. So this thing went on and I wasn't

> allowed to go to lunch, I was confined to the floor. At this point she got on the phone and talked to someone in the main building and she said, "Yes, the lieutenant is coming." So I went into the rec room and sat down. She got off the bubble and leaves the other officer in there by herself and goes and locks in the linen closet. All of a sudden, I saw about seven officers. Now I'm starting to get leary because it's not the first time it had happened. So I saw the lieutenant, and she said, "You're going to seg." And she turned around and said, "Ladies, lock in." So most of the women started drifting off the corridors to lock into their cells. And like a small group stood outside and said, "No, we're not locking in, she hasn't done anything. You're not taking her to seg." So I told them, "It's cool." OK, they're probably going to lock me up anyway for disobeying a direct order, but I would have gotten everything else clarified, so it was cool, right? So I'm sitting with my cigarette in my hand, and I told the girls, "It's not worth it, nothing's going to happen, lock in." So the lieutenant says, "_________, you have to go to seg." And I said, "Why don't you sit down and talk to me?" So as I'm sitting talking to her, there are twelve officers of the search team, all mostly men. The place was swarming with cops with night sticks. They're coming toward me, right? So, I'm backing off. I haven't hurt anybody. So I said, "OK, I'll go to seg." Then one of the officers came up and hit me with his night stick on my wrist, and I double over. So when I doubled over, I came back and started lashing out and everything. Because it was like me against the world. I got kicked in the head, they stepped on my neck. They scratched up my face. They ripped my clothes off my back. They twisted my arm back and snapped it. My legs were twisted. And somebody kicked me under the armpit. I thought I was gone. I couldn't believe it. They took me to seg. They didn't want me to see a doctor. I was in pain and I was starting to swell up. The sergeant came in and I'm crying and I showed her my arm which was starting to swell. And she went back and called the nurse. The nurse came in and said that I had to go out on emergency. So they dressed me and took me out to the hospital. I had a hairline fracture, and torn ligaments and stuff like that. (BH-IN-03)

Table 26 presents the aggregated racism-sexism scores. The data point to slightly higher scores for the Bedford Hills prisoners, although Stillwater and OSP prisoners (with predominently white

Table 26

DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATED RACISM-SEXISM SCORES

	STILLWATER		RAHWAY		OSP		BEDFORD HILLS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW (0-2)	76	44.7	59	53.6	73	44.5	45	30.6
MODERATE (3-5)	76	44.7	45	40.9	77	47.0	84	57.2
HIGH (6-10)	18	10.6	6	5.5	14	8.5	18	12.2
TOTALS	170	100.0	110	100.0	164	100.0	147	100.0

prisoner populations) revealed similar scores. For example, nearly 56 percent of the Stillwater and OSP prisoners revealed moderate or high racism-sexism scores, compared to only 46 percent of the Rahway prisoners. In contrast, over 69 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners revealed moderate or high scores on this scale dimension.

(5) COLLECTIVE ACTION

> A configuration of specialized social values, attitudes and normative role expectations held by some members of a prisoner population which illustrate their rejection of conventional and/or individualized methods of bringing about change within the institution.

As we have already indicated, the translation of prisoner attitudes into action is of much greater significance to prison management than the attitudes and values themselves. Prisoner feelings of powerlessness, frustration or hostility, individually or collectively directed toward prison management, have the potential to disrupt institutional routine and stimulate the use of greater coercive controls. While individual expressions of hostility (often termed "special incidents") are regular occurrences in maximum security prisons, collective disturbances are less frequent and present a much more threatening situation.

Collective action of prisoners, e.g., strikes, work stoppages, demonstrations, and other forms of disruptive conduct, frequently represent the inability or unwillingness of prison management to effectively resolve organizational problems, particularly those which directly effect the quality of life for prisoners.

Our application of this concept was intended to assess those attitudes and values which indicate prisoners' willingness to seek collective solutions to organizational problems. We have assumed that most collective action strategies would lie outside of the acceptable methods of involvement established by prison management, e.g., Inmate Liaison Committees. In this regard, our collective action scale reflects a broad range of strategies (and their underlying concerns) that are primarily based on prisoners' rejection of conventional opportunities of participation in organizational decisions.

The ten items which were included in our collective action scale are presented below.

1. Prisoners will always have the same basic conditions even if they have a strong organization to bargain with management.

* 6. To survive in this prison, it's almost essential to belong to a group or gang.

11. Most prisons would be better places if prisoners were allowed more decision-making power.

16. We will never get anywhere in this prison because the administration is opposed to any kind of inmate organization.

21. Certain inmate groups make life inside more dangerous.

* 26. In this prison, most correctional officers are in favor of establishing legitimate inmate organizations.

31. Conditions will never change in here because prisoners can't stick together for their rights.

36. If it weren't for the dope, money, and power games in here, inmates would have a better chance of sticking together.

41. The snitches in here make it dangerous for inmates to organize.

45. The main reason the guards have so much power is that they are well organized.

*Reversed during analysis.

Table 27 presents the mean and standard deviation values for our collective action scale items. As shown, slight differences are revealed for the order of importance and strength of collective action responses. The data indicate that Rahway and OSP prisoners viewed prison "snitches" as a major obstacle to their organization and solidarity (item #41). Stillwater and Bedford Hills prisoners, with a slightly different concern, saw prison conditions remaining essentially the same because fellow prisoners cannot "stick together for their rights" (item #31). Soledad prisoners, reflecting a basic concern of nearly all California prisoners, point to "certain inmate groups" (gangs) making prison life more dangerous (item #21).

It is somewhat surprising to observe that items describing conditions underlying a need for collective action were scored more highly than items which were directly related to prisoner empowerment. This would appear to suggest that prisoners may be more sensitive to conditions within the prisoner community than to conditions imposed upon them by prison management.

The responses to this scale dimension tend to be supportive of our observations and interviews at each site. For example, OSP prisoners, particularly, were sensitive to the warden's policy of "grooming"

Table 27

COLLECTIVE ACTION SCORES RANK-ORDERED BY ITEM MEANS

SOLEDAD			STILLWATER			RAHWAY			OSP			BEDFORD HILLS		
Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s	Item No.	$\bar{X}$	s
21	4.05	1.13	31	3.93	1.07	41	4.26	1.18	41	4.01	1.21	31	4.41	1.09
11	3.44	1.36	11	3.59	1.36	31	4.18	1.42	31	3.93	1.25	11	4.01	1.30
31	3.25	1.43	21	3.57	1.06	26	3.86	1.26	11	3.89	1.30	41	3.79	1.30
41	3.24	1.53	26	3.44	1.05	11	3.60	1.49	26	3.65	1.16	16	3.63	1.39
16	3.21	1.30	36	3.42	1.45	45	3.42	1.49	16	3.62	1.30	26	3.51	1.27
45	3.18	1.62	41	3.34	1.19	16	3.34	1.31	21	3.26	1.40	21	3.45	1.53
26	3.13	1.07	16	3.21	1.18	36	3.33	1.55	45	3.21	1.34	45	3.10	1.51
1	2.89	1.45	45	3.11	1.39	1	2.95	1.54	1	2.97	1.47	36	2.79	1.51
36	2.79	1.60	1	2.99	1.45	21	2.94	1.55	36	2.67	1.42	1	2.70	1.45
6	1.78	1.18	6	1.99	1.03	6	1.62	1.20	6	1.65	1.06	6	1.83	1.32
Mean Scale Score	3.14	.52		3.26	.54		3.35	.53		3.30	.47		3.31	.52

informers by offering token rewards and approval for betrayal. As a result, OSP prisoners saw "rats" as the major inhibitor on prisoner organized opposition to prison management.

Similarly, Bedford Hills prisoners frequently stated that dissention, rivalry, and contrasting styles of prison adjustment often made it impossible to present a collective point of view to prison management. One of the most common threats to preliminary efforts to organize prisoner viewpoints was informants who acted solely in their own interests.

A black prisoner at Bedford Hills, active in several prisoner organizations, told us that informants have divided the prisoner community.

> You have a group of snitches, they tell every little thing that you're trying to do to make this a better place. They go and tell it before it even happens, so there's nothing that can ever be accomplished in here. It separates us. There are all kinds here, and none of them have ever accomplished anything, because none of them have gone home, none of them are getting a reward for this, all they're getting is a reputation. (BH-IN-05)

She also told us that many prisoner efforts to make their peers more aware of the underlying conditions of management policies and institutional practices have resulted in being seen as a troublemaker.

> The administration tends to see me as a manipulator. As a political prisoner, militant, and a leader. So when you get a reputation like that, they don't want you to mingle with too many women. They're afraid, I'm a threat, because if I were to wake up these women and tell them, "look this is what you are in for, this is what this is about, the system is like this," then maybe we could form some unity. And if we did, then we could beat the administration on what they're doing. But we can't form this as long as the administration keeps us from getting unity, we'll never accomplish anything. Anything that you try to fight against,

> you're seen as rebellious, militant, and all that. As long as you're not following them, you're fighting them. That's what it's all about, political prisoners. To me political prisoners are people within the prison who fight for changes. (BH-IN-05)

This perspective was also supported by several previous members of the Inmate Liaison Committee who were removed from their positions because of disciplinary charges. Current ILC leaders told us that one of the primary obstacles to establishing more effective prisoner input into prison management decisions was the lack of support and agreement within the prisoner community.

Table 28 illustrates the aggregated collective action scores for our prisoner samples. As indicated, only minor differences are revealed among samples. That is, each prisoner sample tended to indicate substantially high collective action scores, ranging from 32 percent of the Stillwater prisoners to nearly 46 percent of the Rahway prisoners. These data point to relatively strong attitudes among all prisoners supporting a concern for greater collective roles within the prison organization, especially in sharing decision-making powers.

Table 28

DISTRIBUTION OF AGGREGATED COLLECTIVE ACTION SCORES

	STILLWATER		RAHWAY		OSP		BEDFORD HILLS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
LOW (0-2)	26	15.3	13	11.6	26	15.7	14	9.7
MODERATE (3-5)	90	52.9	48	42.9	71	42.8	77	53.5
HIGH (6-10)	54	31.8	51	45.9	69	41.5	53	36.8
TOTALS	170	100.0	112	100.0	166	100.0	144	100.0

Thus far, we have examined different emphases expressed within scale dimensions for each of our prisoner samples. These data revealed the predominant attitudes and values held by members of the prisoner communities we studied. Substantial differences among prisoner samples were found for both the relative strength and order of importance of most scale items. However, some scales revealed marked similarities, an interesting finding given the difference in racial and sexual characteristics of our samples.

The data presented in Table 29 provide a summary of each scale value, listed in descending rank order to illustrate the prevalence of attitudes and values reflected by each scale dimension. These data may assist the reader in obtaining a better understanding of prisoner social values among those sites included in our study.

We are cognizant of the methodological limitations on comparing mean social values scale scores with each other - as each scale represents a pool of arbitrarily selected items. This conservative methodological standard presents a problem for comparing anything except different respondent groups for the same scale dimension and does not permit the flexibility required to explore the relative ordering of scale scores across respondent groups. However, as our scale to scale correlations (Appendix B) suggest (varying) strong relationships among scale dimensions, we have attempted to provide some limited interpretation of the observed differences among prisoner social values. For example, prisoner

Table 29

SUMMARY OF PRISONER SOCIAL VALUES SCALE SCORES (RANK ORDERED)

Scale Dimension	Soledad	Stillwater	Rahway	OSP	Bedford Hills
Prisonization	3.43	3.37	3.56	3.56	3.50
Radicalism	3.22	2.99	3.51	3.33	3.54
Collective Action	3.14	3.26	3.35	3.30	3.31
Racism-Sexism	2.74	2.69	2.42	2.70	2.48
Criminalization	2.65	2.39	2.50	2.36	2.48

attitudes supporting radicalism and collective action ranked second and third, respectively, to prisonization. While relatively high prisonization scores were anticipated, we were somewhat surprised to observe radicalism and collective action attitudes and values of nearly equal strength. These data suggest that prisoners' roles within the prison organization, as well as within the prisoner community, may contribute to social values which reflect a critical perspective of official powers and social control.

The popular notion of an "oppositional" model of prisoner social organization advanced by many sociologists may be extended to include prisoners' opposition to the policies and practices of officials within the larger criminal justice system and to their structural support of people who occupy a position of advantage in the political economic system.

An additional surprise was the relatively low criminalization scores revealed by all prisoner samples. If we were to follow the impressions of many prison administrators and political opportunists we would likely be lead to believe that today's prisoner populations are becoming more highly criminalized, particularly in terms of a greater tendency to use violence to achieve criminal ends. Our data do not support this commonly expressed impression. As indicated earlier in Table 22, only seven percent of all prisoners sampled (n=593) revealed high criminalization scores.

These data also tend to question the current utility of the "importation" model of prisoner social organization (Irwin, 1970), which argues that the prisoner social system (and its concommitant values and attitudes) reflect social values drawn from the larger criminal subculture.

Finally, our data suggest that the prisoner community has tended to become more concerned about issues of social justice and racial discrimination, and that these concerns are reflected in social values markedly different than those described by earlier studies. Furthermore, as the prisoner community has tended to become more clearly divided along racial and ethnic lines, differences in prisoner social values, in part, may be explained by their respective (specialized) adaptations to confinement.

Our next chapter systematically explores the nature of prisoner (formal) organizations. Included in our analysis are comparisons of racial group responses to the Prisoner Social Values Scale as well as the frequency of their membership in different types of prisoner organizations. We intentionally included these comparisons in the following, rather than the present, chapter because racial self-segregation and racial conflict within the context of the prison organization has tended to shift many of the formal and informal goals of racial groups into the opportunity structure created by formal prisoner organizations. In addition, these racial differences, in most prisons have tended to become much more focused and defined as racial, ethnic, cultural, or religious needs. In our judgement, the analysis of racial differences, and their impact on the prison organization, is more appropriately a part of the network of prisoner organizational structures than the social structure of the prisoner community.

CHAPTER 5

FORMAL PRISONER ORGANIZATIONS

A. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Very little literature is available which describes the history, structure, or objectives of prisoner organizations and their relationships within the prisoner community. While several works have examined the formation of underground groups and gangs (Davidson, 1974; Carroll, 1974; Jacobs, 1974) and the emergence of prisoner unions (Huff, 1974; 1974; 1976), there has been virtually no systematic study of formal prisoner organizations --in spite of their presence in maximum security prisons for the past several decades.

Earlier in this report we characterized formal prison organizations as the formalization of informal structures within the prisoner community which attempt to pursue activities seen as being compatible with the official goals of prison management. We also stated that prisoner organizations may be best viewed as a part of the larger prison organization, since their activities usually involve the interests of prison management, line staff, and often compete with other prisoner organizations for limited prison resources such as space, security coverage, and outside community volunteers. However, prisoner organizations tend to involve the prisoner community to a far greater extent than competition for limited resources.

Jacobs (1975; 1977) was among first to posit that racial and ethnic membership and political orientation tend to play a key role in stratifying the prisoner community. Others (e.g., Davidson, 1974; Carroll, 1974; Irwin, 1980) have supported the argument that prisoner social organization is increasingly being influenced by racial stratification and that racial identity tends to promote specialized collective adaptation to imprisonment.

Carroll (1974:10), for example, argues that:

> as a result of humanitarian reforms within prisons and racial-ethnic social movements outside the prison, the structure of social relationships within the prison is increasingly taking on the character of race relations.

In a similar vein, Jacobs (1977) asserts that Chicago street gangs, made up primarily of racial minorities, were one of the strongest forces of change within the prisoner social system as Stateville during the 1970's. Jacobs (1977: 206-207) states that:

> After 1970 the inmate social system was dominated by four Chicago street gangs which imported their organizational structures, ideologies, and symbol systems from the streets.
>
> The young gang members had assimilated a justificatory vocabulary as well as a set of rising expectations as they were growing up in the Chicago ghettos during the 1960's. The old prison reward system, which promised better jobs and the opportunity to score for 'hooch,' coffee, and extra food, was no longer compelling. Unlike the Muslims, the gang members had no specific issues and no concrete agenda. They brought to the prison diffuse goals and a general attitude of lawlessness and rebelliousness. The small minority of white inmates left at Stateville found themselves in grave danger, as did those blacks who were not affiliated with one of the gangs. Increasingly, inmates interrelated as blocks. For a while, the gang leaders were the organization's most stabilizing force as they struggled to reach an accommodation with one another and with the administration.

The data which follow are intended to provide a basic description of the features of formal prisoner organizations at each of our research sites. We did not attempt to systematically gather data illustrating the occurrence (or activities) of informal organizations such as gangs or other unauthorized groups, although we made an effort to determine the extent to which they influenced the activities of authorized groups. Our primary analysis of the organizational structure within each prisoner community, therefore, is based on data pertaining to organizations formally sanctioned by prison or departmental management.

B. SAMPLING PROCEDURES

Our methods of data collection from prisoner organizations departed only slightly from the procedures used to gather questionnaire and interview data from other samples included in our research design. First, we obtained an official list of prisoner organizations and their respective memberships from management as each of our research sites. Too often we discovered that this list was inaccurate and was not systematically updated. However, we were able to identify the present leadership of active prisoner organizations by talking with staff and prisoners involved with prison organization activities.

We conducted structured and semi-structured interviews with all elected (or appointed) leaders of all organizations (including those who were recently removed from their positions as a result of disciplinary charges or for pursuing activities seen as a threat by prison management). These interviews focused on the structure of their respective organization, the size and demographic characteristics of its membership, the procedures for selecting leaders, its past and current activities and its relationship with the prisoner community, correctional officers, and management.

As indicated, we obtained self-reported data illustrating the proportion of active members in prisoner organizations from each prisoner community. These data provided the best estimate of the demographic and background characteristics of affiliated and non-affiliated prisoners, since official records did not provide this information.

We also interviewed sponsors of these organizations which, in most instances, were correctional officers with an active interest in the respective organization's goals and purpose. Quite often, line officers would offer their off-duty time to assist the organizations by providing both supervision (security requirement) and guidance.

In some instances, sponsors were appointed (or approved) by prison management for reasons other than providing a service or supervisory function. That is, management often assigned correctional officers with demonstrated loyalty to institutional policies to supervise some prisoner organizations, particularly those which promoted prisoner solidarity and/or were organized along racial or ethnic lines.

In spite of a strong management interest in the selection of sponsors, we found that the leadership and membership of prisoner organizations tended to have significant informal input into the selection process.

This chapter examines the differences between members of formal prisoner organizations and those who are not affiliated. Next, we will identify and describe the major dynamics of formal organizations and provide a contextual framework for our interviews with their respective leaders. Also examined in this chapter will be differences between racial and ethnic groups in terms of their adherence to prisoner social values and norms.

C. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Our data reveal that 59 percent of the Stillwater (MSP) prisoners, 49 percent of the OSP prisoners, 44 percent of the Bedford Hills prisoners, and 24 percent of the Rahway prisoners held active membership in at least one prisoner organization at the time of our data collection. Only nine percent of the Soledad (CTF-SOUTH) sample reported membership in an organization, and nearly all of these were affiliated with Friends Outside, Alcoholic Anonymous, or the Men's Advisory Council (MAC). As reported in our Pilot Study Report (Montilla and Fox, 1979), the current California Department of Corrections policy regarding prisoner organizations does not permit a wide range of organizations, especially those which are organized around racial or ethnic identity.

Tables 30-33 present a comparison between affiliated and non-affiliated prisoners for selected demographic characteristics. As indicated, blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans are more likely to hold membership in prisoner organizations than whites. This pattern was most evident at Stillwater and OSP, where these racial and ethnic groups were a small minority within the prisoner community as well as within their respective state populations. As we shall discuss in greater detail in subsequent sections of this chapter, these differences are primarily related to membership in ethnic and cultural awareness organizations.

While age differences were not clearly indicated, the data suggest that younger (under 26 years) prisoners were less likely to hold membership in prisoner organizations.

Table 30

COMPARISON OF AFFILIATED AND NON-AFFILIATED PRISONERS ON SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

(Stillwater)

	Affiliated		Non-Affiliated	
AGE	N	%	N	%
25 and under	18	16.5	16	21.6
26 - 30	42	38.5	18	24.3
31 and over	49	45.0	40	54.1
	109	100.0	74	100.0
RACE				
White	69	62.7	68	89.5
Black	27	24.5	7	9.2
Hispanic	5	4.5	0	0.0
Native American	9	8.2	1	1.3
	110	99.9*	76	100.0
EDUCATION				
Less than 12 years	30	28.0	24	31.5
12 - 13 years	57	53.3	44	57.9
14 - 15 years	17	15.9	4	5.3
16 years or more	3	2.8	4	5.3
	107	100.0	76	100.0
OFFENSE				
Violent Personal	59	54.1	33	46.5
Property	27	24.8	23	32.4
Other	23	21.1	15	21.1
	109	100.0	71	100.0
AGE - FIRST ARREST				
17 or under	50	45.9	37	49.3
18 - 25	41	37.6	23	30.7
26 and over	18	16.5	15	20.0
	109	100.0	75	100.0

Table 30 - continued

	Affiliated		Non-Affiliated	
PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS	N	%	N	%
None	32	29.4	24	32.4
1 - 2	34	31.2	14	18.9
3 - 5	30	27.5	28	37.8
6 or more	13	11.9	8	10.8
	109	100.0	74	99.9*
TIME SERVED - THIS INSTITUTION				
Less than 6 months	16	14.7	23	30.6
6 - 12 months	19	17.4	18	24.0
13 - 24 months	22	20.2	8	10.7
25 - 48 months	27	24.8	11	14.7
More than 48 months	25	22.9	15	20.0
	109	100.0	75	100.0
TIME SERVED - LIFETIME				
Less than 1 year	11	10.1	10	13.3
1 - 2 years	17	15.6	11	14.7
3 - 5 years	17	15.6	16	21.3
6 - 10 years	38	34.9	17	22.7
More than 10 years	26	23.8	21	28.0
	109	100.0	75	100.0
TIME TO BE SERVED - THIS OFFENSE				
Less than 6 months	11	10.3	8	10.8
6 - 12 months	18	16.8	12	16.2
13 - 24 months	17	15.9	14	18.9
25 - 48 months	32	29.9	16	21.6
More than 48 months	29	27.1	24	32.4
	107	100.0	74	99.9*
VISITS - PAST 30 DAYS				
None	33	30.8	32	43.8
1 - 2	32	29.9	18	24.7
3 or more	42	39.3	23	31.5
	107	100.0	73	100.0
CLOSE FRIENDS IN PRISON				
None	23	21.3	17	23.3
1 - 3	31	28.7	27	37.0
4 or more	54	50.0	29	39.7
	108	100.0	73	100.0

*Percentages do not total 100.0% due to rounding.

Table 31

COMPARISON OF AFFILIATED AND NON-AFFILIATED PRISONERS ON SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

(Rahway)

	Affiliated		Non-Affiliated	
AGE	N	%	N	%
25 and under	7	20.6	28	26.9
26 - 30	11	32.3	31	29.8
31 and over	16	47.1	45	43.3
	34	100.0	104	100.0
RACE				
White	7	20.0	24	21.8
Black	24	68.6	72	65.5
Hispanic	4	11.4	10	9.1
Native American	0	0.0	4	3.6
	35	100.0	110	100.0
EDUCATION				
Less than 12 years	13	38.2	58	54.2
12 - 13 years	19	55.9	36	33.6
14 - 15 years	1	2.9	12	11.2
16 years or more	1	2.9	1	.9
	34	99.9*	107	99.9*
OFFENSE				
Violent Personal	18	51.4	57	56.4
Property	10	28.6	17	16.8
Other	7	20.0	27	26.7
	35	100.0	101	99.9*
AGE - FIRST ARREST				
17 or under	17	51.5	53	53.0
18 - 25	9	27.3	29	29.0
26 and over	7	21.2	18	18.0
	33	100.0	100	100.0

Table 31 - continued

	Affiliated		Non-Affiliated	
PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS	N	%	N	%
None	11	32.4	25	25.8
1 - 2	11	32.4	34	35.1
3 - 5	6	17.6	27	27.8
6 or more	6	17.6	11	11.3
	34	100.0	97	100.0
TIME SERVED - THIS INSTITUTION				
Less than 6 months	1	2.9	14	13.0
6 - 12 months	5	14.7	22	20.4
13 - 24 months	4	11.8	21	19.4
25 - 48 months	14	41.2	34	31.5
More than 48 months	10	29.4	17	15.7
	34	100.0	108	100.0
TIME SERVED - LIFETIME				
Less than 1 year	3	9.1	8	7.5
1 - 2 years	2	6.1	7	6.6
3 - 5 years	6	18.2	28	26.4
6 - 10 years	11	33.3	36	34.0
More than 10 years	11	33.3	27	25.5
	33	100.0	106	100.0
TIME TO BE SERVED - THIS OFFENSE				
Less than 6 months	2	6.2	8	7.6
6 - 12 months	1	3.1	6	5.7
13 - 24 months	1	3.1	14	13.3
24 - 48 months	10	31.3	36	34.3
More than 48 months	18	56.3	41	39.0
	32	100.0	105	99.9*
VISITS - PAST 30 DAYS				
None	6	18.8	31	31.0
1 - 2	5	15.6	25	25.0
3 or more	21	65.6	44	44.0
	32	100.0	100	100.0
CLOSE FRIENDS IN PRISON				
None	10	29.4	33	31.9
1 - 3	17	50.0	48	45.7
4 or more	7	20.6	24	22.9
	34	100.0	105	100.0

*Percentages do not total 100.0% due to rounding.

Table 32

COMPARISON OF AFFILIATED AND NON-AFFILIATED PRISONERS ON SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
(OSP)

	Affiliated		Non-Affiliated	
AGE	N	%	N	%
25 and under	18	20.2	28	30.1
26 - 30	26	29.2	25	26.9
31 and over	45	50.6	40	43.0
	89	100.0	93	100.0
RACE				
White	69	75.0	87	90.6
Black	15	16.3	5	5.2
Hispanic	2	2.2	0	0.0
Native American	6	6.5	4	4.2
	92	100.0	96	100.0
EDUCATION				
Less than 12 years	19	20.9	29	30.9
12 - 13 years	42	46.1	53	56.4
14 - 15 years	22	24.2	10	10.6
16 years or more	8	8.8	2	2.1
	91	100.0	94	100.0
OFFENSE				
Violent Personal	62	67.4	47	50.5
Property	23	25.0	35	37.6
Other	7	7.6	11	11.8
	92	100.0	93	99.9*
AGE - FIRST ARREST				
17 or under	49	53.8	54	58.7
18 - 25	25	27.5	25	27.2
26 and over	17	18.7	13	14.1
	91	100.0	92	100.0

Table 32 - continued

	Affiliated		Non-Affiliated	
PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS	N	%	N	%
None	27	29.7	20	22.7
1 - 2	24	26.4	32	36.4
3 - 5	34	37.3	27	30.7
6 or more	34	6.6	9	10.2
	91	100.0	88	100.0
TIME SERVED - THIS INSTITUTION				
Less than 6 months	7	7.7	22	23.7
6 - 12 months	7	7.7	19	20.4
13 - 24 months	18	19.8	20	21.5
25 - 48 months	34	37.3	25	26.9
More than 48 months	25	27.5	7	7.5
	91	100.0	93	100.0
TIME SERVED - LIFETIME				
Less than 1 year	3	3.3	15	16.1
1 - 2 years	13	14.3	7	7.5
3 - 5 years	29	31.9	23	24.7
6 - 10 years	21	23.0	34	36.6
More than 10 years	25	27.5	14	15.1
	91	100.0	93	100.0
TIME TO BE SERVED - THIS OFFENSE				
Less than 6 months	4	4.5	7	7.5
6 - 12 months	5	5.6	7	7.5
13 - 24 months	11	12.4	15	16.1
24 - 48 months	20	22.5	23	24.7
More than 48 months	49	55.0	41	44.1
	89	100.0	93	99.9*
VISITS - PAST 30 DAYS				
None	31	36.9	50	54.3
1 - 2	31	36.9	22	23.9
3 or more	22	26.2	20	21.7
	84	100.0	92	99.9*
CLOSE FRIENDS IN PRISON				
None	22	24.2	30	31.3
1 - 3	38	41.8	37	38.5
4 or more	31	34.1	29	30.2
	91	100.0	96	100.0

*Percentages do not total 100.0% due to rounding.

Table 33

COMPARISON OF AFFILIATED AND NON-AFFILIATED PRISONERS ON SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
(Bedford Hills)

	Affiliated		Non-Affiliated	
AGE	N	%	N	%
25 and under	26	32.5	38	36.5
26 - 30	28	35.0	26	25.0
31 and over	26	32.5	40	38.5
	80	100.0	104	100.0
RACE				
White	14	17.3	25	23.4
Black	42	51.9	69	64.5
Hispanic	24	29.6	12	11.2
Native American	1	1.2	1	.9
	81	100.0	107	100.0
EDUCATION				
Less than 12 years	40	50.6	62	59.0
12 - 13 years	31	39.2	33	31.4
14 - 15 years	5	6.3	10	9.5
16 years or more	3	3.8	0	0.0
	79	99.9*	105	99.9*
OFFENSE				
Violent Personal	29	35.3	39	37.9
Property	18	22.0	39	37.9
Other	35	42.7	25	24.2
	82	100.0	103	100.0
AGE - FIRST ARREST				
17 or under	14	18.4	25	24.8
18 - 25	35	46.1	47	46.5
26 and over	27	35.5	29	28.7
	76	100.0	101	100.0

Table 33 - continued

	Affiliated		Non-Affiliated	
PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS	N	%	N	%
None	42	55.3	50	51.0
1 - 2	31	40.8	41	41.8
3 - 5	2	2.6	5	5.1
6 or more	1	1.3	2	2.0
	76	100.0	98	99.9*
TIME SERVED - THIS INSTITUTION				
Less than 6 months	11	13.4	16	15.8
6 - 12 months	20	24.4	20	19.8
13 - 24 months	26	31.7	35	34.7
25 - 48 months	17	20.7	24	23.8
More than 48 months	8	9.8	6	5.9
	82	100.0	101	100.0
TIME SERVED - LIFETIME				
Less than 1 year	21	26.2	28	29.5
1 - 2 years	27	33.8	32	33.7
3 - 5 years	19	23.8	21	22.1
6 - 10 years	9	11.2	12	12.6
More than 10 years	9	5.0	2	2.1
	80	100.0	95	100.0
TIME TO BE SERVED - THIS OFFENSE				
Less than 6 months	10	12.5	8	7.8
6 - 12 months	8	10.0	11	10.8
13 - 24 months	14	17.5	27	26.5
24 - 48 months	30	37.5	27	26.5
More than 48 months	18	22.5	29	28.4
	80	100.0	102	100.0
VISITS - PAST 30 DAYS				
None	16	20.8	25	25.5
1 - 2	29	27.6	34	34.7
3 or more	32	41.6	39	39.8
	77	100.0	98	100.0
CLOSE FRIENDS IN PRISON				
None	8	9.9	18	17.5
1 - 3	50	61.7	65	63.1
4 or more	23	28.4	20	19.4
	81	100.0	103	100.0

*Percentages do not total 100.0% due to rounding.

The data also reveal that prisoners serving sentences for violent offenses at OSP were more likely to be a member of prisoner organizations. However, little or no differences were found for the ramaining sites for the proportion of violent offenders represented in prisoner organizations. The only other site where current offense appeared to be related to prisoner organization membership was Bedford Hills, where nearly 43 percent of those holding membership were serving sentences for crimes other than violence or property theft. The vast majority of Bedford Hills prisoners in this offense category were sentenced for drug offenses. These differences, then, may be explained by a substantially large membership in the Committee Against Life for Drugs (CALD), who successfully lobbied for the repeal of New York drug legislation known as the "Rockfeller Drug Laws."

Our time served and time remaining data suggest that members of prisoner organizations tend to be serving longer terms than those who were not affiliated. The data indicate that 51 percent of all affiliated prisoners had served more than 42 months at their respective institutions, compared to only 37 percent of those without membership. In a similar vein, 67 percent of all prisoner organization members had more than 24 months remaining on their present terms, compared to 63 percent of all those without membership.

Few substantial differences between affiliated and non-affiliated prisoners were revealed for the remaining demographic and background variables examined.

D. TYPE OF FORMAL PRISONER ORGANIZATIONS

Table 34 illustrates the total number organizations in which our prisoner samples reported membership. It should be noted that a substantial proportion (26 to 41 percent) of those affiliated also held membership in more than one prisoner organization.

The self-reported memberships provided in Table 34 were subsequently organized into four major types of prisoner organizations (ethnic, religious.

Table 34

SELF-REPORTED MEMBERSHIPS BY ORGANIZATION AND SITE

SOLEDAD (CTF-C)	STILLWATER	RAHWAY	OSP	BEDFORD HILLS
Alcoholic Anonymous	Advisory Council	Alcoholic Anonymous	Alcoholic Anonymous	Al-Anon
*Aryan Brotherhood	Afro-American Culture Education, Inc.	Forum	Bible Club	Alcoholic Anonymous
*Black Guerilla Family	Alcoholic Anonymous	Lifers Group, Inc.	Car Club (Racing)	Committee Against Life for Drugs
*Crypts	Asklepieion	Muslims	Gavel Club	Hispanic Committee
Friends Outside	Atlantis	NAACP	Jaycees	Inmate Liaison Council
*Hell's Angels	Aztlan (Hispanics)		Keen Club	Lifers
Inmate Committee on Higher Education (ICHE)	Insight		Lakota (Native American)	New Directions
Men's Advisory Council	Jaycees		Lifeline	Parent Awareness
*Mexican Mafia	Muslims		Lifers	Reality House
Muslims	Native American Culture Education, Inc.		Master Men (Chess Club)	South Forty Program
*Nuestra Familia	Sounds Incarcerated, Inc.		Motorcycle Club	Violence Alternative
	Worker's Council		Muslims	
			Seventh Club	
			Slot Car Club	
			Toastmasters	
			Uhuru (Black Culture)	

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*Self-reported membership in unauthorized organizations.

self-help, special interest) to facilitate an examination of the relationships between type of organizational membership and demographic and background characteristics. The proportion of prisoners holding membership in these four organization types is shown in Table 35.

1. ETHNIC AND CULTURAL AWARENESS ORGANIZATIONS

Our classification of ethnic organizations included racial or ethnic organizations which placed a primary focus on cultural awareness and/or education. For example,this category included several different types of black prisoner organizations (except Muslims) which were concerned with the needs and interests of blacks. Similarly, cultural awareness organizations representing the interests of Hispanics (Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans) and Native Americans were placed into this category. The latter were most frequently intertribal organizations, intended to meet needs and interests common to Native Americans regardless of their tribal affiliation.

As indicated in Table 35, membership in ETHNIC organizations (n=90) accounted for 19 percent of all male prisoner memberships. Our data reveal substantial differences for the proportion of prisoners affiliated with ETHNIC organizations among research sites. For example, over 31 percent of the affiliated Stillwater prisoners, compared to only 13 percent of the affiliated OSP prisoners, held active membership in one or more ETHNIC organizations. Hence, while Stillwater and OSP prisoner populations are very similar with respect to the proportion of racial and ethnic minorities within their respective populations (Table 18), they revealed a marked difference in affiliation in ETHNIC organizations. In addition, Rahway, which has a substantial proportion of blacks and Hispanics within the prisoner community, revealed only five percent of prisoner organization memberships within ETHNIC organizations.

Stillwater prisoners revealed the greatest proportion of memberships within ETHNIC organizations, suggesting that Stillwater prisoners had a greater need (or interest) in racial or cultural awareness or education. This was supported, in part, by the level of activity we found among the

TABLE 35

DISTRIBUTION OF FORMAL ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIPS

	STILLWATER		RAHWAY		OSP		BEDFORD HILLS		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ETHNIC	45	31.5	2	4.9	23	13.3	20	15.5	90	18.5
RELIGIOUS	23	16.1	9	22.0	27	15.6	8	6.2	67	13.8
SELF-HELP	37	25.9	11	26.8	30	17.3	55	42.6	133	27.4
SPECIAL INTEREST	38	26.5	19	46.3	93	53.8	46	35.7	196	40.3
TOTAL	143	100.0	41	100.0	173	100.0	129	100.0	486	100.0

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*Several authorized organizations appearing on the official list (maintained by prison management) do not appear in Table 34. Either our sampling design failed to include these members or they did not report their membership in those organizations.

three major ETHNIC organizations: Aztlan (Hispanics), Afro-American Group, and the Native Americans. These three organizations reflected nearly 32 percent of all prisoner organization memberships at Stillwater.

Tables 37 through 45 present the cross tabulation of type of organizational membership with age, race, marital status, education, age when first arrested, time served, amount of time remaining on current sentence, and number of prior felony convictions for all affiliated male prisoners (n=352) included in our samples.[6]

These data will be illustrated more completely in Section E. For our present discussion, we will highlight the observed relationships with specific reference to each type of prisoner organization.

Members of ETHNIC organizations tended to slightly younger than members of other types of organizations and, as we would assume, the vast majority of the members were ethnic and racial minorities.

These findings, to the greater extent, are influenced by an absence of white cultural organizations (except for Jewish Culture groups, which we considered as religious groups) and the greater tendency of ethnic minorities to seek collective solutions to common problems.

One interesting finding was that the proportion of each minority represented in ETHNIC organizations appears to be related (inversely) to the extent to which they are represented in the larger prisoner population. That is, the smaller the ethnic or racial minority, the greater the likelihood that they will hold membership in an ETHNIC organization. For example, our data indicate that 60 percent of the blacks (who represent 18 percent of the Stillwater prisoner population), compared to 90 percent of the Native Americans (who represent 5.4 percent to the prisoner population) and 82 percent of the Hispanics (who represent only 2.7 percent of the prisoners), were members of ETHNIC organizations. A similar pattern was shown for our remaining sites.

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[6] We did not include female memberships in these analyses in an attempt to make more decisive interpretations from the male prisoner data. The female prisoner organization membership data are reported in Appendix D of this report.

One possible explanation is that the greater proportion of Hispanics and Native Americans holding membership in ETHNIC organizations reflects their more specialized cultural needs and interests. Blacks appeared to have a much greater range of interests and, consequently, held membership in more diversified types of prisoner organizations. For example, only 36 percent of all affiliated blacks, compared to 50 percent of the Hispanics and over 68 percent of the Native Americans, were members of ETHNIC organizations. Similarly, blacks represented over 37 percent of the membership in SPECIAL INTEREST organizations,while Hispanics (15 percent) and Native Americans (23 percent) represented substantially fewer of the members.

Our data also reveal slight differences in educational achievement. For example, members of ETHNIC organizations tend to have completed less formal education than members of any other type of organization. The data indicate that 31 percent of the members of ETHNIC organizations, compared to 24 percent of the members of RELIGIOUS organizations, 24 percent of the members of SELF-HELP organizations, and 14 percent of the members of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations had completed less than 12 years of education. No substantial differences were observed for any of the remaining variables examined.

ETHNIC organizations were frequently the principal target of correctional officer concern about prisoner organization. Several officers we interviewed tended to view the formal structure of ETHNIC organizations as facilitating illicit activities and contraband traffic. Others pointed to the potential for power struggles and argued for more control on the development of ethnic or racial solidarity.

Compared to correctional officers at all research sites (except Soledad which is a special case), Stillwater officers tended to be most reluctant to support ETHNIC organizations. For example, one Stillwater officer told us that prisoner organizations could serve an important function, but that most prisoner organizations do not adhere to their stated objectives:

> I think that prisoner organizations could help the correctional officer's job and I think it would be good for the inmates to have those organizations, but I don't think they are being run right because, for instance, if you read the charters of the organizations, it's nice. But I believe that the inmates feel that's merely a front and they don't, by and large, use the organization for what it's set up for -- they use it as a vehicle for other motives, mainly contraband and female companionship. (MSP-OF-36)

The same officer saw the predatory and exploitative actions of some prisoners being shielded by ethnic solidarity. He tells us that few whites confront blacks and Native Americans. The few white groups wielding power tend to be "rip-off artists" who respect racial boundaries. In this victim-victimizer dyad, whites were characterized as being more vulnerable to extortion, and consequently, represent a greater proportion of those in protective custody units:

> You can go into a cell hall and watch, and where you see a group of four or five blacks go up to a certain cell, you can almost bet that man is going to pay off. He's gonna...they're gonna take his TV set, or whatever. And there's little confrontation with the inmates in the Afro group, they pretty well run things. I can't think of a time when the whites stood up to the blacks. There are a lot more whites than blacks in this institution, but the blacks have the power. Three or four blacks can go up to a cell and say, "Pay off or the Afro Group is going to get you." He gives in or he ends up in PC. You see very few blacks go to protective custody, they don't have to. The same with the Indians, you don't see a lot of Indians worried about PC. There's a few swastikas and bikers floating around, but they are so small that they are virtually worthless. There's two biker groups and they can't get along with each other and their numbers are so infinitesimal that they make no impact at all. There are some white groups, rip-off groups, they're left alone by the blacks and Indians as long as they don't tread on them. (MSP-OF-36)

Officers at Rahway and Oregon (OSP) tended to be much more supportive of prisoner organizations and provided a sharper perspective on the internal dynamics of the various organizations active within the institution.

One Rahway officer, representative of the views held by a majority of those we interviewed, saw the organizations as a positive element which allowed a greater amount of activity time and provided an opportunity for prisoners to pursue their interests and gain self-respect. He also told us that when any particular organization begins to create a problem for line staff or management, they are "shut down" until a determination can be made regarding the potential for disruption or conflict:

> I would say that the organizations work; they've been around for a while now. This is not really new here, anymore. It's been around for quite a while now. And they seem to work. And when an organization doesn't work or when it's abused in any way, we just shut it down. Not necessarily permanently. We just shut it down until we can investigate and find out what's going on and what should be done. And lots of times it's allowed to reorganize and reform under different leadership. (NJ-OF-39A)

Correctional officers' perspectives and attitudes toward ETHNIC organizations tended to be shaped by their experiences within the institution and, to some extent, by their experiences with racial and ethnic minorities in the community. At prisons where ETHNIC organizations provided stability and predictability within the prisoner community, officers tended to have a more positive perspective. However, the salience of racial conflict tended to shift these attitudes toward a concern for personal safety and greater control.

In most instances, prisoners were more likely than officers to experience the impact of racial or ethnic conflict. Even in institution where prisoner gangs or other unauthorized racial groups were nonexistent, prisoners who were not affiliated with ETHNIC organizations tended to face a different prison experience. Our interviews and observations strongly suggest that whites and older or unaffiliated blacks were more likely to be the target of racial minorities hostility and criminal activity. Often these prisoners formed loosely structured cliques comprised of members of the same (or nearby) communities, sought support from membership in other types of organizations, obtained assignments which offered ameliorative or protective environments, or looked for other means of individual or collective survival.

Black prisoners appeared to have had much more experience in working out an organizational strategy for achieving their collective needs and interests than any other racial or ethnic minority. The history of black social organization in American prisons, described in other works (e.g., Jacobs, 1977), suggests that one outcome of black prisoners early struggle has been a new sense of legitimacy in the activities of their cultural organizations. Hispanics and Native Americans appeared to be only developing the confidence and pride shown by black ETHNIC organizations.

One black prisoner at Stillwater, who had served as president of the Afro-American group told us that:

> See, you can't stop the group thing. You can take the name away, but it still would be the same. We had a group when I was here during the 60's. The blacks were together, we would read books and discuss them together. So, we're still a black culture group. They can take away the Afro-American label, but that's just a name. We don't care what the administration is going to do, the blacks are going to be with the blacks, the Indians with the Indians, and the whites are going to be with the whites. (MSP-IN-04).

The emerging (or revived) cultural and religious interests of Native American prisoners, denied in many prisons prior to prisoner religious freedom case law, also plays a key role in promoting ethnic division within the prisoner community. Most Native American prisoners we interviewed told that their cultural "gains" often carried the price of constant harassment from racist prisoners and officers. In many instances, Native American religion was the target of officer ridicule, cynicism, and distrust.

One Stillwater officer, admittedly unfamiliar with the cultural and religious ceremonies practiced by MSP Native Americans, saw their requests as capitalizing on an absence of religious precedence and as having secondary motives:

> A lot of this pow-wow stuff is under the direction of religious activities, saying that it's part of their culture, part of their religion, and that stuff. I was talking with some of the Native Americans that I know and work with, and they say, yes, they get involved with this type of stuff here, but on the outside, no, they seldom do. You know, the drums and the pow-wow. I think there's a lack of knowledge about their religion in general. You see, they can bluff a lot with that. And one time, the peace pipe was coming in, and no white man could touch the peace pipe or look at it. Well, I don't know if that's a part of their religion or not -- who knows? So we had to get an officer who was a Native American to come and take the peace pipe apart and look at it, because they wouldn't let anybody else do that. And the same thing with the drums, and it can go on and on, you see. It's not like other religious groups that we know something about, and we can say, well, you're bluffing. (MSP-OF-42)

It should be noted that both Stillwater and OSP, which had the greatest proportion of Native American prisoners within their respective populations, had institutional policies authorizing Native American cultural and spiritual practices. Prison management, in each instance, was generally supportive of Native American cultural awareness and education opportunities and allowed the use of ceremonial pipes and sweet grass. Furthermore, Stillwater management permitted Native Americans to have their drums in their housing areas, while OSP management authorized the construction and use of a Sweat Lodge on prison grounds.

In sum, management's concerns tended to center around the alleged involvement of ETHNIC organization members in drug traffic and other illicit activities, while line staff tended to be more concerned about racial solidarity and empowerment.

2. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

As shown in Table 35, RELIGIOUS organizations accounted for only 14 percent of all memberships. The proportion of male prisoners involved with RELIGIOUS organizations was relatively similar; however, substantially fewer (six percent) Bedford Hills prisoners were involved in religious group activities.

Our classification of RELIGIOUS organizations included all denominations and sects of the Christian, Islamic, Hebrew and Moslem faiths, and other religious organizations which were clearly organized apart from regularly scheduled religious programs at each research site. While Native American spiritual worship may be characterized as being within this category, the failure of prison staff to view Native American religion as a bona fide religious practice, and their emphasis on cultural education, convinced us that Native American organizations were best understood in the context of ETHNIC organizations.

Our data indicate that members of RELIGIOUS organizations tended to be predominantly white (70 percent) and were slightly less likely to have served lengthy periods of time in confinement. Few differences between members of RELIGIOUS organizations and members of other organizations were found for the remaining characteristics examined.

Our interviews with correctional officers, sponsors, and RELIGIOUS organization leaders suggest that correctional officers tend to be much more supportive of RELIGIOUS organizations than any other type of prisoner organizations. Furthermore, their views were generally consistent among all five research sites and were not influenced by racial or ethnic differences of the membership. That is, black RELIGIOUS organizations (e.g., Muslims) were seen as equally beneficial and non-threatening as those organizations which were predominantly white or Hispanic.

One Muslim prisoner at Rahway told us that over a ten-year period the Nation of Islam has been able to gain the respect of prison officials because of their emphasis on personal discipline and a strong commitment to the Islamic faith:

> Ten years ago when the administrators felt a need to repress what they termed, Black Muslims or the Nation of Islam, they found something about the Nation of Islam; that they were the most trustworthy and honest, courteous, clean, dependable, and organized group of individuals in the entire institution. Their word was as good as law. If they agreed upon something, then that's the way it would be. They had less trouble from them in terms of anti-social behavior than they did from those who were not religious or a part of a religious organization. As the years progressed, the administration found a tremendous degree of success in working with the members and followers of Elijah Muhammed. Today we have established that type of relationship. So the new program of Islam that's accepted universally by all Muslims in the world; the administration finds themselves relaxed in dealing with us because we are coming from a more modern, updated, rational perspective in terms of religions. It's easier for them to deal with us as people dealing with an organization. We're not under an iron fist, but we communicate about the one issue important to us; human beings and their survival while we're inside this institution. (IN-NJ-2)

3. SELF-HELP ORGANIZATIONS

As illustrated in Table 35, membership in SELF-HELP organizations accounted for 27 percent of all prisoner organization memberships. Just as we observed sex differences in the proportion of prisoners involved in RELIGIOUS organizations, our data reveal substantial differences between male and female prisoner involvement in SELF-HELP organizations. For example, over 43 percent of all Bedford Hills affiliated prisoners held membership in one or more SELF-HELP organizations, suggesting that either the opportunity for participation in self-help programs was substantially greater at Bedford Hills, or that female prisoners were more likely than males to view SELF-HELP organizations as being a means of fulfilling personal needs and interests.

Our preliminary observations and limited interviews with program staff at each of our research sites suggest that the difference in participation may have been influenced by both factors. That is, the opportunities for male prisoner involvement in SELF-HELP organizations tended to be more limited (due to a greater emphasis on security and control). Furthermore, male prisoner participation tended to be influenced more directly by their peer culture and social relationships within the prisoner community. Our observations support the prisoner contention that males had a greater range of status-conferring opportunities within the context of the prisoner social system and an opportunity within the prison organization hierarchy to obtain assignments which, from their perspective, provided satisfaction of personal needs, e.g., income from prison industry work (an opportunity not available for Bedford Hills prisoners), a "commissary hustle," or ameliorative and protective jobs, such as cell block porters.

Underlying these influences was the marked difference in penal philosophy for male and female corrections. In spite of a very limited part of the New York State Department of Correctional Services budget, the correctional approach of Bedford Hills was more closely associated with the rehabilitative ideal than any of the male maximum security prisons included in our study. In this vein, female prisoners may have received substantially more official support for their participation in treatment-oriented programs and activities, both on the institutional level and from the parole board which, under New York sentencing structure, has considerable discretion in determining readiness for release.

It was sometimes very difficult to determine the difference between prisoner SELF-HELP organizations and institutional "Treatment" programs. In some instances, both management and line staff referred to these two types of activities interchangeably. Alcoholic Anonymous, for example, was frequently seen as an official institutional program -- in spite of a strict A.A. policy of voluntary membership.

In one state, this resulted in conflict between the official goals of the Mutual Agreement Program and Alcoholic Anonymous policy. We were told that the institutional policy of assigning prisoners with an alcoholism history to A.A. under the Mutual Agreement Program (MAP) concept tended to undermine the philosophy of Alcoholics Anonymous. The sponsor of the Stillwater A.A. chapter details this dilemma:

> Right now I've got a subcommittee working on our set of bylaws -- last year's bylaws. There are a few things that I feel need to be expressed a little clearer than they are for each member. Right now inmates can get a MAP program, and it also works with Atlantis, in our group. We feel that using A.A. to get a month or two months off your sentence with the MAP program...We feel that those men are being forced into A.A., and we don't want anybody forced into it. It's your own individual effort if you want to change, so we're working with the idea that anybody on a MAP program...So we discussed it with the steering committee and we decided to present something to the assistant warden and ask for another date to meet with the MAP people, and they could have their separate meeting, maybe a movie, or whatever problems they have and we'd be willing to help in some way if they needed someone to fill in for one night to introduce them to the 12 steps of A.A. If you have a new member who is a MAP, and he's never gone through the 12 steps, then he's more or less lost in it. This would mean having a meeting for those guys on a separate day, and they could start into the program without just walking into something that they don't know anything about.

While the above conflict was subsquently resolved in Stillwater policy revisions, it serves to illustrate the interface problems between prisoner SELF-HELP organizations and institutional programs.

Many SELF-HELP organizations resembled therapeutic programs (e.g., Atlantis, Asklepion, Narcotics Anonymous), but their organizational sturcture provided a substantial amount of prisoner self-determination and self-governance. Furthermore, SELF-HELP members tended to view themselves more as participants of an organization than as clients of a treatment program. Thus, while the major goals of SELF-HELP organizations may be therapeutic in nature, the organizational dynamics and structure tended to resemble more conventional prisoner organizations.

SELF-HELP organization members tended to represent the greatest proportion of white prisoners (81 percent), were more frequently arrested for the first time between the age of 18 and 25 years, and were more likely to have prior felony convictions than members of any other type of prisoner organization.

A more complete description of the relationships between member demographic characteristics and type of organizational involvement is presented in Section E.

4. SPECIAL INTEREST ORGANIZATIONS

SPECIAL INTEREST organizations reflected a greater amount of diversity in their organizational activities than any of the three remaining types of organizations. Organizations (clubs) at Oregon State Penitentiary, for example, were involved in activities ranging from maintaining a stock car on the Pacific Northwest racing circuit (car club) to lobbying for improvement in prison conditions (Lifer's and Jaycees). In other sites, the Jaycees had projects ranging from fund-raising efforts within the prison (e.g., popcorn sales, visitor pictures, etc.) to community service. Other SPECIAL INTEREST organizations were organized around more specialized interests, but together they reflected a wide range of organizational activities. While membership in organizations which provide formal prisoner participation in the institutional decision-making structure (e.g., Prisoner Advisory Councils) may be viewed as "participatory" organizations, the relatively small numbers involved, and the parallel efforts of other prisoner organizations who are directly involved in "quality of life" issues, seem to justify their inclusion in our SPECIAL INTEREST category.

According to Table 35, SPECIAL INTEREST organization memberships comprised over 40 percent of all prisoner memberships. The greatest proportion of SPECIAL INTEREST membership was found as OSP (54 percent), although all sites except Stillwater (26.5 percent) had substantially large memberships in SPECIAL INTEREST organizations.

Tables 36-44 (Section E.) indicate that SPECIAL INTEREST organization members tended to be slightly older, were more likely to have been arrested for the first time under the age of 18 years, had completed more formal education, had served substantially longer periods of time in correctional institutions, and had a slightly longer amount of time to be served on their current sentences than members of any other type of prisoner organization. In addition, SPECIAL INTEREST organizations tended to attract a greater number of blacks than SELF-HELP or RELIGIOUS organizations.

Our observations and semi-structured interviews with organization leadership, sponsors, and prison management suggest that the framework and objectives of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations may provide a vehicle for greater prisoner involvement in many facets of prison management and operations. For example, several SPECIAL INTEREST organizations, e.g., Men's Advisory Council (Soledad), Inmate Liaison Committee (Bedford Hills), and Worker's Council (Stillwater), were structured, primarily, for prisoner input but, with few exceptions, prisoners were not offered an opportunity for involvement in decisions, policy and procedure development, and modification of current practices which, in our judgment, directly affected their lives during confinement. Furthermore, prisoners active in these advisory groups saw little chance of further involvement in the decision-making process.

One of the Soledad prisoners we interviewed told us that limitations on the potential for the Men's Advisory Council stem from staff reluctance to seriously consider MAC requests:

> Any type of small problem that comes up in the institution MAC is supposed to try to handle it to the best of their ability. But they're powerless because whatever the staff tells them they're going to do, that's what they do. There's nothing that they can do about it. So it's up to the staff to weigh it out and see if they're going to let them have it, or whatever. Like a lot of times it's just a refusal. (SO-IN-05)

Another Soledad prisoner with a lengthy period of incarceration behind him in the California Department of Corrections, feels that the MAC is caught in a paper production game that is intended to keep the issues at a distance:

> They allow the MAC to negotiate, and they let them out when we get locked down, and all that. They allow them to get into conversations with the upper level administration, sure, and they have meetings with them. But it really doesn't mean anything because the administration doesn't respond to anything. Anytime that you talk to them about something, they want it in writing, and listen, I used to turn out bales of that shit. I can turn it out in my sleep, and if you turn it out in writing, itemized, comprehensive, logical, and everything, it just gets shelved. (SO-IN-21)

Prisoners at other institutions saw the failure of advisory groups as stemming from a lack of support from both staff and prisoners. The lack of trust and the suspicion of advisory group members being co-opted by management tended to work against the development of these organizations into an effective vehicle for prisoner participation and involvement. Often the issues to be resolved were simple problems that could have been dealt with on the line level of the prison organization, such as the food line, showering, clothing distribution, etc.

When we identified several situations in which prisoners involvement in day-to-day decisions was an established practice, we received extremely varied responses.

Prisoners and SPECIAL INTEREST organizations sponsors,for different reasons, argued that greater involvement is essential for the success of existing organizations. While prisoners tended to advocate a greater opportunity for autonomy, self-determination, and wider scope of their organizational activities, sponsors pointed to responsible shared decision-making, planning, and recognition for the organization's service to the institution.

A correctional officer who sponsored the Jaycees at Stillwater told us that support from the administration for special activities and the responsible behavior of the membership were two key factors in the continued success of prisoner organizations:

> I would think first, that the administration would have to be supportive of prisoner organizations for it to be successful. I think that without their support, there is no way it could really get going on an up and up basis. You'll always have underground groups in a prison, but I think the fact that this administration supports prisoner organizations and makes room for their meetings, and makes an officer available for the meetings, pays overtime for sponsors to supervise the meetings, and pays overtime for the banquets, and allows bands to come in to play, that's probably the thing that makes the groups go, the fact that the administration is in support of it. And also the fact that the inmates are responsible enough to participate in a group event in the orderly, mannerly fashion that they do. We haven't had any problems at any of these major events of any of the groups for a long time. (MSP-OF-48)

Line officers (with little direct experience with prisoner organizations) nearly always rejected the possibility of an extension of prisoner participation, asserting that it would compromise their ability to control the population. Even those officers who saw prisoner organizations in a positive light, tended to stress the need for control.

One Rahway officer told us that prisoners organizations such as the Lifer's Group were a meaningful activity for prisoners during their imprisonment, but that changing dynamics within the prisoner organization and changes in their leadership demand that staff maintain constant intelligence on their activities. He tells us that they are very difficult to control because prisoners attempt to alter the rules and regulations:

> I think organizations are hard to control because inmates are people, and people always seem to go around rules and regulations to suit their own benefit. They require manpower, they require expertise, and they require experience because you have to work with these various groups. And as people change, so does the organization. So you have to know who you are dealing with and what the rules are. You can't say the organizations are a big problem, but you can't say there isn't any problem either. It's like anything else, it has to be regulated. We have the Lifer's Group, which is a very popular thing here. Okay, what are the rules for the Lifer's? Are they allowed to go back and forth to their office? What are they allowed to have in their office? And the rules have evolved out of experience, dealing with the Lifers as the thing grew. (NJ-OF-39A)

Management tended to be much more willing to explore the potential for increased prisoner involvment, but limited their acceptance to "proven" relationships which were frequently geared to specific control and information interests.

One of the New Jersey Department of Corrections central office management staff, for example, expressed reserved support for prisoner organizations. He also told us that the department policy is to attempt to accommodate prisoner organizations at Rahway, which was characterized as being the most progressive institutional environment in New Jersey corrections, because they provided service to management as well as to prisoners:

> Although I've been out of direct contact with the control of Rahway for the past two years, I would have to say that inmate groups can be beneficial. There's no question about it, they can be helpful to the administration. My feeling is that the Department is trying to make an effort to develop a positive response to inmate organizations. I think that there are elements within these organizations that not only benefit the inmate population, but benefit management of the same population. At the same time, I am not the type of individual who would go on record as saying that every inmate organization has a positive influence. Some of them can be very threatening. I think that New Jersey's policy would be to try to identify those groups and either try to eliminate them or reduce their influence, basically policy decisions, hoping, of course, that you can do this without "going to war" with certain inmate groups. (NJ-MGR-46)

5. OTHER FORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES: PRISON INDUSTRY AND THE WORKERS COUNCIL (STILLWATER)

The following data illustrate the differences between Stillwater prisoners who held assignments in prison industry and those who remained in the general prisoner population inside the main security area of the institution.[7] Prison industry workers represented nearly 28 percent of our Stillwater sample. This subsample allowed us to develop a comparison of demographic and background characteristics, prisoner social values, and perspectives of management. In addition, we included our summarized observations and comments drawn from interviews with Workers Council representatives, and prison industry management and security personnel.

The prison industry program at Stillwater was seen by many of our respondents as being one of the more desirable assignments. Workers told us that the relatively good pay, the less stressful work and social environment, and the meaningful opportunities to be involved in many work-related decisions were among the benefits of prison industry assignments. However, not all prisoners agreed with this perspective. Native Americans, for instance, argued the assembly line production of (white) dolls was demeaning work which conflicted with their cultural identity. Thus, while some prisoners viewed prison industry as providing an alternative environment that offered ameliorative and protective features, others chose to remain "inside" in a deliberate attempt to avoid what was perceived as an exploitative condition added to their imprisonment.

These divergent perspectives on prison industry underscore basic differences stemming from the social organization of the Stillwater prisoner community. Many blacks and Native Americans we interviewed expressed a greater interest in remaining associated with the "inside" community than in becoming a part of the work-oriented and structured environment of prison industry. As a result, their focus, centered on the perceived needs of their respective racial identity, tended to be related to traditional prison survival and status games that, although providing some immediate gratification, often works against long-term interests. Often the "decision" to seek refuge within the more dynamic "inside" community was based on access to illegitimate opportunity systems such as drug dealing and its orbital economic system, cell burglary, and other "subcultural" activities. In fact, it was widely acknowledged by industry workers, cell hall officers, and non-worker prisoners alike, that industry workers cells were an easy mark for "rip-off artists." As workers were away from their cell halls during most of the day, their personal property was more vulnerable to prisoners who disregard the romantic concept of "honor among thieves."

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[7] While OSP also had a commitment to prison industries, the extent of involvement by prisoners do not allow the special analysis we performed with the Stillwater data.

An additional perspective was provided by several black prisoners we interviewed. One Stillwater prisoner, for example, told us that blacks were more likely to be excluded from desirable programs and assignments because of the type of offense they were convicted of and the length of time they had to serve:

> Let me explain this to you about Stillwater. Eighty percent of the Afro Group are here for crimes of violence. Seventy-two percent of the Afro Group are doing ten years or more. I got these figures, we compiled them, we have a list of these men. What happens here is that we're chained to the penitentiary for three years, inside the structure of Stillwater, inside the walls. The first rule to get into a minimum security institution or into minimum security programs, is that you must not be here for a crime of violence. But automatically, the first rule eliminates 80 percent of the Afros. Next rule is that you must be within a year of going home. Seventy-two percent of us are doing ten years or more, so how long do we have to be here to be within a year? How much "dead time" have we done playing dominoes, playing cards, or whatever before we are eligible for some programs? By then we have become set in our ways, like I don't want to go out there, I'm going home next year. Or, I don't have to be bothered with that. That's the attitude. (MSP-IN-02)

The data that follow illustrate the differences between Stillwater prison industry workers and members of the general prisoner population.[8] As indicated in Table 36 there are few differences between these two subsamples for age, education, and type of present offense. However, marked differences are revealed for the proportion of blacks and other racial minorities represented in the worker subsample. For example, our data indicate that blacks represent only eight percent of the workers in prison industry and all racial minorities combined account for less than 12 percent of industry workers.

As prison industry offers substantially greater economic opportunities, as well as opportunities to acquire skills that may be useful in the free community upon release, these racial imbalances raise serious questions concerning equal opportunity employment in prison industry. This does not imply that Stillwater management had a formal or informal policy intended to systematically exclude racial minorities from the industry program. Instead, these data tend to support the perspectives given to us during our interviews with representatives of the various ETHNIC organizations. That is, most Native Americans and many blacks saw prison industry as essentially a "white" program that overlooked the social and cultural perspectives of minorities. In addition, many minority prisoners stated that they would rather remain inside the main security section of the prison, where they could regularly meet with members of their racial groups, than endure the social isolation and occasional racial harassment shown by a small number of racist whites. While this perspective is consistent with our findings, an additional factor should be considered. Namely, the social structure of Stillwater, like most maximum security prisons in the United States, is based on primary racial divisions within the prisoner community. As we have discussed earlier in this report, these informal racial divisions tend to be accommodated within the structure of formal ETHNIC organizations.

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[8] The "general population" for these analyses is restricted to prisoners who would otherwise be eligible for prison industry assignments. This necessarily excludes those in segregation, protective custody, and other restricted housing assignemnts.

Table 36

A COMPARISON OF PRISON INDUSTRY WORK AND GENERAL POPULATION DEMOGRAPHIC AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

	Prison Industry		General Population	
	N	%	N	%
AGE				
20 - 25 years	8	15.4	20	19.4
26 - 30 years	15	28.8	30	28.3
31 - 39 years	17	32.7	32	30.2
40+ years	12	23.1	24	22.6
	52	100.0	106	100.0
	$\overline{X}$ = 33.5 years		$\overline{X}$ = 33.0 years	
RACE				
White	46	88.5	71	67.0
Black	4	7.7	24	22.6
Other (combined)	2	3.8	11	10.4
	52	100.0	106	100.0
EDUCATION				
Less than 12 years	14	27.5	28	27.7
High school	27	52.9	47	46.5
Some college	10	19.9	26	25.8
	51	100.0	101	100.0
	$\overline{X}$ = 11.8 years		$\overline{X}$ = 11.4 years	
PRESENT OFFENSE				
Crimes against persons	25	49.0	54	51.9
Crimes against property	15	29.4	28	26.9
Others (combined)	11	21.6	22	21.2
	51	100.0	104	100.0
MARITAL STATUS				
Single (never married)	23	45.1	33	32.4
Married	11	21.6	32	31.2
Separated/Divorced	17	33.3	37	36.3
	51	100.0	102	99.9*
AGE WHEN FIRST ARRESTED				
Under 17 years	18	34.6	44	41.9
17 - 21 years	14	26.9	27	25.7
22 - 25 years	8	15.4	16	15.2
	12	23.1	18	17.1
	52	100.0	105	99.9*
PRIOR CONVICTIONS				
None	19	36.5	28	26.7
One	10	19.2	14	13.3
One to three	9	17.3	36	34.3
Four and over	14	26.9	27	25.7
	52	99.9*	105	100.0

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*Percentages do not total 100.0 due to rounding.

A number of social dynamics emerge within this context that tend to result in greater value and importance being placed on ethnic solidarity than on the pursuit of individual goals within the official opportunity system of prison industry. These dynamics tend to support the development of alternative opportunity systems that, given the limited availability of economic opportunities outside of prison industry, become geared toward counter-normative (subcultural) experiences, interests, and goals. Inside the Stillwater prison community, these alternative opportunities were often structured around the acquisition and distribution of contraband substances and supporting activities.

These interpretations are, to some extent, supported by our quantitative data. For example, the data reveal that members of the general population tend to have earlier criminal experiences than prison industry workers. Nearly 42 percent of the Stillwater general population were arrested for the first time prior to their seventeenth birthday, compared to 34.6 percent of the industry workers were first offenders, while only 26.7 percent of the general population had no prior convictions.

In our view, white prisoners were more likely to adhere to traditional prisoner values and attitudes, while blacks and other racial minorities tended to develop specialized attitudes, values and norms consistent with their loyalties toward their respective ethnic or racial group.

As we have indicated earlier, Stillwater prison industry workers have a form of collective representation for job-related problems. The Workers' Council acts as a liaison between prisoners and industry management. It consists, primarily, of its chairman, vice chairman, and shop representatives elected by prisoners in each shop area (subject to the approval of the plant manager). Our interviews with the Plant Manager and Workers' Council chairman indicated that many valuable contributions have been made by the Workers' Council that address both management and prisoner interests. For example, the Workers' Council has assisted in many decisions regarding the production of certain materials, identified potential safety hazards, and resolved interpersonal disputes between foremen and workers. The Plant Manager told us that:

> The Workers' Council is a kind of mediator between the inmates and the staff. If some of the inmates seem to be having a problem in a certain area, rather than have eight, ten men out of the shop, if you wanted to go someplace to complain about something, the shop director will come down and see the representative or myself or one of the assistant managers and we will talk things over and see if we can work them out. If it seems to be an inmate-foreman clash, we can work it out, maybe by moving the man from one shop to another.

He also tells us that issues like prisoner-worker pay can be resolved by Workers' Council initiatives:

> The pay schedule is pretty well set, it varies anywhere from $1.80 a day to $4.20 a day and it is by the type of work that you do. If you are a helper up in the paint shop, you are putting parts on the cart up there, you are getting $1.80 a day. If you are the man in the paint booth who's doing all the painting on them, you're probably making $4.20 a day. (If the council wanted more money for a position), we'd discuss it and probably the answer I'd give would be, "OK, I'll look into this." I will check it out with the foreman and see if he thinks the job is worth more than what it is and if the shop average pay allows it. Each shop has a $3.20 a day average, when you take all the jobs and divide by the number of people, it's got to come out close to $3.20. Say, the shop average at present came out to $3.10 a day and the foreman says, "This is a more technical job, I'd like to see the guys get the top of the range, that would be $3.70 instead of $3.20. If he thinks it is worth it, fine. They can bring it up and most of the time we will discuss it with the manager in charge of the shop and the foreman to get their point of view.

The Workers' Council chairman told us that leadership positions are based on previous organizational experiences and that the only strategy that can benefit the workers is structured communications with management:

> Before you get to be the chairman, you come in as a shop representative. And this is the guy who more than likely will be shop steward, and then through this process you get to learn about the organization. If you aspire, you can run for chairman or vice-chairman, secretary, or whatever. This is how you learn the rules. Most of the guys start out on the floor level. Basically, it's ninety percent negotiation; merely sitting down and discussing the issues and hoping that through negotiation you can come up with a solution that will satisfy both parties. In a strained situation the only thing

> the inmate has left is a protest in the form of a sitdown or a work stoppage, not going down to the dining room to eat, to focus attention on the problem. So you only have one alternative when you don't get anything through, just negotiation. The only other route you have would probably be called a disruption in the system. Basically, when a problem comes up, sometimes if you see that you can go to the proper administrative head and talk with him on a one-to-one basis, sometimes you can do this. Occasionally, you'll have to bring it to a full council meeting and discuss it further, and hope that you can come to a satisfactory conclusion. (MSP-IN-03)

Our observations and interviews with a large range of prison industry staff indicate that the Worker's Council plays a vital role in making industry a stable environment. While its application may be limited to a semi-specialized element of the prisoner community, the council appears to provide the best opportunity for prisoner self-governance and participative management.

E. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MEMBERS

Tables 37 through 45 present the crosstabulation of type of organizational membership with age, race, marital status, education, age when first arrested, current offense, number of prior felony convictions, time served, and amount of time remaining on current sentence for all affiliated male prisoners (n=352).

Table 37 indicates that a greater proportion of the members of RELIGIOUS (46 percent), SELF-HELP (45 percent), and SPECIAL INTEREST (54 percent) organizations were within the 31-year-old and older age range, compared to 37 percent of the members of ETHNIC organizations. While these differences are not statistically significant (p=.30), the data point to a tendency of ETHNIC organizations to attract a slightly younger membership. In contrast, members of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations tend to be somewhat older than members of all other types of organizations.

Table 38 presents the relationship between type of organizational affiliation and race. As shown, RELIGIOUS (70 percent), SELF-HELP (81 percent), and SPECIAL INTEREST (72 percent) organizations had predominantly white memberships, while ETHNIC organizations, predictably, had a large proportion (83 percent) of black, Hispanic, and Native American members.

The data reveal that whites comprised 17 percent of the membership in ETHNIC organizations, suggesting that these organizations provide at least some opportunity for white prisoners to pursue interests within the context of Ethnic organization objectives and activities.

Of the three racial minorities, blacks were less likely to be affiliated with ETHNIC organizations. As indicated, only 36 percent of all affiliated blacks, compared to 50 percent of the Hispanics and 68 percent of the Native Americans held memberships in ETHNIC organizations. Unlike Hispanics or Native Americans, a substantial proportion of blacks tended to hold membership in SPECIAL INTEREST organizations, suggesting that the interests of blacks may be more diversified than those of Hispanics or Native Americans.

According to Table 39, marital status appears to have little bearing on type of organizational involvement. The data indicate that single, married, or split family prisoners are nearly equally represented within each organizational type.

The data illustrating the relationship between organization type and education present several interesting findings. While statistical relationships were not examined due to a small number of cases within some cells of the crosstabulation matrix, the data presented in Table 40, suggest that members of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations tend to have completed a greater number of years of education than members of all other types of organizations. For example, 56 percent of those completing 14 or 15 years of formal education and 45 percent of those completing 16 or more years held membership in SPECIAL INTEREST organizations.

Table 41 reveals a significant relationship (p=.02) between type of organizational affiliation and age when first arrested. These data indicate

Table 37

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY AGE: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

	25 yrs. or under	26 to 30 yrs.	31 yrs. or over	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 19.1 13 Col % 21.0	44.1 30 24.2	36.8 25 15.1	68	19.3
Religious	18.6 11 17.7	35.6 21 16.9	45.8 27 16.3	58	16.8
Self-help	14.5 11 17.7	40.8 31 25.0	44.7 34 20.5	76	21.6
Special Interest	18.1 27 43.5	28.2 42 33.9	53.7 80 48.2	149	42.3
Total	62	124	166	N=352	
%	17.6	35.2	47.2	$X^2 = 7.8856$ df = 6 p = .30	

Table 38

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY RACE: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

White	Black	Hispanic	Native American	Total	%
Row % 17.1 12 Col % 5.4	47.1 33 36.3	14.3 10 50.0	21.4 15 68.2	70	19.6
69.5 41 18.3	23.7 14 15.4	6.8 4 20.0	-- 0 --	59	16.5
80.8 63 28.1	12.8 10 11.0	3.8 3 15.0	2.6 2 9.1	78	21.8
72.0 108 48.2	22.7 34 37.4	2.0 3 15.0	3.3 5 22.7	150	42.0
224	91	20	22	N = 357	
62.7	25.5	5.6	6.2		

*Chi Square values were not computed as several cells contained less than five cases.

Table 39

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY MARITAL STATUS: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

	Single	Married	Split Family	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 36.8 27 Col % 22.3	37.1 26 19.8	24.3 17 16.2	70	19.6
Religious	40.7 24 19.8	30.5 18 13.7	28.8 17 16.2	59	16.5
Self-help	29.5 23 19.0	35.9 28 21.4	34.6 27 25.7	78	21.8
Special Interest	31.3 47 38.8	39.3 59 45.0	29.3 44 41.9	150	42.0
Total	121	131	105	N=357	
%	33.9	36.7	29.4	X^2= 4.2578 df= 6 p = .60	

Table 40

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY EDUCATION: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

Less than 12 yrs.	12 or 13 yrs.	14 or 15 yrs.	16 yrs. or more	Total	%
Row % 30.9 21 Col % 28.8	44.1 30 18.3	14.7 10 12.2	10.3 7 24.1	68	19.5
24.1 14 19.2	44.8 26 15.9	25.9 15 18.3	5.2 3 10.3	58	16.7
23.7 18 24.7	53.9 41 25.0	14.5 11 13.4	7.9 6 20.7	76	21.8
13.7 20 27.4	45.9 67 40.9	31.5 46 56.1	8.9 13 44.8	146	42.0
73	164	82	29	N=348	
21.0	47.1	23.6	8.3		

*Chi Square values were not computed as several cells contained less than five cases.

Table 41

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY AGE AT FIRST ARREST: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

	17 yrs. or under	18 to 25 yrs.	26 yrs. or over	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 49.3 34 Col % 18.6	30.4 21 19.1	20.3 14 23.3	69	19.5
Religious	45.6 26 14.2	29.8 17 15.5	24.6 10 23.3	57	16.1
Self-help	42.9 33 18.0	44.2 34 30.9	13.0 10 16.7	77	21.8
Special Interest	60.0 90 49.2	25.3 38 34.5	14.7 22 36.7	150	42.5
Total	183	110	60	N = 353	
%	51.8	31.2	17.0		

N = 353

$X^2 = 16.1799$

df = 6

$p = .02$

Table 42

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY CURRENT OFFENSE: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

	Violent Personal	Property	Drug, Other	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 65.7 46 Col % 20.5	24.3 17 21.3	10.0 7 13.5	70	19.7
Religious	62.1 36 16.1	20.7 12 15.0	17.2 10 19.2	58	16.3
Self-help	53.8 42 18.8	30.8 24 30.0	15.4 12 23.1	78	21.9
Special Interest	66.7 100 44.6	18.0 27 33.8	15.3 23 44.2	150	42.1
Total	244	80	52		
%	62.9	22.5	14.6		

N = 356

$X^2 = 6.7365$
df = 6
p = .40

Table 43

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY NUMBER OF PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

	None	1 or 2	3 to 5	6 or more	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 36.2 25 Col % 23.8	23.2 16 15.5	36.2 25 21.0	4.3 3 12.0	69	19.6
Religious	32.1 18 17.1	30.4 17 16.5	42.1 18 15.1	5.4 3 12.0	56	15.9
Self-help	27.3 21 20.0	22.1 17 16.5	36.4 28 23.5	14.3 11 44.0	77	21.9
Special Interest	27.3 41 39.0	35.3 53 51.5	32.0 48 40.3	5.3 8 32.0	150	42.6
Total	105	103	119	25	N = 352	
%	29.8	29.3	33.8	7.1		

*Chi Square values were not computed as several cells contained less than five cases.

Table 44

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY TIME SERVED DURING LIFETIME: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

	Less than 1 yr.	1 to 2 yrs.	3 to 5 yrs.	6 to 10 yrs.	over 10 yrs.	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 4.3 3 15.0	11.6 8 17.4	26.1 18 20.9	31.9 22 21.8	26.1 18 18.2	69	19.6
Religious	14.0 8 40.0	14.0 8 17.4	17.5 10 11.6	33.3 19 18.8	21.1 12 12.1	57	16.2
Self-help	5.2 4 20.0	14.3 11 23.9	22.1 17 19.8	32.5 25 24.8	26.0 20 20.2	77	21.9
Special Interest	3.4 5 25.0	12.8 19 41.3	27.5 41 47.7	23.5 35 34.7	32.9 49 49.5	149	42.3
Total	20	46	86	101	99	N=352	
%	5.7	13.1	24.4	28.7	28.1		

*Chi Square values were not computed as several cells contained less than five cases.

Table 45

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY TIME REMAINING ON PRESENT SENTENCE: AFFILIATED MALE PRISONERS

	Less than 6 months	6 to 12 months	13 to 24 months	25 to 48 months	over 48 months	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 9.0 6 Col % 28.6	16.4 11 30.6	10.4 7 17.8	22.4 15 16.5	41.8 28 17.7	67	19.4
Religious	3.6 2 9.5	16.1 9 25.0	5.4 3 7.7	35.7 20 22.0	39.3 22 13.9	56	16.2
Self-help	8.0 6 28.6	6.7 5 13.9	13.3 10 25.6	32.0 24 26.4	40.0 30 19.0	75	21.7
Special Interest	4.8 7 33.3	7.5 11 30.6	12.9 19 48.7	21.8 32 35.2	53.1 78 49.4	147	42.6
Total	21	36	39	91	158	N=345	
%	6.1	10.4	11.3	26.4	45.8		

*Chi Square values were not computed as several cells contained less than five cases.

that 60 percent of the members of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations, compared to 43 percent of the members of SELF-HELP organizations, 46 percent of RELIGIOUS organization members, and 49 percent of ETHNIC organization members, were arrested for the first time under the age of 18 years. Unlike members of all other organizations, members of SELF-HELP organizations were more likely to have been arrested for the first time between the age of 18 and 25 years.

While the remaining data do not reveal significant differences among organization types, there are several interesting findings. For example, as shown in Table 42, SPECIAL INTEREST organizations tended to have a greater proportion of drug offenders (44 percent) and those convicted of crimes against the person (45 percent). This finding is likely to have been the result of substantial membership in Lifer's groups. With the female affiliated members removed from these analyses, the larger proportion of drug offenders cannot be explained by membership in C.A.L.D., which accounted for the greatest proportion of female membership in SPECIAL INTEREST organizations.

Table 43 presents the relationship between type of organizational membership and number of prior convictions. As shown, the number of prior convictions was not disproportionately distributed within any particular type of organization. However, SELF-HELP organization members did tend to be slightly more likely to have prior felony convictions than members of all other types of prisoner organizations. That is, over 50 percent of the members of SELF-HELP organizations had three or more prior convictions, compared to only 40 percent of ETHNIC organization members and 37 percent of both RELIGIOUS and SPECIAL INTEREST organization members. This data also reveal that 44 percent of those with six or more prior convictions were SELF-HELP organization members, a substantially greater proportion than revealed for the remaining types of prisoner organizations.

Table 44 illustrates the relationship between time served in correctional institutions and type of organizational membership. These data suggest that members of RELIGIOUS organizations were less likely, and members of Special Interest organizations more likely, to have served lengthly periods of time in correctional institutions. For example, only 12 percent of those who were incarcerated for a period over ten years were members of RELIGIOUS organizations while nearly 50 percent were members of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations.

The data also indicate that 40 percent of those who had served less than one year during their lifetime held membership in RELIGIOUS organizations, suggesting prisoners without extensive prison experience are more likely to desire membership in religious groups and organizations.

The relationship between time remaining on current sentence and organizational affiliation is shown in Table 45. As indicated, SPECIAL INTEREST organization members were more likely to have a greater amount of time to be served on their current sentences than members of all other types of organizations. For example, a slightly greater proportion (53 percent) of the members of SPECIAL INTEREST organizations had more than 48 months remaining on their sentences. Together with the data presented in Table 44, these findings suggest that SPECIAL INTEREST organizations may represent the needs and interests of long-term prisoners to a far greater degree than any other types of prisoner organizations.

F. PRISONER RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES

Earlier in this chapter we reported that many social and organizational relationships were influenced by the specialized needs and interests of racial and ethnic groups within the prisoner community. We also indicated that ETHNIC organizations tended to provide a formal organizational framework for both prisoners and management to evolve acceptable solutions for race-related problems. However, not all racial minorities were affiliated with formal prisoner organizations. Our data indicated that only 31 percent of all blacks held membership in one or more prisoner organizations, and an even smaller proportion were members of ETHNIC organizations.

These findings suggest that while formal prisoner organizations may offer an opportunity for the formulation of collective solutions (and a limited amount of self-determination), most prisoners may seek solutions to individual or collective problems through the traditional network of the prisoner social system. Hence, the distinction between the extent of involvement in formal or informal organizations may be important to understand race relations within the prisoner community.

The data which follow are intended to partially illustrate the extent and nature of differences between racial groups. It is important to be familiar with the differences among these racial groups, e.g., age when first arrested, number of prior convictions, length of time spent in confinement, to better understand their adherence to the prisoner social system and their tendency to become involved with formal organizations within the prisoner community.

Table 46 presents a comparison between blacks, whites, and other racial minorities for selected demographic characteristics. As shown, blacks tended to be slightly younger than either whites or other racial minorities.

The data also indicate that blacks and other minorities were more likely than whites to have terminated their education prior to the completion of high school requirements. For example, 52 percent of all blacks and 51 percent of all other racial minorities, compared to only 28 percent of all whites, had completed less than 12 years of formal education. Conversely, a greater proportion of whites (15 percent) had completed 14 or 15 years of education.

While there were few differences among racial groups for the proportion of married prisoners, blacks (54 percent) and, to some extent, other racial minorities (47 percent) were more likely to never have been married.

Our data pertaining to type and extent of criminal involvement present some interesting findings. While our data for all affiliated male prisoners suggested that blacks and other racial minorities were slightly more likely to be convicted of crimes against the person, and to have had a greater number of prior convictions, our data for combined samples (male and female) present a slightly different picture. According to Table 46, whites (52 percent), rather than blacks (49 percent) or other racial minorities (46 percent), were slightly more likely to have been convicted of violent personal crimes.

Furthermore, whites were more likely than blacks or other racial minorities to have had prior convictions. The data illustrate that 39 percent of the whites, compared to 26 percent of the blacks and only 20 percent of other

Table 46

A COMPARISON OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS FOR THREE RACIAL GROUPS (AGGREGATED SAMPLES)

	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
AGE						
25 and younger	85	23.7	73	29.4	18	23.1
26 - 30 years	98	27.3	82	33.1	26	33.3
31 and older	176	49.0	93	37.5	34	43.6
Total	359	100.0	248	100.0	78	100.0
EDUCATION						
Less than 12 years	101	28.3	133	52.4	39	51.3
12 or 13 years	192	53.8	89	35.0	32	42.1
14 or 15 years	53	14.8	23	9.1	4	5.3
16 or more years	11	3.1	9	3.5	1	1.3
Total	347	100.0	254	99.9*	76	100.0
MARITAL STATUS						
Single	121	33.3	141	54.4	38	46.9
Married	106	29.2	73	28.2	25	30.9
Split Family	136	37.5	45	17.4	18	22.2
Total	363	100.0	259	100.0	81	100.0
CURRENT OFFENSE						
Violent Personal	185	51.8	121	49.0	35	46.1
Property	110	30.8	62	25.1	19	25.0
Drug	23	6.4	40	16.2	19	25.0
Other	39	10.9	24	9.7	3	3.9
Total	357	99.9	247	100.0	76	100.0
NUMBER OF PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS						
None	109	31.3	83	34.3	37	52.9
1 or 2	103	29.6	96	39.7	19	27.1
3 or more	99	28.4	48	19.8	11	15.7
6 or more	37	10.6	15	6.2	3	4.3
Total	348	99.9*	247	100.0	76	100.0
AGE WHEN FIRST ARRESTED						
17 and younger	166	47.1	103	41.8	25	32.1
18 - 25 years	120	34.1	96	39.0	26	33.3
26 and older	66	18.8	47	19.1	27	34.6
Total	352	100.0	246	99.9*	78	100.0

Table 46 Continued --

	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
TIME SERVED (LIFETIME)						
Less than 1 year	50	14.0	36	14.9	12	15.8
1 to 2 years	59	16.5	40	16.5	20	26.3
3 to 5 years	81	22.7	54	22.3	17	22.4
6 to 8 years	98	27.5	65	26.9	14	18.4
More than 8 years	69	19.3	47	19.4	13	17.1
Total	357	100.0	242	99.8*	76	100.0
TIME REMAINING ON CURRENT SENTENCE(S)						
Less than 6 months	27	7.7	25	10.2	5	6.3
6 to 12 months	39	11.1	24	9.8	5	6.3
13 to 24 months	62	17.6	33	13.5	17	21.5
25 to 48 months	93	26.4	75	30.6	23	29.1
More than 48 months	131	37.2	88	35.9	29	36.7
Total	352	100.0	245	100.0	79	99.9*

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*Percentages do not equal 100.0 due to rounding.

minorities, had three or more prior felony convictions. All other racial minorities together were more likely than whites or blacks to have been first offenders. The data reveal that 53 percent of all Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans combined, compared to 34 percent of the blacks and 31 percent of the whites, had no prior felony convictions.

Similar findings are revealed for age when first arrested, a conventional indicator for early criminal involvement. Our data reveal that a slightly greater proportion of whites (47 percent), compared to blacks (42 percent) and other racial minorities (32 percent), were arrested for the first time under the age of 18 years. Hence, our data suggest that whites tended to have earlier criminal involvement than either blacks or other racial minorities.

Few differences among racial groups were shown for the total amount of time spent in correctional institutions. Similarly, each racial group tended to have approximately the same amount of time remaining on their current sentence(s), a departure from our data on affiliated male prisoners.

Tables 47 through 51 present the mean scale values for each of the Prisoner Social Values Scale dimensions by research setting and racial group.

As indicated, few substantial differences between racial groups were found for PRISONIZATION, although Bedford Hills Hispanics (Other) tended to reveal slightly higher scores than either blacks or whites. Each racial group tended to reveal moderately high PRISONIZATION scores, suggesting substantial adherence to prisoner social norms and values regulating prison conduct.

Table 48 illustrates the differences between racial groups for CRIMINALIZATION scale values. These data indicate that while all three racial groups tended to reveal relatively low CRIMINALIZATION scores, blacks and other racial minorities consistently scored higher than whites. The only exception to this pattern was found for the combined racial category at Rahway, which revealed the lowest CRIMINALIZATION scores of all three

Table 47

PRISONIZATION SCALE VALUES BY RACE

	White			Black			All Others		
	N	$\bar{X}$	S	N	$\bar{X}$	S	N	$\bar{X}$	S
Stillwater	131	3.37	.51	29	3.33	.46	12	3.47	.52
Rahway	27	3.60	.52	73	3.53	.63	12	3.62	.42
OSP	143	3.56	.53	14	3.68	.65	11	3.53	.48
Bedford Hills	32	3.37	.49	87	3.49	.56	27	3.64	.42

Table 48

CRIMINALIZATION SCALE VALUES BY RACE

	White			Black			All Others		
	N	$\bar{X}$	S	N	$\bar{X}$	S	N	$\bar{X}$	S
Stillwater	128	2.33	.74	31	2.54	.68	11	2.67	.43
Rahway	28	2.44	.80	71	2.60	.67	10	1.96	.25
OSP	143	2.31	.72	15	2.80	.90	11	2.47	.65
Bedford Hills	30	2.04	.58	83	2.50	.55	28	2.54	.69

Table 49

RADICALISM SCALE VALUES BY RACE

	White			Black			All Others		
	N	$\overline{X}$	S	N	$\overline{X}$	S	N	$\overline{X}$	S
Stillwater	132	2.83	.66	30	3.59	.59	12	3.25	.87
Rahway	28	3.29	.77	75	3.55	.67	10	3.80	.81
OSP	143	3.29	.72	13	3.58	.78	12	3.38	.88
Bedford Hills	28	3.17	.82	83	3.64	.71	32	3.57	.68

Table 50

COLLECTIVE ACTION SCALE VALUES BY RACE

	White			Black			All Others		
	N	$\overline{X}$	S	N	$\overline{X}$	S	N	$\overline{X}$	S
Stillwater	130	3.21	.53	28	3.40	.56	12	3.43	.60
Rahway	28	3.36	.39	72	3.35	.59	11	3.32	.49
OSP	139	3.30	.47	15	3.40	.55	11	3.18	.46
Bedford Hills	29	3.21	.64	82	3.28	48	30	3.50	.48

Table 51

RACISM-SEXISM SCALE VALUES BY RACE

	White			Black			All Others		
	N	$\overline{X}$	S	N	$\overline{X}$	S	N	$\overline{X}$	S
Stillwater	132	2.66	.56	27	2.77	.65	11	2.78	.36
Rahway	26	2.54	.52	73	2.33	.63	10	2.65	.57
OSP	137	2.71	.60	15	2.64	.58	11	2.77	.41
Bedford Hills	31	2.17	.52	83	2.50	.55	30	2.74	.67

racial groups ($\bar{X}$=1.96). These higher CRIMINALIZATION scale values among blacks and other minorities are more likely to be related to their specialized adaptation than to criminal involvement. For example, values supporting the use of violence to resolve disputes may be more common among racial minorities -- who may have to demonstrate their ability (or willingness) to "stand-up" to the white majority.

Our data also indicate that blacks and other racial minorities tended to have substantially higher RADICALISM scale values than whites. With the single exception of Rahway, blacks also revealed higher RADICALISM scores than other racial minorities. These findings are likely to reflect their experience (or perception) within the justice system.

Table 50 presents the COLLECTIVE ACTION scale values for each racial group. While we might have expected substantially higher COLLECTIVE ACTION scores for blacks and other racial minorities, the data indicate that their scale values were only slightly higher than whites. Hence, while racial minorities may have reflected more radicalized attitudes and values, they were no more likely than whites to pursue collective strategies intended to gain greater power and influence within the prison organization.

Table 51 illustrates the RACISM-SEXISM scale values for each racial group. These data reveal few substantial differences between whites, blacks, and other minorities at each research site. The only departure was that the combined group of Hispanics and Native Americans tended to reveal higher RACISM-SEXISM scores that blacks or whites, although some slight variation among sites was found between whites and blacks.

These data tend to raise a number of questions regarding the nature of prisoner involvement in informal as well as formal organizations. For example, we saw that Stillwater blacks and other racial minorities tended to have assignments within the main security area of the institution, rather than in prison industry which offered substantially more legitimate economic opportunities. While we did not systematically gather program or job assignment data at each research site, our observations and interviews with both line staff and middle management suggests that blacks, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, other racial minorities, tend to be represented in greater proportions within those areas of the prison which represent the mainstream of prisoner interaction. It is possible that this may illustrate a preference of racial minorities to maintain specialized cultures within the prisoner community which are reflective of their social and cultural experiences. For most racial minorities, this is likely to be a reflection of the street (urban) culture.

During our review of prisoner and criminal subcultural literature, it was stated that many of the values, attitudes, and behavioral norms held by active members of the street culture were brought into prison and tended to influence collective and individual social behavior. However, what was earlier viewed as the "importation" of (criminal) social roles (Irwin, 1970), may now be best understood as both the importation of social values specific to the culture of racial and ethnic minorities and an attempt to preserve their racial identity within the restrictive culture of the prison organization.

The formation of formal ETHNIC organizations and informal racial and ethnic groups may represent a wide range of individual and collective needs which are not met within the larger prisoner community. To the greater extent, racial and ethnic groups share traditional prisoner loyalties, commitments, and roles. As shown earlier, few differences among racial groups were found for PRISONIZATION. Our data also revealed little difference between racial groups for the type or extent of previous criminal involvement. The slightly higher CRIMINALIZATION scores of blacks, therefore, may stem from their experiences within the prison organization, including a greater willingness to use violence to resolve personal or collective disputes.

G. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PRISON MANAGEMENT AND FORMAL PRISONER ORGANIZATIONS

Prison management may be able to play a key role in maintaining the delicate balance of power between racial groups through the development of more carefully thought-out policies and intervention strategies.

Our observations suggest that most restrictive management approaches do not necessarily reduce the level of activity of formal prisoner organizations.

While it may have short-term value in inhibiting practices deemed unacceptable by management, in a long-term perspective restrictive management styles tend to move the organizational strategies and goals into the arena of informal relationships, which are more likely to gain wider support (and participation) from informal or unauthorized prisoner groups. It would appear to be in management's interests to keep prisoner organization activity on a formal level and to develop methods for insuring that all organizations have a range of legitimate opportunities and alternatives available to achieve their objectives.

Our observations indicate that there were more situations in which restrictive management served to strengthen the ties between members and, in some instances served to promote greater racial polarization.

The range of management intervention styles identified in Chapter Two tended to be linked to the specific goals (and perspectives) of most prisoner organizations. While we may have expected some relationship between prison management intervention style and the number, type, and structure of prisoner organizations, our findings strongly suggest that such a relationship does not exist. Rather, we found a similar number of organizations at each site and their structure did not appear to be directly associated with management style or policy.

One possible explanation is that such a relationship is more likely to be formed between the opportunity for prisoner organizations to gain greater self-determination and empowerment and management style. Hence, intervention style, e.g., restrictive, participative, innovative, may serve to broaden the scope of strategies used by prisoner organizations. For example, Rahway (which was characterized as having innovative management) had an approach to prisoner organizations which allowed prisoner leadership to maintain private offices, unrestricted use of telephones, and a substantial degree of autonomy. Consequently, prisoners appeared to be relatively satisfied with their relationship with management and tended to view their opportunity to pursue specialized interests in a positive light. We found little evidence that Rahway organizations were involved in activities centered primarily on empowerment and opportunities to participate in the management decision-making process. We would assume that this relationship would more likely allow prisoner organizations to focus on their activities than on strategies intended to gain power or avoid management restrictions.

In contrast, OSP (which was characterized as having restrictive management) prisoner organization leaders and members tended to be concerned with their involvement in institutional policies and continuously sought opportunities for participative relationships with management. Hence, while there were a large number of prisoner organizations at OSP, and a broad range of activities, there was a primary concern about prisoner empowerment. These observations suggest that the collective strategies of prisoner organizations, and the types of power concerns revealed, tend to be more of a response to the amount of control and restriction held by prison management than to the specialized needs and interests of prisoner organization members.

Legitimate prisoner organizations, unlike ethnic gangs and other _sub rosa_ groups, cannot accomplish their stated objectives without the formal _and_ informal cooperation and support of all levels of prison management (including most line correctional officers). The _formal_ relationships between management and prisoner organizations obviously stem from management's responsibility and authority to approve (or disapprove), set conditions, and monitor the activities of prisoner organizations.

The _informal_ relationships between legitimate prisoner organizations and management, however, is not as easily or clearly identified. Yet, according to our observations, impressions and data, this is one of the most important considerations in an analysis of prisoner organizations and their impact on prison management. Rather than being tied to administrative directives, procedures, and policy statements, informal relationships emerge situationally, and are more often linked to the institutional social climate. While social climates may be extremely varied, they tend to reflect the relative influences of organizational and individual concerns, motives, and goals.

It is within this complex organizational structure that informal relationships emerge. For example, a social climate reflecting an organizational structure which is based on trust, openness, and mutual concern will have a greater likelihood of fostering innovative prisoner involvement. It may also promote a wider range of prisoner organizations with diverse goals and strategies. Conversely, a social climate characterized as coercive, prone to violence, and dishonesty may not only inhibit innovative objectives, but may actually promote goals (and methods of achieving those goals) which undermine the larger interests of correctional management, line officers, and other prisoners.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERVENTION

Our goal in this chapter is simply to relate the major findings of our study to the likelihood of change within the prison organization. Change will tend to carry many different meanings and connotations to prison organization members. Management may desire more staff, a larger operating budget, and broader discretionary decision-making powers. Likewise, security-conscious correctional officers (and unions) may view more power and influence over their work roles as meaningful change. Prisoners, as revealed by many case studies of the prison, may demand a higher standard of institutional living and a greater range of opportunities for collective involvement.

While these perceived needs for change may all have some merit, we would argue that any meaningful organizational changes must encompass the relative powers and influences held by all members of the prison organization. Furthermore, organizational change must acknowledge the need for the participation of all members in day-to-day affairs of the prison. We are acutely aware that long range planning and goal setting are the principal responsibilities of prison management and, while the participation of all members may be seen as desirable, we do not argue that their involvement is essential to this function. Rather, we would place the strongest emphasis on the involvment of lower participants in activities which are directly related to their present role and opportunity structure within the organization.

Our study has tended to characterize the prison as an organization in conflict. We saw that correctional officers' interests were frequently in conflict with both management and prisoners, and their collective powers (unions) were usually aimed at resolving perceived imbalances in power and influence. By the same token, prisoners and their formal organizations often sought to gain greater opportunities for self-determination. The competition for power among organizational members tends to stimulate specialized strategies which are likely to be counterproductive to the long range interests of management. In this regard, management is clearly in a tenuous position in attempting to insure that all organizational interests are satisfied. Sound prison management carries the responsibility of preventing the escalation of internal conflict and the burden of developing effective intervention strategies.

"Keeping the lid on" is no longer compatible with contemporary correctional management principles and may actually induce greater stress into the organization. That is, the interaction of all organizational participants' interests produces extremely complex problems which cannot be addressed solely with "security" or "custody" measures. Management effectiveness requires that power relationships are brought into the open and recognized as major organizational dynamics. In the broader sense, this has been partially accomplished through the formalization of prisoner organizations and by the establishment of labor-management meetings with correctional officers. However, substantially greater opportunities for meaninful involvement and participation must be developed before attempts at reducing organizational conflict can be seen as being effective.

Our data revealed substantial differences in the needs, interests, and attitudes within, as well as among, each of the three principal groups studied. For example, data illustrating differences between executive and security management's perception of the desirability of change revealed that executive management tended to be more flexible in granting participatory powers to lower organizational members than security management. This finding is likely to be related to security management's closer social and working relationships with line staff and their personal experiences in security operations which foster loyalty and peer identification. The chances of security management supporting expanded participation of prisoners in daily decisions would appear to be linked to greater opportunities for correctional officers to provide direct input into policy and procedures. This, in turn, would require the identification of specific areas of agreement and compatibility between prisoners and officers interests, as well as identification of specific areas of conflict.

Dahrendorf (1959:227) argues that (class) conflicts are never completely resolved, but are regulated by controlling power and authority. In addition, he asserts that such regulation is most effective when each group in conflict is able to recognize the social reality and dynamics of the conflict, and when they are organized to pursue special interests. This allows agreement on formal procedures for seeking solutions to conflict issues.

These principles of conflict management would appear to be readily applicable to the organizational structure and internal conflict of the contemporary prison, where class conflict is as apparent as conflict arising from restraint and social control. It seems reasonable to assume that a coordinated opportunity structure which incorporates prisoner and officer participation in establishing the framework for future cooperative relationships would serve to reduce the emphasis on control and provide a means for evolving new regulatory methods. Hence, if security management (with the support of line staff) can play an important role in forming strategies for conflict reduction which are generally supported by prisoners, their resistance to change may be diminished and their views may more closely resemble those of executive management.

The central area of focus of organizational change appears to lie within the realm of correctional officer interests and the conflicts related to their control over prisoners. Much of the current conflict between officers and prisoners is a structural, rather than situational problem. Correctional officers, according to our data, appear to resent the limitations and reductions being placed on their work roles. Under these conditions, "security" roles become the only available function or role which achieves recognition or importance and which is seen as serving organizational goals. This tends to set into motion dynamics which tend to reinforce officers for accomplishments in internal control, rather than for human relations or conflict resolution. These dynamics also tend to breed a perceived need for greater control and a rejection of intervention strategies which grant greater power to prisoners. If operating, such a cycle must be broken before rational decisions regarding organizational change can emerge.

Presently, officer relationships with management (and prisoners) are uncoordinated with the long range objectives of the organization. In part, this has evolved from the formalization of labor-management relations and an increasing adversary and "political" posture taken by correctional officer unions. Officers, with the backing of their unions, are relatively free to pick and choose which management initiative they will support or reject. Compliance relationships, under these conditions, are unpredictable and management's likelihood of taking proactive positions to organizational problems is seriously diminished.

The issues arising from conflict within officer ranks, particularly from the use of female officers, do not appear to be a serious obstacle to change. The current salience of male officer resistance is likely to be reduced as women's roles in prison operations, such as supervisory and administrative positions, are expanded and as the prison organization gains more experience with their performance and expectations. To be effective, women officers should be seen as a part of a larger scheme to normalize social relationships within the prison -- not merely as a new element within the work force. In the long term perspective, changes in the physical plan of the prison may be required to protect the privacy rights of prisoners and to insure that the safety of women officers is not substantially at risk.

Conflict between officers and prisoners (and among prisoners) may also be seen as a structural problem. For example, we obtained candid statements from officers and security management indicating that low level conflict among prisoners was often desirable. In most instances, this was a tacit acceptance of racial conflict -- as long as it did not directly threaten the personal safety of officers.

As we have already indicated, racial conflict among prisoners carries a long and conflict-ridden history. It is unlikely that racial conflict can be eliminated or even substantially reduced in contemporary prison settings. However, the role played by line officers and management in tolerating (or provoking) conflict for social control goals must be addressed before collective violence emerges. Professional corrections cannot tolerate structural racism, regardless of the manner in which it may serve the immediate control interests of security staff.

Prisoner participation and representation through formal prisoner organizations may be the most effective and most available structure for evolving solutions for racial conflict. There is little reason to believe that prisoners would use this structure to further divide the prisoner community and expand or concentrate power within any racial group. In states where prisoner organizations represented definable constituents, particularly racial and ethnic minorities, and had input into several management decisions, we observed significantly less overt racial tension and conflict.

Successful efforts to minimize racial division within the prisoner community must be cooperatively developed by prisoners, line officers, and management. In this vein, racial relations becomes the responsibility of all members of the prison organization. Those dynamics of the prisoner social system which maintain racial division appear to be specialized adaptations aimed at providing protection, solidarity, and power to meet the interests of each respective racial or ethnic group. It would appear that alternative (and more acceptable) methods to accomplish these goals could be developed by prison management.

While it may be unrealistic to conceptualize the maximum security prison as an organization which works without racial conflict, intimidation, or occasional violence, it may be possible to better utilize existing human resources in a manner more consistent with cooperative relationships. The negative and destructive dynamics of racial turmoil impact on nearly all members of the prison organization, although prisoners clearly are more likely to experience the consequence of unchecked hostility and conflict.

The evolution of cooperative relationships within the prison will not be an easy task. Furthermore, early stages of these efforts will likely encounter rejection by custody staff as being against the interests of institutional security. It would serve little purpose to casually dismiss their resistance as short-sighted and inconsistent with state-of-the-art management. These views, along with those of lower organizational participants, must be seriously considered in the formulation of intervention strategies.

One possible strategy would be to develop expanded participatory opportunities for prisoners simultaneously with those for officers. This may reduce the perception of threat and contribute to an acceptance of the general principles of participatory roles. Most importantly, the structure, pace, and goals of strategies aimed at establishing cooperative relationships must be carefully tailored to the dynamics and climate of each setting.

Change strategies must be carefully planned and coordinated with the remaining goals of the organization. Finally, external influences, such as public attitudes, budgetary and political restraints, and sentencing practices, often emerge as critical considerations in the management of change. Prison management will be constantly confronted with these issues and must decide whether their priorites should be geared toward internal or external conflict.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER QUESTIONNAIRE (BACKGROUND DATA) A-2
CORRECTIONAL OFFICER QUESTIONNAIRE A-23
PRISONER QUESTIONNAIRE (BACKGROUND DATA) A-35
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW LOG A-47
GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS A-49
PRISONER SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE A-53
CORRECTIONAL OFFICER SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE A-57
INMATE LEADER STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE A-61
INMATE ORGANIZATION SPONSOR STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE A-65

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER BACKGROUND DATA

Office Use Only

ID 1-4

1. ☐ AGE (years): 5- 6

2. RACE (check one): 7
   - ☐ (1) White
   - ☐ (2) Black
   - ☐ (3) Hispanic (Chicano/Puerto Rican/Spanish Ancestry)
   - ☐ (4) Oriental
   - ☐ (5) Native American (Indian)
   - ☐ (6) Other (specify):______________________

3. CLASSIFICATION (check one): 8
   - ☐ (1) Security Management (Lieutenant, Captain)
   - ☐ (2) Executive Management (Associate, Deputy Superintendent/Warden; and Superintendent/Warden)
   - ☐ (3) Other (specify):______________________
     ____

4. SEX (check one): 9
   - ☐ (1) Male
   - ☐ (2) Female

5. ☐ TOTAL LENGTH OF CORRECTIONAL CAREER (years): 10-11

6. ☐ LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT AT THIS INSTITUTION (years): 12-13

7. ☐ EDUCATION (enter years completed): 14-15

1 2 3 4 5 6	7 8 9	10 11 12	13 14 15 16	17+
elementary	jr. high	high	college	graduate

8. MARITAL STATUS (check one): 16

☐ (1) Single, never married
☐ (2) Married, living with family
☐ (3) Married, family living elsewhere
☐ (4) Legally separated
☐ (5) Divorced
☐ (6) Widowed

9. ☐ NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE (enter number): 17
(If none, enter 0)

10. ARE YOU A VETERAN OF THE ARMED FORCES? (check one): 18

☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

11. DID YOU SERVE IN THE MILITARY POLICE? (check one): 19

☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

12. DO YOU PRESENTLY HOLD MEMBERSHIP IN A CIVIC, CHURCH, OR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION WHICH REQUIRES FOUR OR MORE HOURS PER WEEK OF YOUR OFF-DUTY TIME? (check one): 20

☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

13. HAS AN INMATE OF THIS INSTITUTION EVER ASKED YOU TO SUPPLY HIM WITH DANGEROUS DRUGS OR NARCOTICS? (check one): 21

☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

14. WERE YOU EVER ARRESTED, EITHER AS A JUVENILE OR AS AN ADULT? (check one): 22

☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

PART I

Office Use Only

15. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON THAT SOCIETY PUTS THE OFFENDER IN PRISON? (check one): 23

- ☐ (1) Rehabilitation (to help the offender in the area of his needs)
- ☐ (2) Protection of society (to separate the offender from society)
- ☐ (3) Punishment (as a means of retribution for the wrongs done)
- ☐ (4) Deterrence of crime (to show an example to others)
- ☐ (5) Other (specify): ____________________

16. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD BE THE MAIN REASON FOR IMPRISONMENT? (check one): 24

- ☐ (1) Rehabilitation
- ☐ (2) Protection of society
- ☐ (3) Punishment
- ☐ (4) Deterrence of crime
- ☐ (5) Other (specify): ____________________

17. IN YOUR OPINION, WHY ARE THERE SO MANY MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS (BLACKS AND HISPANICS) IN PRISON? (check one): 25

- ☐ (1) They experience a lack of legitimate opportunities on the outside (jobs, money, education)
- ☐ (2) They learn to commit crimes during their early youth (gangs, etc.)
- ☐ (3) They are socially or psychologically handicapped by living in poor neighborhoods and attending bad schools
- ☐ (4) They are subject to racism and social injustice by police, courts and corrections
- ☐ (5) Other reasons (specify): ____________________
  ____

18. IN THIS INSTITUTION, THE ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LEGITIMATE PRISONER ORGANIZATIONS (INCLUDING THOSE SPONSORED BY OUTSIDE GROUPS) IS (check one): 26

- ☐ (1) We have an official policy against nearly all prisoner organizations
- ☐ (2) We are so preoccupied with prison violence and racial conflict that nearly all prisoner organizations are seen as a security threat
- ☐ (3) We only accept a few very conservative prisoner organizations
- ☐ (4) We allow several prisoner organizations to operate, but we place strict controls on their activities
- ☐ (5) We permit many prisoner organizations, but we monitor their activities with informers
- ☐ (6) We freely allow prisoners to form organizations, but disband them when their activities violate the prison rules
- ☐ (7) Other (specify): ____________________
  ____

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

PART II

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree	INSTRUCTIONS The following 30 statements represent opinions which may be held by some correctional officers. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by selecting the appropriate column on the left. Be sure to answer according to your opinions -- not how you think correctional officers may respond.	Office Use
					19. Correctional officers can nearly always count on the support of supervisors and management to uphold officers' decisions and judgments.	27
					20. Legitimate prisoner organizations with clearly stated objectives can make the correctional officer's work much easier.	28
					21. With few exceptions, the involvement of outside groups supporting inmate organizations is an invitation to disorder in a high-security prison.	29
					22. Prisons would be much easier to operate if prisoners who simply didn't want to cooperate with the system were locked up.	30
					23. The use of female correctional officers in male prisons tends to put more work and responsibility on the male correctional officers and supervisors.	31
					24. Prison reform should be given a higher priority by our justice system.	32
					25. Prisoners in this institution should be given much more say in decisions which affect their lives in confinement.	33

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree		Office Use
					26. Correctional officers need unions, because top management too often ignores the views of custody staff.	34
					27. Correctional officers should be working with prisoners' personal growth and development rather than acting exclusively as guards and performing strictly custodial tasks.	35
					28. Conditions of work and morale have deteriorated in this institution because management has gradually reduced the importance of the correctional officer's point of view.	36
					29. Nearly all Black correctional officers I know perform their duties in a very capable and professional manner.	37
					30. Most of the custody staff I know have very little confidence in the direction set by the central departmental staff up in the State Capitol.	38
					31. Correctional officers should be considered peace officers and allowed to carry weapons while off duty, the same as police do.	39
					32. It seems like the supervisors here pay more attention to what an inmate has to say than to what a line officer says.	40

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree	
					33. Given the number of studies indicating that prison rehabilitation programs are a failure, it makes more sense to use prison solely as a means of isolating offenders from society.
					34. Except for language, Hispanic correctional officers are no more effective than Black or White officers in dealing with Hispanic inmates.
					35. Tight security and close supervision are absolutely necessary because too many prisoners take advantage of the opportunities given to them.
					36. Correctional officers will never get an even deal until they gain more direct input into top management decisions.
					37. Very few inmates use their special passes or privileges to engage in unauthorized activities.
					38. Correctional officer salaries will always be inadequate until they acquire the power to negotiate rates equal to state highway patrol or city police officers.
					39. If it weren't for information given by inmate informers, correctional officers would be faced with many more situations involving prisoner-made weapons.

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree		Office Use
					40. Well-staffed alternative and community corrections programs offer more effective approaches to correcting criminal behavior than large institutions.	48
					41. Correctional officers are not safe here because certain inmate groups and gangs have gained too much power.	49
					42. Female officers' assignments should be restricted to non-security posts.	50
					43. The only way correctional officers can be sure of what has happened during the last shift is to develop their own intelligence network.	51
					44. Most correctional officers feel supported by management in the administration of prison discipline.	52
					45. In this institution we rarely depend on coercive procedures to keep the peace.	53
					46. Male correctional officers and supervisors should be given more consideration than females on job assignments.	54

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree		Office Use
					47. Correctional officer employee organizations and unions should be given the right to express their vote of confidence before final decisions are made on the selection of middle and top prison managers.	55
					48. More personal safety for correctional officers ultimately depends on the priority given to institutional security.	56

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

PART III

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION WILL HELP US TO ASSESS MANAGER INTERESTS AND TO DEVELOP FUTURE CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

(a) Select the group or groups that you would support if they were to be established at this institution.

(b) Enter the corresponding number of each group you would support in the boxes provided below.

(c) Select the reason that best describes why you would support the groups you have chosen.

(d) Enter the corresponding number of each reason you have chosen in the boxes provided below.

TYPE OF GROUP

1. Religious group
2. Hobby or special interest group (music, crafts)
3. Lifers group
4. Prison chapter of outside civic group
5. Prisoner self-help group (drugs, alcohol)
6. Organized racial or ethnic group
7. Legal studies or research group
8. Prisoners union or prisoner rights group
9. Veterans group
10. College study group
11. Conventional political group (republican, democrat)
12. Other (specify):______________________

REASONS FOR SUPPORTING

1. Provides rehabilitation opportunities
2. Allows religious expression
3. Protection from predatory prisoners
4. Provides group support or affiliation needs
5. Allows expression of political views
6. Provides intellectual interest and stimulation
7. Provides leadership skills
8. Provides contact with outside people who can help with jobs and housing
9. Provides personal satisfaction
10. Provides a record of positive activity for parole board
11. Other (specify):______________________

	GROUPS I WOULD SUPPORT	REASONS FOR SUPPORTING: Main Reason	REASONS FOR SUPPORTING: Other Reasons		Office Use Only
EXAMPLE:	5	1	13, 4		
49.					57-62
50.					63-68
51.					69-74
52.					75-80
53.				ID 1-4	5-10

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

PART IV

THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF QUESTIONS CONCERN AUTHORIZED PRISONER GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS. YOU ARE ASKED TO PERFORM THREE TASKS:

Column 1: List all prisoner groups and organizations in this prison of which you are aware.

Column 2: Estimate how many prisoners actively belong to each organization listed.

Column 3: Select the most appropriate reason you believe members belong to the organizations you have listed.

	Column 1	Column 2			Column 3 *	
	Authorized Prisoner Groups and Organizations	Approximate Number of Active Members			Reason for Belonging (Use Number from List Below)	Office Use Only
		Black	White	Hispanic		
Example:	Jaycees	25	40	15	1	
54.						11-20
55.						21-30
56.						31-40
57.						41-50
58.						51-60
59.						61-70
60.						71-80

* Column 3: Reason for Belonging

1. Provides rehabilitation opportunities
2. Allows religious expression
3. Protection from predatory prisoners
4. Provides group support or affiliation needs
5. Allows expression of political views
6. Provides intellectual interest and stimulation
7. Provides leadership skills
8. Provides contact with outside people who can help with jobs and housing
9. Provides personal satisfaction
10. Provides a record of positive activity for parole board
11. Other (specify):______________________

CORRECTIONAL MANAGER OPINION SURVEY

PART V

A. WORK RELEASE ASSIGNMENT

As an administrator of a state correctional system, you have a halfway house capacity sufficient to serve one-half of the work release eligible population in your prisons. The parole board feels that they should control assignment to these community-based facilities and that priority should be given to the high-risk parolees. On this basis, the parole board would require approximately one-third of all parolees, as a condition of parole, to successfully program through 3-4 months of residence in a halfway house. The effect of this would be to greatly reduce the bed space for work releasees.

The problem to be addressed is to determine which subgroup of the remaining work release eligible population should be assigned to the available halfway house beds. Please prioritize (rank order) the following according to your assessment of needs (enter rank in the boxes to the left):

			Office Use Only ID 1-4
61.	☐	High success probability cases should be selected because the community will be more supportive of the program.	5
62.	☐	Medium success probability cases should be selected because research has shown that this is the group which is most favorably affected by this type of program.	6
63.	☐	The low success probability cases should be selected because it addresses those with the greatest need for an intensive release program.	7

Please score the following statements in terms of their relative impact on your priorities given above.	Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Of Little Importance	Of No Importance	Office Use Only
64. Adverse community reaction would be very likely, unless the high success work release group is selected.						8
65. The system effect of any work release group selected will be to substantially reduce parole recidivism.						9
66. The prisoners eligible for work release will be opposed to the selection of any group over the other.						10
67. Halfway house staff would prefer to work with the high success probability cases.						11
68. It is easier to transfer a prisoner on work release back to a security institution than it is to revoke parole.						12
69. Whatever policy is observed, the public, police and news media will not completely understand it.						13
70. Work release decisions should be based on each individual's demonstrated responsibility.						14
71. The parole board should be required to determine the selection for work release.						15
72. Prisoners convicted of violent crimes should be excluded from work release.						16
73. Release decisions should be made by prison staff who are more familiar with an inmate's behavior.						17
74. Prisoners with a (known) history of drug addiction or alcoholism should be excluded from the work release program.						18

B. NEW CONSTRUCTION

Your State Legislature has recently authorized expenditures in excess of $80 million for site acquisition, design, and construction of state correctional facilities (computed on a base cost of $50,000 per bed).

This action has followed in the wake of two consecutive years of controversy generated by conflict among lobby groups representing diverse concerns, perspectives and interests. Overcrowding is imminent.

As a correctional administrator, you are required to submit a set of prioritized construction plans which reflect projected population patterns and departmental policies and objectives.

Your staff plan calls for 800 new medium-security beds plus renovation of your maximum-security facility for housing and program area improvements over the next six years. This plan includes two community correctional centers of 50 beds each for work release and one halfway house for marginal parolees. Without these latter facilities, you have estimated that you will need to increase your minimum- or medium-security capacity by 200 beds.

You generally agree with the recommended plan, but you must establish priorities within this framework in order to deal with legislative committee reviews of the plan and its implementation budget.

	For the new medium-security beds in your state, which one of the following alternatives would you select?		Office Use Only
75.	One 800-bed facility as near as possible to the state's major urban center.		19
76.	Two 400-bed facilities, both located within 50 miles of an urban center.		20
77.	One 400-bed facility near an urban center, and enlarge one existing facility by 400 beds.		21
78.	Three 300-bed facilities near urban centers (one having a minimum-security annex of 100 beds, leaving a need for only one new community correctional center).		22
79.	Other (specify): ______________________		23

80. Please provide a brief rationale for your decision regarding new prison construction.

Please indicate the relative importance of the following considerations in your decision:	Very Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Of Little Importance	Of No Importance	Office Use Only
81. The political perspective of the governor on these issues.						24
82. The political interests of the legislators from the areas where facilities are to be constructed.						25
83. The interests and concerns expressed by correctional officer employee unions.						26
84. The relative construction costs of the different choices.						27
85. The difficulty of locating correctional facilities in or near urban centers.						28
86. The greater flexibility of having several smaller facilities in different locations.						29
87. The demographic characteristics of the prisoner population.						30
88. The substantially higher operating costs of the smaller institutions compared to the larger.						31
89. Other (specify):______________________ ______________________ ______________________						32

33-37
blank

C. PRISONER SELF-DETERMINATION

You have recently received a proposal for establishing an inmate Self-Governance Unit (SGU) at your facility. It has been carefully reviewed by central office staff and forwarded to you for your final review and approval. Please indicate your reaction to each of the given proposal elements.

	The essential elements of the proposal are:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	Office Use Only
90.	The SGU would have a 125-single room capacity and would be located in a new, separate housing area attached to the existing prison.						38
91.	The SGU would have self sufficiency in culinary and recreation requirements.						39
92.	The classification criteria for SGU would be: (1) first prison commitment, medium custody; (2) less than 24 months to minimum parole eligibility; (3) no record of sexual deviance.						40
93.	SGU residents would have very limited contact with inmates in the general population except for some educational and vocational classes, prison industries work assignments, family visiting, and hospital services.						41
94.	Correctional officers assigned to the SGU would also serve in a variety of ancillary, non-custody roles such as counselors and group coordinators.						42
95.	Residents and staff would evolve a new set of institutional rules (except those disciplinary matters which involve a felony offense) and powers to administer them; recommend those eligible for meritorious time credits (beyond "good time"); and make recommendations for family (conjugal) visits and furloughs.						43
96.	The structure of the SGU would include an Administrative Council composed of one professional staff, one correctional officer, and one resident to review appeals from staff and residents; and a Resident Coordinating Committee composed of six elected members to conduct weekly SGU community meetings and serve as a governing body.						44
97.	The SGU, as an experimental program, would, to the extent feasible, house prisoners of only one racial/ethnic group. The SGU Council would have the powers to modify the racial composition to a representational plan based on the general population of the department.						45

	Five statements below indicate difficulties with the SGU plan, as described previously. For each, indicate your agreement or disagreement.	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Office Use Only
98.	The residents would not be able to restrict the activities of "powerful" prisoners who might eventually control the unit.						46
99.	It would upset the rest of the institution because the inmates in this unit would not deserve any more benefits than most others in the general population.						47
100.	The correctional officers and their unions probably would oppose it.						48
101.	It would be political dynamite, having the appearance (rightly or wrongly) of too much permissiveness, when people want to see criminals punished.						49
102.	It would be a prison management headache because you would have two incompatible correctional philosophies operating side-by-side in one institution.						50

103. Please comment on any feature of the above plan which you feel strongly about.

D. CORRECTIONAL REFORM

Assume that you are the Commissioner of Corrections of your state and thereby in a position of some influence in the consideration of new policies and programs which affect corrections, as well as other justice agencies.

Indicate your views on the following "progressive" or "reform" ideas which have been advocated by various commissions and other groups:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Office Use Only
104. Decriminalizing most "victimless crimes" such as, prostitution, possession of marijuana, and gambling.						51
105. Establishing determinate (fixed) sentences in place of indeterminate sentences.						52
106. Eliminating mandatory prison sentences for minor property offenses.						53
107. Continuing and extending the use of pre-trial and pre-sentence diversion to treatment programs for all except violent offenses.						54
108. Providing the Director of Corrections with broad authority to establish and administer institutional work release and furlough programs for all prisoners who have served one-half of their minimum sentence.						55
109. Eliminating parole and parole boards.						56
110. Compensating prisoners for real work (based on productivity) in prison industries and institutional operations at a rate nearly equal to the equivalent rate in the community -- with pay-back of direct care costs to the institution.						57

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Office Use Only
111.	Establishing a corrections ombudsman who reports to the Director and has the authority to reconcile all (staff and prisoner) grievances.						58
112.	Creating the organizational framework for prisoners and staff to work together to share more of the decisions which are now made by management and/or staff alone.						59
113.	Establishing a "human relations council" where staff and prisoners can work together to develop plans to eliminate or reduce racism, sexism, and other variations of discrimination in prison operations.						60
114.	Acquiring the authority (by legislation) to award prisoners with good time allowances (reduction of minimum sentences) for: (1) good conduct; (2) productivity as a prison worker; and (3) meritorious achievements.						61
115.	Passing legislation allowing the Director of Corrections to contract basic operations and services to other governmental agencies and private organizations.						62
116.	Allowing the formation of a Prisoners Union under structured guidelines for resolving disputes concerning work or living conditions.						63
117.	Establishing "family" (conjugal) visits for all married prisoners, except when a "reasonable basis" for denial can be shown.						64

E. STAFF TRAINING

As a correctional administrator you have the opportunity and funds to substantially augment your training program for correctional officers and supervisors. Please classify the following training objectives in terms of relative importance to you.

		Highest Priority	High Priority	Medium Priority	Lowest Priority	Not Needed	Office Use Only
118.	Development of improved staff-inmate relations and communications.						65
119.	Service and sponsorship of inmate organizations (e.g., management advisory committees) and self-help groups.						66
120.	Intelligence techniques and procedures in identifying gang leaders and members.						67
121.	Sensitivity in relations with black culture groups.						68
122.	Sensitivity in relations with white culture groups.						69
123.	Sensitivity in relations with hispanic culture groups.						70
124.	Internal security programs to eliminate corrupt personnel.						71
125.	Crisis intervention and resolution.						72
126.	Special security training in control of dangerous contraband, including drugs.						73
127.	Special riot procedures where hostages have been taken.						74

F. EXPANDED PRISONER RIGHTS AND BENEFITS

The American Bar Association (ABA) has recently issued a tentative report on proposed standards on prisoner rights. Among their many recommendations are the following (paraphrased). Please indicate your opinion on each proposed standard.

		Strongly Oppose	Oppose	No Opinion	Support	Strongly Support	Office Use Only
28.	Prisoners should have all the rights of full citizens in voting and actively working for candidates and issues of their choice.						75
29.	Prisoners should not be compelled to work, and those who do should be compensated fairly at prevailing rates of pay.						76
30.	Prisoners should have the right to associate with organizations of their choice and to be represented by them.						77
31.	Prisoners should have the right to choose their own educational, vocational, and therapeutic programs, and such choices should not be subject to discipline, loss of privileges, transfer, consideration for parole, work release, or furloughs.						78
32.	Prisoners should have the right to full control over their personal funds and their disbursement.						79

AMERICAN
JUSTICE
INSTITUTE

1007 7th Street·Sacramento, CA 95814·(916) 444-3096

TO: CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS, CORPORALS, AND SERGEANTS, OSP

SUBJECT: CORRECTIONAL OFFICER QUESTIONNAIRE

The American Justice Institute is conducting a major study entitled, Implications of the Growth and Development of Inmate Organizations on Correctional Management Practices in six representative states across the nation. This project is funded by LEAA.

This is one of the first studies to include the viewpoints of correctional officers in an analysis of the organizational structure and function of correctional institutions. It would be accurate to say that correctional officers are the most "understudied" work group in the criminal justice system. Therefore, it is important that your concerns and viewpoints are included in this study. You can make a direct contribution to the field of corrections.

Excluding those who are on vacation and leave, the entire roster of officers and supervisors has been selected for the study. You are asked to complete the attached questionnaire within the next three days. It will take approximately 15 minutes of your time. Please note that your name, address, etc., are not requested. All responses will be strictly confidential. The project's objectives are to determine the work-related concerns and perspectives of correction officers. All descriptive (age, ethnicity, etc.) information will be used for data analysis only. No attempt will be made to determine how any individual officer or supervisor answers the questionnaire. We are only concerned with group data sources. A summary report will be made available to your union as soon as possible so that you may see how officers have responded as a group. A copy of our final report also will be provided to your union.

Please feel free to discuss the content of the questionnaire with your family and friends, but your responses should be your own honest opinions and assessments.

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OPINION SURVEY

PART I

1. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON THAT SOCIETY PUTS THE OFFENDER IN PRISON? (check one): 23

☐ (1) Rehabilitation (to help the offender in the area of his needs)
☐ (2) Protection of society (to separate the offender from society)
☐ (3) Punishment (as a means of retribution for the wrongs done)
☐ (4) Deterrence of crime (to show an example to others)
☐ (5) Other (specify)________________

2. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD BE THE MAIN REASON FOR IMPRISONMENT? (check one): 24

☐ (1) Rehabilitation
☐ (2) Protection of society
☐ (3) Punishment
☐ (4) Deterrence of crime
☐ (5) Other (specify) ________________

3. IN YOUR OPINION, HAS THE PRESENT MANAGEMENT OF THIS FACILITY GIVEN YOU (PERSONALLY) A MEANINGFUL OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME INVOLVED IN INSTITUTIONAL DECISIONS WHICH HAVE A DIRECT BEARING ON YOUR WORK ROLE? (check one): 3:52

☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

4. IN YOUR OPINION, WOULD MOST (75%) OF YOUR FELLOW OFFICERS ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IF THEY WERE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY? (check one): 3:53

☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

5. IN YOUR OPINION, HAS THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP (OR REPRESENTATIVES) OF YOUR UNION BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN INSURING THAT CORRECTIONAL OFFICER INTERESTS ARE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED IN MANAGEMENT-LEVEL DECISIONS CONCERNING THE OPERATION OF THIS FACILITY? (check one): 3:54

☐ (1) Yes
☐ (2) No

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OPINION SURVEY

PART II

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree	The following 30 statements represent opinions which may be held by some correctional officers. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by selecting the appropriate column on the left.	Office Use Only
					6. Correctional officers can nearly always count on the support of supervisors and management to uphold officers' decisions and judgments.	27
					7. Legitimate prisoner organizations with clearly stated objectives can make the correctional officer's work much easier.	28
					8. With few exceptions, the involvement of outside groups supporting inmate organizations is an invitation to disorder in a high-security prison.	29
					9. Prisons would be much easier to operate if prisoners who simply didn't want to cooperate with the system were locked up.	30
					10. The use of female correctional officers in male prisons tends to put more work and responsibility on the male correctional officers and supervisors.	31
					11. Prison reform should be given a higher priority by our justice system.	32
					12. Prisoners in this institution should be given much more say in decisions which affect their lives in confinement.	33

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OPINION SURVEY

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree		Office Use Only
					13. Correctional officers need unions, because top management too often ignores the views of custody staff.	34
					14. Correctional officers should be working with prisoners' personal growth and development rather than acting exclusively as guards and performing strictly custodial tasks.	35
					15. Conditions of work and morale have deteriorated in this institution because management has gradually reduced the importance of the correctional officer's point of view.	36
					16. Nearly all Black correctional officers I know perform their duties in a very capable and professional manner.	37
					17. Most of the custody staff I know have very little confidence in the direction set by the central departmental staff up in the State Capitol.	38
					18. Correctional officers should be considered peace officers and allowed to carry weapons while off duty, the same as police do.	39
					19. It seems like the supervisors here pay more attention to what an inmate has to say than to what a line officer says.	40

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OPINION SURVEY

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree		Office Use Only
					20. Given the number of studies indicating that prison rehabilitation programs are a failure, it makes more sense to use prison solely as a means of isolating offenders from society.	41
					21. Except for language, Hispanic correctional officers are no more effective than Black or White officers in dealing with Hispanic inmates.	42
					22. Tight security and close supervision are absolutely necessary because too many prisoners take advantage of the opportunities given to them.	43
					23. Correctional officers will never get an even deal until they gain more direct input into top management decisions.	44
					24. Very few inmates use their special passes or privileges to engage in unauthorized activities.	45
					25. Correctional officer salaries will always be inadequate until they acquire the power to negotiate rates equal to state highway patrol or city police officers.	46
					26. If it weren't for information given by inmate informers, correctional officers would be faced with many more situations involving prisoner-made weapons.	47

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OPINION SURVEY

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree		Office Use Only
					27. Well-staffed alternative and community corrections programs offer more effective approaches to correcting criminal behavior than large institutions.	48
					28. Correctional officers are not safe here because certain inmate groups and gangs have gained too much power.	49
					29. Female officers' assignments should be restricted to non-security posts.	50
					30. The only way correctional officers can be sure of what has happened during the last shift is to develop their own intelligence network.	51
					31. Most correctional officers feel supported by management in the administration of prison discipline.	52
					32. In this institution we rarely depend on coercive procedures to keep the peace.	53
					33. Male correctional officers and supervisors should be given more consideration than females on job assignments.	54

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OPINION SURVEY

(5) Completely Agree	(4) Mostly Agree	(3) Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(2) Mostly Disagree	(1) Completely Disagree		Office Use Only
					34. Correctional officer employee organizations and unions should be given the right to express their vote of confidence before final decisions are made on the selection of middle and top prison managers.	55
					35. More personal safety for correctional officers ultimately depends on the priority given to institutional security.	56

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OPINION SURVEY

PART III

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION WILL HELP US TO ASSESS OFFICER INTERESTS AND TO DEVELOP FUTURE CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

(a) Select the group or groups that you would support if they were to be established at this institution.

(b) Enter the corresponding number of each group you would support in the boxes provided below.

(c) Select the reason that best describes why you would support the groups you have chosen.

(d) Enter the corresponding number of each reason you have chosen in the boxes provided below.

TYPE OF GROUP

1. Religious group
2. Hobby or special interest group (music, crafts)
3. Lifers group
4. Prison chapter of outside civic group
5. Prisoner self-help group (drugs, alcohol)
6. Organized racial or ethnic group
7. Legal studies or research group
8. Prisoners union or prisoner rights group
9. Veterans group
10. College study group
11. Conventional political group (republican, democrat)
12. Other (specify):______________________

REASONS FOR SUPPORTING

1. Provides rehabilitation opportunities
2. Allows religious expression
3. Protection from predatory prisoners
4. Provides group support or affiliation needs
5. Allows expression of political views
6. Provides intellectual interest and stimulation
7. Provides leadership skills
8. Provides contact with outside people who can help with jobs and housing
9. Provides personal satisfaction
10. Provides a record of positive activity for parole board
11. Other (specify):______________________

	GROUPS I WOULD SUPPORT	REASONS FOR SUPPORTING: Main Reason	REASONS FOR SUPPORTING: Other Reasons	Office Use Only
EXAMPLE:	5	1	13, 4	
36.				57-62
37.				63-68
38.				69-74
39.				75-80
40.				ID 1-4 5-10

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OPINION SURVEY

PART IV

THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF QUESTIONS CONCERN AUTHORIZED PRISONER GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS. YOU ARE ASKED TO PERFORM THREE TASKS:

Column 1: List all prisoner groups and organizations in this prison of which you are aware.

Column 2: Estimate how many prisoners actively belong to each organization listed.

Column 3: Select the most appropriate reason you believe members belong to the organizations you have listed.

	Column 1	Column 2			Column 3 *	
	Authorized Prisoner Groups and Organizations	Approximate Number of Active Members			Reason for Belonging (Use Number from List Below)	Office Use Only
		Black	White	Hispanic		
Example:		25	40	15	1	
41.						11-20
42.						21-30
43.						31-40
44.						41-50
45.						51-60
46.						61-70
47.						71-80

* Column 3: Reason for Belonging

1. Provides rehabilitation opportunities
2. Allows religious expression
3. Protection from predatory prisoners
4. Provides group support or affiliation needs
5. Allows expression of political views
6. Provides intellectual interest and stimulation
7. Provides leadership skills
8. Provides contact with outside people who can help with jobs and housing
9. Provides personal satisfaction
10. Provides a record of positive activity for parole board
11. Other (specify):____________________

PART V

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER BACKGROUND DATA

Office Use Only

Note: This information will be used for data analysis only. No attempt will be made to determine "scores" for any individual officer. Our objective is to provide group profiles for each state included in our study.

ID 1-4

48. ☐ AGE (years): 5-6

49. RACE (check one): OPTIONAL 7
- ☐ (1) White
- ☐ (2) Black
- ☐ (3) Hispanic (Chicano/Puerto Rican/Spanish Ancestry)
- ☐ (4) Oriental
- ☐ (5) Native American (Indian)
- ☐ (6) Other (specify):________________

50. CLASSIFICATION (check one): 8
- ☐ (1) Correctional Officer I/Trainee
- ☐ (2) Correctional Officer II/Journeyman
- ☐ (3) Correctional Officer III/Senior Officer
- ☐ (4) Correctional Officer IV/Sergeant
- ☐ (5) Other (specify)________________
____

51. SEX (check one): 9
- ☐ (1) Male
- ☐ (2) Female

52. ☐ TOTAL LENGTH OF CORRECTIONAL CAREER (years): 10-11

53. ☐ LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT AT THIS INSTITUTION (years): 12-13

54. ☐ EDUCATION (enter years completed): 14-15

1 2 3 4 5 6	7 8 9	10 11 12	13 14 15 16	17+
elementary	jr. high	high	college	graduate

16

55. MARITAL STATUS (check one):
- ☐ (1) Single, never married
- ☐ (2) Married, living with family
- ☐ (3) Married, family living elsewhere
- ☐ (4) Legally separated
- ☐ (5) Divorced
- ☐ (6) Widowed

17

56. ☐ NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE (enter number):
(If none, enter 0)

18

57. ARE YOU A VETERAN OF THE ARMED FORCES? (check one):
- ☐ (1) Yes
- ☐ (2) No

19

58. DID YOU SERVE IN THE MILITARY POLICE? (check one):
- ☐ (1) Yes
- ☐ (2) No

20

59. DO YOU PRESENTLY HOLD MEMBERSHIP IN A CIVIC, CHURCH, OR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION WHICH REQUIRES FOUR OR MORE HOURS PER WEEK OF YOUR OFF-DUTY TIME? (check one):
- ☐ (1) Yes
- ☐ (2) No

21

60. HAS AN INMATE OF THIS INSTITUTION EVER ASKED YOU TO SUPPLY HIM WITH DANGEROUS DRUGS OR NARCOTICS? (check one):
- ☐ (1) Yes
- ☐ (2) No

22

61. WERE YOU EVER ARRESTED, EITHER AS A JUVENILE OR AS AN ADULT? (check one):
- ☐ (1) Yes
- ☐ (2) No

PRISONER QUESTIONNAIRE (BACKGROUND DATA)

PRISONER BACKGROUND DATA

Office Use Only

ID 1-5

6-7

1. ☐ AGE (enter years):

8

2. RACE (check one):
   - ☐ (1) White
   - ☐ (2) Black
   - ☐ (3) Hispanic (Chicano/Puerto Rican/Spanish Ancestry)
   - ☐ (4) Oriental
   - ☐ (5) Native American (Indian)
   - ☐ (6) Other (specify):________________________

9

3. MARITAL STATUS (check one):
   - ☐ (1) Single -- Never Married
   - ☐ (2) Married (including common law)
   - ☐ (3) Divorced or Widowed
   - ☐ (4) Legally Separated
   - ☐ (5) Other (specify):________________________

10

4. ☐ NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE (enter number):
   (If none, enter 0)

11-12

5. ☐ EDUCATION (enter years completed):

1 2 3 4 5 6	7 8 9	10 11 12	13 14 15 16	17+
elementary	jr. high	high	college	graduate

13

6. PRESENT OFFENSE (check one):
   - ☐ (1) Violent Personal Offenses
   - ☐ (2) Property Offenses (major)
   - ☐ (3) Property Offenses (minor)
   - ☐ (4) Drug Offenses
   - ☐ (5) Other (specify):________________________

7. ☐ AGE WHEN FIRST ARRESTED (enter years): 14-15

8. ☐ NUMBER OF PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS (if none, enter 0) 16-17

9. LENGTH OF TIME SERVED (TO DATE) AT THIS INSTITUTION (check one): 18

- ☐ (1) Less than 6 months
- ☐ (2) 6 to 12 months
- ☐ (3) 13 to 24 months
- ☐ (4) 25 to 36 months
- ☐ (5) 37 to 48 months
- ☐ (6) 49 to 60 months
- ☐ (7) More than 60 months

10. TOTAL LENGTH OF TIME SERVED DURING LIFETIME (INCLUDING JAILS AND JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS) (check one): 19

- ☐ (1) Less than 1 year
- ☐ (2) 1 to 2 years
- ☐ (3) 3 to 5 years
- ☐ (4) 6 to 8 years
- ☐ (5) 9 to 10 years
- ☐ (6) More than 10 years

11. LENGTH OF TIME TO BE SERVED ON PRESENT OFFENSE (check one): 20

- ☐ (1) Less than 6 months
- ☐ (2) 6 to 12 months
- ☐ (3) 13 to 24 months
- ☐ (4) 25 to 36 months
- ☐ (5) 37 to 48 months
- ☐ (6) 48 to 60 months
- ☐ (7) More than 60 months

12. CLASSIFICATION (check one): 21

- ☐ (1) General Population
- ☐ (2) Administrative Segregation
- ☐ (3) Protective Custody
- ☐ (4) Other (specify):____________________________

13. ☐ NUMBER OF VISITS RECEIVED IN PAST 30 DAYS (enter number): (If none, enter 0) 22

14. MOST FREQUENT VISITOR (check one): 23

☐ (1) Spouse (wife) only
☐ (2) Spouse and children
☐ (3) Children only
☐ (4) Entire family (depending on who would come)
☐ (5) Girlfriend
☐ (6) Other (specify):________________________

15. ☐ HOW MANY CLOSE FRIENDS DO YOU HAVE AT THIS PRISON THAT YOU CAN RELY ON WHEN YOU REALLY NEED THEM? (enter number): 24-25

16. ☐ HOW MANY PRISONERS DO YOU USUALLY ASSOCIATE WITH OTHER THAN YOUR CLOSE FRIENDS? (enter number): 26-27

17. ☐ HOW MANY MEMBERS OF THE PRISON STAFF DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE YOUR FRIENDS? (enter number): 28

29-31
blank

PART I

Office Use Only

18. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON THAT SOCIETY PUTS THE OFFENDER IN PRISON? (check one): 32

- ☐ (1) Rehabilitation (to help the offender in the area of his needs)
- ☐ (2) Protection of society (to separate the offender from society)
- ☐ (3) Punishment (as a means of retribution for the wrongs done)
- ☐ (4) Deterrence of crime (to show an example to others)
- ☐ (5) Other (specify):____________________

19. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT SHOULD BE THE MAIN REASON FOR IMPRISONMENT? (check one): 33

- ☐ (1) Rehabilitation
- ☐ (2) Protection of society
- ☐ (3) Punishment
- ☐ (4) Deterrence of crime
- ☐ (5) Other (specify):____________________

20. IN YOUR OPINION, WHY ARE THERE SO MANY MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS (BLACKS AND HISPANICS) IN PRISONS? (check one): 34

- ☐ (1) They experience a lack of legitimate opportunities on the outside (jobs, money, education)
- ☐ (2) They learn to commit crimes during their early youth (gangs, etc.)
- ☐ (3) They are socially or psychologically handicapped by living in poor neighborhoods and attending bad schools
- ☐ (4) They are subject to racism and social injustice by police, courts and corrections
- ☐ (5) Other reasons (specify):______________________________

21. IN THIS INSTITUTION, THE ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARD LEGITIMATE PRISONER ORGANIZATIONS (INCLUDING THOSE SPONSORED BY OUTSIDE GROUPS IS (check one): 35

- ☐ (1) They have an official policy against nearly all prisoner organizations
- ☐ (2) They are so preoccupied with prison violence and racial conflict that nearly all prisoner organizations are seen as a security threat
- ☐ (3) They only accept a few very conservative prisoner organizations
- ☐ (4) They allow several prisoner organizations to operate, but they place strict controls on their activities
- ☐ (5) They permit many prisoner organizations, but they monitor their activities with informers
- ☐ (6) They freely allow prisoners to form organizations, but disband them when their activities violate the prison rules
- ☐ (7) Other (specify):______________________________

PART II

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION WILL HELP US TO DETERMINE PRISONERS' NEEDS AND INTERESTS AND TO PLAN FUTURE PROGRAMS

(a) Select the group or groups that you would join if they were to be established at this institution.

(b) Enter the corresponding number of each group you would join in the boxes provided below.

(c) Select the reason that best describes why you would join the groups you have chosen.

(d) Enter the corresponding number of reason you have chosen in the boxes provided below.

TYPE OF GROUP

1. Religious group
2. Hobby or special interest group (music, crafts)
3. Lifers group
4. Prison chapter of outside civic group
5. Prisoner self-help group (drugs, alcohol)
6. Organized racial or ethnic group
7. Legal studies or research group
8. Prisoners union or prisoner rights group
9. Veterans group
10. College study group
11. Conventional political group (Republican, Democrat)
12. Radical political group
13. Informal hometown group
14. Organized prison/street gang
15. Men's liberation group
16. Other (specify):____________________

REASON FOR BELONGING

1. Provides rehabilitation opportunities
2. Allows religious expression
3. Protection from predatory prisoners
4. Provides group support or affiliation needs
5. Allows expression of political views
6. Provides intellectual interest and stimulation
7. Provides contact with outside people who can help with jobs and housing
8. Provides personal satisfaction
9. Provides a record of positive activity for parole board
10. Provides access to drugs or contraband goods
11. Provides opportunities for inmate power
12. Provides opportunities to meet interesting and attractive women
13. Allows inmates to engage in activities forbidden by prison rules
14. Other (specify):____________________

	GROUPS I WOULD JOIN	REASONS FOR JOINING Main Reason	 Other Reasons	Office Use Only
EXAMPLE:	3	4	9, 10	
22.				36-43
23.				44-51
24.				52-59
25.				60-67
26.				68-75
				76-80 blank

PART III

PRISONER GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS

THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF QUESTIONS CONCERN AUTHORIZED PRISONER GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS. YOU ARE ASKED TO PERFORM THREE TASKS:

Column 1: List all prisoner groups and organizations in this prison of which you are or have been a member.

Column 2: Estimate how many prisoners actively belong to each organization listed.

Column 3: Select the most appropriate reason you believe members belong to the organizations you have listed.

	Column 1	Column 2			Column 3 *	
	Authorized Prisoner Groups and Organizations	Approximate Number of Active Members			Reason for Belonging (Use Number from List Below)	Office Use Only
		Black	White	Hispanic		
Example:	Lifers Group	10	15	5	4	
						ID 1-5
27.						6-15
28.						16-25
29.						26-35
30.						36-45
31.						46-55
32.						56-65
33.						66-75
						76-80 blank

* Column 3: Reason for Belonging

1. Provides rehabilitation opportunities
2. Allows religious expression
3. Protection from predatory prisoners
4. Provides group support or affiliation needs
5. Allows expression of political views
6. Provides intellectual interest and stimulation
7. Provides contact with outside people who can help with jobs and housing
8. Provides personal satisfaction
9. Provides a record of positive activity for parole board
10. Provides access to drugs or contraband goods
11. Provides opportunities for inmate power
12. Provides opportunities to meet interesting and attractive women
13. Allows inmates to engage in activities forbidden by prison rules
14. Other (specify):____________________

PART IV

PRISONER OPINION SURVEY

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree	INSTRUCTIONS The following 47 statements represent opinions which may be held by some prisoners. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by selecting the appropriate column on the left.	Office Use Only
					34. Prisoners will always have the same basic conditions even if they have a strong organization to bargain with management.	ID 1-5 6
					35. The solution to the problem of crime is to tear down prisons and rebuild the whole society that forces people into crime.	7
					36. A prisoner's race is more important than anything else in determining who hangs together in the joint.	8
					37. Good thieves are not much different from straight folks because they work hard for what they get.	9
					38. When an inmate talks to a guard he'd better talk loud or he's likely to be seen as a snitch.	10
					39. To survive in this prison, it's almost essential to belong to a group or a gang.	11
					40. Most inmates are nothing more than the victims of an oppressive society.	12
					41. When it comes to making money on the street, you have to put your hustle above the feelings of your woman.	13
					42. If someone gets in your way during a gig, you have no choice but to take him out.	14
					43. If someone steals from you in this prison, you are expected to go up the side of his head.	15
					44. Most prisons would be better places if prisoners were allowed more decision-making power.	16

PRISONER OPINION SURVEY

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree		Office Use Only
					45. People who have money or power almost never wind up in prison.	17
					46. Black correctional officers tend to do more for black inmates than they do for other inmates.	18
					47. When you're down-and-out, it's OK to plot and scheme to outsmart people who have money.	19
					48. You have to go along with the program they set up for you in here if you're going to do easy time.	20
					49. We will never get anywhere in this prison because the administration is opposed to any kind of inmate organizations.	21
					50. The police were only doing their job when they arrested me.	22
					51. It's OK to be friendly toward a prisoner of another race, but in here you stick to your own kind.	23
					52. Sometimes the use of force or violence is the only way to get what you're after.	24
					53. I don't hang with anyone in prison that I can't identify with.	25
					54. Certain inmate groups make life inside more dangerous.	26
					55. The way I see it, I'm more of a common criminal than I am a political prisoner.	27

PRISONER OPINION SURVEY

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree		Office Use Only
					56. The use of female guards in male prisons just puts more pressure on the inmates.	28
					57. I usually respect junkies and street hustlers, even if they rob and steal from their friends.	29
					58. Nobody will bother you in this joint as long as you don't mess with their business.	30
					59. In this prison, most correctional officers are in favor of establishing legitimate inmate organizations.	31
					60. The ruling class has no right to imprison the poor when all they've done is try to survive in an unjust system.	32
					61. If I know that a dude is OK, it doesn't matter to me whether he's black, white or brown.	33
					62. I rarely get off on the excitement of crime and the satisfaction of knowing that I got over on somebody.	34
					63. I don't mind snitches as long as they don't drop a dime on me.	35
					64. Conditions will never change in here because prisoners can't stick together for their rights.	36
					65. The laws in this country mainly protect the interests of the rich and the powerful.	37
					66. Female officers are easier to get over on because women are more emotional than men.	38

PRISONER OPINION SURVEY

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree		Office Use Only
					67. Only a fool would work if he could skim it off the top.	39
					68. Today it's no longer important to stand behind your manhood to survive in prison.	40
					69. If it weren't for the dope, money, and power games in here, inmates would have a better chance of sticking together.	41
					70. Most of the real criminals in this society wear business suits to work.	42
					71. Around here it seems like most decisions are made by the standard, "If you're white, you're right".	43
					72. In order to survive, everybody has to have some kind of a hustle.	44
					73. The staff won't listen to anything you have to say around here.	45
					74. The snitches in here make it dangerous for inmates to organize.	46
					75. The better jobs for inmates are hardly ever decided by the racial preferences of the administration in this prison.	47
					76. Even though I am in prison, I really don't consider myself a "criminal".	48
					77. I nearly always have someone watch my back when I move around in this joint because you never know what might jump off.	49

PRISONER OPINION SURVEY

Completely Agree	Mostly Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Completely Disagree		Office Use Only
					78. The main reason the guards have so much power is that they are well organized.	50
					79. The prisoners here will never be able to get themselves together because of the racial conflict that exists.	51
					80. There isn't any convict code anymore; people around here will snitch on anybody about anything.	52

THE FOLLOWING SPACE IS PROVIDED FOR ANY COMMENTS YOU WISH TO MAKE REGARDING THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW LOG

INTERVIEW CODE: ________ / ________ / ________ / ________
INSTITUTION / RESPONDENT / ORGANIZATION / NUMBER

INTERVIEWER: ______________________ DATE: ____/____/____

RESPONDENT (check one):

- ______ Prisoner
- ______ Officer
- ______ Manager
- ______ Sponsor
- ______ Other (specify)

____

RATING (check one):

- ______ Exceptional
- ______ Good
- ______ Fair
- ______ Poor

LENGTH OF INTERVIEW (minutes): ______________

BRIEF SUMMARY OF CONTENT:

____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

OTHER COMMENTS:

____
____
____
____

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

The primary objective of these interviews is to generate information which cannot be collected with structured survey instruments. It is essential that you establish a good rapport with each respondent before you formally begin the interview. The time spent in explaining the objectives of the study, recognizing the special concerns of the respondent, and developing an atmosphere of honesty and trust will be a good investment for high quality information. To facilitate this process, I would suggest a few strategies:

- Be straightforward and honest with each respondent;
- Where possible, use colloquial applications of the questions and terms describing the research process;
- Emphasize the confidentiality and anonymity requirements of the study; and
- Address any concerns about the possible application of the research -- many prisoners will raise the issue that the study is of no direct benefit to them individually.

The use of the tape recorder raises a number of methodological and ethical issues, such as: When should it be introduced as a part of our field methods? At what point do you decide to begin recording? How do you control the content of the interview? The answer to each question will differ according to the degree of suspicion and caution shown by your respondent. Generally, you should attempt to keep the recording equipment out of sight until you have had an opportunity to explain the purpose of the interview and the nature of the inquiry. Before you actually begin the interview, you should say that you want "to capture the conversation on tape because it would be nearly impossible to take notes and talk comfortably". If necessary, repeat your assurances concerning the confidentiality of the interview and the anonymity of the respondents. This gesture should be in the form of a request, such as, "Can we tape this interview?" In the event that one of your respondents refuses to have the interview taped but is willing to examine the issues, continue your interview and take good notes. The respondent may change his/her mind after the interview gets under way. In that case, begin where you are with the interview and provide a brief summary onto the tape after the respondent leaves.

It will be important to have a coding system for our interviews. We have elected to use a four-part code identifying the site (institution), type of respondent, organizational affiliation (if any), and interview sequence. For example, our interviews in New Jersey can be coded as follows: RAHWAY/PRISONER/JAYCEES/001 or RAHWAY/OFFICER/NONE/001. This code must be placed on your completed Structured Interview Schedules and the Semi-Structured Interview Log, and must coincide with the codes placed on the tapes.

INTERVIEW METHODS

Approach each area of inquiry carefully. Be sure to establish a framework for your secondary probes. This may be accomplished by first stating the question in a broader fashion and then focusing on each element of the question provided by the respondent. When you sense that there is a substantial area of the question being overlooked, offer additional probes. Few respondents can provide a systematic conceptual analysis of the issues raised. However, you should take care not to become too directive with respondents that are not articulate or imaginative. Attempt to move from abstract and general explanations to specific and detailed descriptions and examples of the issue explored.

You must be an attentive listener to ask good secondary questions (probes). The risks are that some respondents will attempt to use the interview to campaign for their personal concerns or to make socio-political statements. If you feel that the interview focus is not being productive, don't hesitate to restate the question or attempt to focus on specific situations. This must be done in a non-abrasive manner or you will lose your opportunity to obtain additional information.

ADDITIONAL AREAS OF INQUIRY

The structure of the questions provided on the interview schedules are only intended as a basic framework. You are to use your knowledge of and familiarity with the problem to develop secondary probes into the areas of "expertise" and personal experience of the respondents. In addition, we want to systematically explore the relative impact of the following dimensions with all groups included in our samples:

a. racial/ethnic conflict and polarization
b. institutionalized racism
c. coercive control
d. intelligence operations
e. group power struggles.

PRISONER SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

We appreciate your cooperation and effort in completing our questionnaire. While it helps us to understand many important problem areas, it does not take the place of direct personal contact with someone like yourself.

We want to explore some of your experiences without the limitations of a structured questionnaire. Your observations and ideas are important to our study.

I. BRIEFLY ESTABLISH THE RESPONDENT'S BASE OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE.

Primary Probes

A. How long have you been confined on this sentence?

B. Have you served all of your time at this prison?

C. Have you served other state sentences? Where? How long?

D. What kinds of jobs and work assignments have you had during your present period of confinement? What about at other prisons?

E. What kinds of advantages or benefits do jobs such as these provide?

Secondary Probes

A. Are there special or "key" jobs in this prison which allow prisoners to do easier time or provide for their personal needs? What would be some of these types of jobs, and what could they offer?

B. Do these work assignments attract a certain type of prisoner?

C. How are people selected for these assignments?

II. EXPLORE THE RESPONDENT'S EXPERIENCE WITH AND INSIGHT INTO PRISONER ORGANIZATIONS.

Primary Probes

A. Are there many officially recognized prisoner organizations in this prison? What about comparisons with other prisons you have been in or know about?

B. What types of organizations (e.g., self-help, outside-sponsored, special interest, religious, etc.) operate in this prison?

C. Do they have stated (official) goals and objectives? What are some of these goals?

D. Do these organizations have secondary (unofficial) goals and objectives which are not openly stated? What are some of these goals?

Secondary Probes (Tape record this section if inmate is agreeable and information is of sufficient quality.)

A. Do these organizations serve a purpose or function to: (1) the individual prisoner? (2) the general prison population? (3) the staff? (4) the outside world? Describe these functions.

B. How do prisoners become members of these organizations? Are there any differences among organizations in how members are selected? Is there a screening process or a selection criterion?

C. Does age, ethnicity, race, length of time, type of offense, or other characteristics play a role in membership?

D. How are leaders selected? Is there a special type of prisoner who is seen as a leader?

E. How does the custodial staff (guards) respond to these organizations? For example, do they see them as a vehicle for collective rebellion, a threat to their safety, etc., or as a means of reducing prison tension and hostility?

F. How does the prison administration respond to these organizations? On what basis is this concluded?

III. DEVELOP AN INTENSIVE EXAMINATION OF EACH PRISON ORGANIZATION DISCUSSED DURING THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE INTERVIEW. USE A "CASE HISTORY" APPROACH TO FOCUS ON THE DEVELOPMENT, OBJECTIVES, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DYNAMICS, AND OTHER DIMENSIONS OF EACH ORGANIZATION.

Primary Probes

A. When did this organization begin? Discuss the community-level activities, recruitment, etc. What were the initial reasons for its formation? What was the reaction of the prison officials?

B. What type of prisoners were attracted to the organization at that time? Is there a difference in the type of prisoners involved now? Why?

C. Describe the major values underlying the orientation of this organization. What are its primary beliefs and long-range objectives?

Secondary Probes

A. How does this organization use its legitimate power, authority and influence? Is there a difference in how it directs its powers toward members, non-members, guards, or others? How?

B. Are there "illegitimate" methods of power, authority and influence? Describe. What are the ramifications?

C. Is there a formal or informal process by which this organization tests the loyalty of its members? How?

D. How does this organization meet the personal needs (e.g., autonomy, freedom, access to limited resources, safety, etc.) of its members?

E. Are social or "political" needs (e.g., identity, solidarity, cohesiveness, etc.) met through the organization? How?

F. Are there alliances developed with other prisoner organizations? With outside organizations? How important are these alliances to the survival or purpose of the organization?

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

We appreciate your cooperation and effort in completing our questionnaire. While it helps us to understand many important problem areas, it does not take the place of direct personal contact with someone like yourself.

We want to explore some of your experiences without the limitations of a structured questionnaire. Your observations and ideas are important to our study.

I. BRIEFLY ESTABLISH THE RESPONDENT'S BASE OF KNOWLEDGE AND EXPERIENCE.

Primary Probes

A. How long have you been working at this institution?

B. Have you worked at other state institutions? Where? How long?

C. What kinds of jobs and work assignments have you had during your present period of employment? What about at other prisons?

D. What kinds of advantages or benefits do jobs such as these provide?

Secondary Probes (Begin tape at this part if the respondent is willing and the information is of sufficient quality.)

A. Are there special or "key" jobs in this prison which allow officers to do easier duty or provide for their personal needs? What would be some of these types of jobs and what could they offer?

B. Do these work assignments attract a certain type of officer?

C. How are people selected for these assignments?

D. What are the major concerns of correctional officers at this institution? (Use COOCS to probe each area of concern.) Do you share these concerns?

E. What are some ways in which the issues you have presented may be resolved?

II. EXPLORE THE RESPONDENT'S EXPERIENCE WITH AND INSIGHT INTO PRISONER ORGANIZATIONS.

Primary Probes

A. Are there many officially recognized prisoner organizations in this prison? What about comparisons with other prisons you have been in or know about?

B. What types of organizations (e.g., self-help, outside-sponsored, special interest, religious, etc.) operate in this prison?

C. Do they have stated (official) goals and objectives? What are some of these goals?

D. Do these organizations have secondary (unofficial) goals and objectives which are not openly stated? What are some of these goals?

Secondary Probes

A. Do these organizations serve a purpose or function to: (1) the individual prisoner? (2) the general prison population? (3) the staff? (4) the outside world? Describe these functions.

B. How do prisoners become members of these organizations? Are there any differences among organizations in how members are selected? Is there a screening process or a selection criterion?

C. Does age, ethnicity, race, length of time, type of offense, or other characteristics play a role in membership?

D. How are leaders selected? Is there a special type of prisoner who is seen as a leader?

E. How does the custodial staff (guards) respond to these organizations? For example, do they see them as a vehicle for collective rebellion, a threat to their safety, etc., or as a means of reducing prison tension and hostility?

F. How does the prison administration respond to these organizations? On what basis is this concluded?

III. DEVELOP AN INTENSIVE EXAMINATION OF EACH PRISON ORGANIZATION DISCUSSED DURING THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE INTERVIEW. USE A "CASE HISTORY" APPROACH TO FOCUS ON THE DEVELOPMENT, OBJECTIVES, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DYNAMICS, AND OTHER DIMENSIONS OF EACH ORGANIZATION.

Primary Probes

A. When did this organization begin? Discuss the community-level activities, recruitment, etc. What were the initial reasons for its formation? What was the reaction of the prison officials?

B. What type of prisoners were attracted to the organization at that time? Is there a difference in the type of prisoners involved now? Why?

C. Describe the major values underlying the orientation of this organization. What are its primary beliefs and long-range objectives?

Secondary Probes

A. How does this organization use its legitimate power, authority and influence? Is there a difference in how it directs its powers toward members, non-members, guards, or others? How?

B. Are there "illegitimate" methods of power, authority and influence? Describe. What are the ramifications?

C. Is there a formal or informal process by which this organization tests the loyalty of its members? How?

D. How does this organization meet the personal needs (e.g., autonomy, freedom, access to limited resources, safety, etc.) of its members?

E. Are social or "political" needs (e.g., identity, solidarity, cohesiveness, etc.) met through the organization? How?

F. Are there alliances developed with other prisoner organizations? With outside organizations? How important are these alliances to the survival or purpose of the organization?

INMATE LEADER STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Code: ________/________/________/________
Institution/Respondent/Organization/Number

Taped: ______ yes ______ no

Quality: ______ Exceptional
______ Good
______ Fair
______ Poor

---

1. Group or organization: ______________________________
2. Length of active membership: ______________________________
3. How would you classify this organization:

   Categories
   a. Self-government ______
   b. Self-help (e.g., A.A.) ______
   c. Recreational ______
   d. Religious ______
   e. Political ______
   f. Racial/ethnic association ______
   g. Community/family ties ______
   h. Academic ______
   i. Vocational ______
   j. Other (specify): ______________

4. How did you become a leader of this group or organization?

   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

5. Is that the usual process of becoming an inmate leader in your group or organization? If not, what other "routes" to leadership are there?

   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

6. Based on your knowledge of other inmate groups or organizations, how typical are these processes for becoming an inmate leader? Please describe the different processes which characterize these inmate groups or organizations.

7. As an inmate leader, do you believe that you are treated differently by the staff and administration? If so, how?

8. What factors are usually responsible for changes in inmate leadership in your group or organization? In other groups/organizations?

9. Does your group/organization provide a training process to insure a succession of inmate leaders? Please describe.

10. As an inmate leader, what tactics and strategies do you believe are most successful (effective) in dealing with the staff and administration here? In other prisons with which you are familiar?

11. Is it generally difficult or easy to achieve inmate consensus on issues? Which issues provoke the most conflict or disagreement? Why?

12. Which issues are met with the most consensus or agreement among inmates? Why?

13. What conditions or events promote the development of inmate organizations and groups? Why?

14. What conditions or events prevent or thwart the development of inmate organizations and groups? Why?

15. What are some of the benefits in having inmate organizations and groups available for inmates?

16. What benefits have you personally gained from your leadership experience?

17. What procedures were used to gain "official recognition" of the organization by prison management?

18. What concerns were raised when you presented your ideas or proposals?

19. Are there sub-rosa restrictions or "hidden agenda" issues placed on your organization? What ways are these revealed?

20. What is the general attitude of (1) the management, (2) officers, and (3) prisoners toward outside support?

INMATE ORGANIZATION SPONSOR STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Code: ______/______/______/______
Institution/Respondent/Organization/Number

Taped: ______ yes ______ no

Quality: ______ Exceptional
______ Good
______ Fair
______ Poor

---

1. Group or organization: ________________________
2. Length of active sponsorship: ________________________
3. How would you classify this organization?

   Categories
   - a. Self-government ______
   - b. Self-help (e.g., A.A.) ______
   - c. Recreational ______
   - d. Religious ______
   - e. Political ______
   - f. Racial/ethnic association ______
   - g. Community/family ties ______
   - h. Academic ______
   - i. Vocational ______
   - j. Other (specify): ______________
4. How did you become a sponsor of this group or organization?

   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
5. Is that the usual process of becoming a sponsor of this group or organization? If not, what other "routes" to sponsorship are there?

   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

6. Based on your knowledge of other inmate groups or organizations, how typical is the group you are sponsoring?

7. As a sponsor, do you believe that you are treated differently by inmates, staff, or management? If so, how?

8. What factors are usually responsible for changes in the inmate leadership in your group or organization? In other groups/organizations?

9. Does your group/organization provide a training process to insure a succession of sponsors? Please describe.

10. As a sponsor, what tactics and strategies do you believe are most successful (effective) in dealing with the staff and administration here? In other prisons with which you are familiar?

11. Is it generally difficult or easy to achieve inmate consensus on issues? Which issues provoke the most conflict or disagreement? Why?

12. Which issues are met with the most consensus or agreement among inmates? Why?

13. What conditions or events promote the development of inmate organizations and groups? Why?

14. What conditions or events prevent or thwart the development of inmate organizations and groups? Why?

15. What are some of the benefits in having inmate organizations and groups available for inmates?

16. What benefits have you personally gained from your sponsorship experience?

17. What procedures were used to gain "official recognition" of the organization by prison management?

18. What concerns were raised when your group presented your ideas or proposals?

19. Are there sub-rosa restrictions or "hidden agenda" issues placed on your organization? What ways are these revealed?

20. What is the general attitude of (1) the management, (2) officers, and (3) prisoners toward outside support?

APPENDIX B

SCALE TO SCALE CORRELATIONS

TABLE

52 PSVS Scale to Scale Correlations: Soledad (CTF-S) B-2

53 PSVS Scale to Scale Correlations: Stillwater B-3

54 PSVS Scale to Scale Correlations: Rahway B-4

55 PSVS Scale to Scale Correlations: OSP B-5

56 PSVS Scale to Scale Correlations: Bedford Hills B-6

57 CCOCS Scale to Scale Correlations: Aggregated Samples B-7

Table 52
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUE SCALE
SCALE-TO-SCALE CORRELATION COEFFICIENT MATRIX

Soledad (CTF-SOUTH)

	Prisonization	Criminalization	Radicalism	Racism-Sexism	Collective Action
Prisonization					
r	1.00				
p	****				
n	****				
Criminalization					
r	.4106				
p	.009				
n	33				
Radicalism					
r	.5837	.5874			
p	.001	.001			
n	31	30			
Racism-Sexism					
r	.4636	.5035	.4984		
p	.003	.001	.002		
n	34	33	31		
Collective Action					
r	.6676	.5352	.6107	.5453	1.00
p	.001	.001	.001	.001	****
n	33	33	30	33	****

r = Pearson's correlation coefficient.
p = Probability (significance level).
n = Number of cases included in the analysis.

Table 53
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUE SCALE
SCALE-TO-SCALE CORRELATION COEFFICIENT MATRIX

Stillwater (MSP)

		Prisonization	Criminalization	Radicalism	Racism-Sexism	Collective Action
Prisonization						
	r	1.00				
	p	****				
	n	****				
Criminalization						
	r	.41				
	p	.001				
	n	165				
Radicalism						
	r	.19	.24			
	p	.006	.001			
	n	168	168			
Racism-Sexism						
	r	.49	.57	.30		
	p	.001	.001	.001		
	n	167	169	166		
Collective Action						
	r	.50	.33	.40	.39	1.00
	p	.001	.001	.001	.001	****
	n	166	165	167	165	****

r = Pearson's correlation coefficient.
p = Probability (significance level).
n = Number of cases included in the analysis.

Table 54
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUE SCALE
SCALE-TO-SCALE CORRELATION COEFFICIENT MATRIX

Rahway

	Prisonization	Criminalization	Radicalism	Racism-Sexism	Collective Action
Prisonization					
r	1.00				
n	(0)				
p	****				
Criminalization					
r	0.34				
n	(106)				
p	p=0.001	****			
Radicalism					
r	0.37	0.42			
n	(109)	(106)			
p	p=0.001	p=0.001	****		
Racism-Sexism					
r	0.44	0.43	0.21		
n	(108)	(105)	(108)		
p	p=0.001	p.0.001	p=0016		
Collective Action					
r	0.49	0.28	0.44	0.32	
n	(109)	(106)	(109)	(106)	
p	p=0.001	p=0.002	p=0.001	p=0.001	

r = Pearson's correlation coefficient.
p = Probability (significance level).
n = Number of cases included in the analysis.

Table 55
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUE SCALE
SCALE-TO-SCALE CORRELATION COEFFICIENT MATRIX

Oregon (OSP)

	Prisonization	Criminalization	Radicalism	Racism-Sexism	Collective Action
Prisonization					
r	1.00				
n	(0)				
p	****				
Criminalization					
r	0.41	1.00			
n	(168)	(0)			
p	p=0.001	****			
Radicalism					
r	0.15	0.16	1.00		
n	(167)	(167)	(0)		
p	p=0.030	p=0.017	****		
Racism-Sexism					
r	0.52	0.53	0.08	1.00	
n	(163)	(163)	(161)	(0)	
p	p=0.001	p=0.001	p=0.146	****	
Collective Action					
r	0.34	0.22	0.27	0.28	1.00
n	(165)	(165)	(163)	(161)	(0)
p	p=0.001	p=0.003	p=0.001	p=0.001	****

r = Pearson's correlation coefficient.
p = Probability (significance level).
n = Number of cases included in the analysis.

Table 56
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUE SCALE
SCALE-TO-SCALE CORRELATION COEFFICIENT MATRIX

Bedford Hills

	Prisonization	Criminalization	Radicalism	Racism-Sexism	Collective Action
Prisonization					
r	1.00				
n	(0)				
p	****				
Criminalization					
r	0.33	1.00			
n	(133)	(0)			
p	p=0.001	****			
Radicalism					
r	0.30	0.26	1.00		
n	(132)	(130)	(0)		
p	p=0.001	p=0.002	****		
Racism-Sexism					
r	0.43	0.36	0.18	1.00	
n	(135)	(131)	(135)	(0)	
p	p=0.001	p=0.001	p=0.019	****	
Collective Action					
r	0.45	0.30	0.11	0.27	1.00
n	(130)	(126)	(133)	(137)	(0)
p	p=0.001	p=0.001	p=0.113	p=0.001	****

r = Pearson's correlation coefficient.
p = Probability (significance level).
n = Number of cases included in the analysis.

Table 57

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OCCUPATIONAL CONCERNS
SCALE-TO-SCALE CORRELATIONS

		CONTROL	SAFETY	RESISTANCE TO CHANGE	RACISM-SEXISM	POWER	COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT
CONTROL							
	r	1.00					
	n	(0)					
	p	xxxx					
SAFETY							
	r	.33	1.00				
	n	(356)	(0)				
	p	=.001	xxxx				
RESISTANCE TO CHANGE							
	r	.43	.33	1.00			
	n	(357)	(364)	(0)			
	p	=.001	=.001	=.001			
RACISM-SEXISM							
	r	.33	.08	.25	1.00		
	n	(350)	(355)	(357)	(0)		
	p	=.001	=.071	=.001	xxxx		
POWER							
	r	.25	.27	.06	.07	1.00	
	n	(354)	(361)	(363)	(356)	(0)	
	p	=.001	=.001	=.001	=.088	xxxx	
COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT							
	r	.21	.20	.07	.12	.25	1.00
	n	(355)	(361)	(364)	(357)	(361)	(0)
	p	=.001	=.001	=.094	=.012	=.001	xxxx

APPENDIX C

ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS

TABLE

58 PSVS Item to Scale Correlations: Soledad (CTF-S) C-2

59 PSVS Item to Scale Correlations: Stillwater C-3

60 PSVS Item to Scale Correlations: Rahway C-4

61 PSVS Item to Scale Correlations: OSP C-5

62 PSVS Item to Scale Correcations: Bedford Hills C-6

63 COOCS Item to Scale Correlations: Aggregated Officer Samples C-7

Table 58
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUES SCALE
ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS
Soledad (CTF-SOUTH)

Prisonization

Item No.	N	r	p
5	38	.58	.001
10	38	.43	.005
15	39	.64	.001
20	40	.33	.026
25	39	.34	.023
30	38	.43	.005
35	39	.24	.084
40	40	.64	.001
44	41	.32	.029
47	39	.56	.001

Radicalism

Item No.	N	r	p
2	38	.65	.001
7	38	.63	.001
12	41	.81	.001
17	38	.51	.001
22	37	.39	.014
27	40	.59	.001
32	39	.65	.001
37	40	.41	.009

Collective Action

Item No.	N	r	p
1	36	.03	.440
6	37	.19	.150
11	36	.63	.001
16	38	.73	.001
21	37	.18	.155
26	38	.08	.320
31	40	.45	.004
36	38	.30	.047
41	38	.74	.001
45	40	.60	.001

Criminalization

Item No.	N	r	p
4	37	.68	.001
9	37	.74	.001
14	40	.71	.001
19	40	.62	.001
24	38	.51	.001
29	37	.23	.096
34	41	.70	.001
39	41	.49	.002
43	40	.10	.294

Racism-Sexism

Item No.	N	r	p
3	37	.47	.002
8	38	.45	.004
13	40	.27	.058
18	40	.74	.001
23	41	.68	.001
28	37	.21	.112
33	40	.25	.073
38	40	.21	.114
42	38	.08	.324
46	39	.52	.001

N = Number of cases
r = Correlation coefficient
(Pearson's r)
p = Probability (significance) level

Table 59
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUES SCALE
ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS
Stillwater (MSP)

Prisonization

Item No.	N	r	p
5	172	.50	.001
10	172	.55	.001
15	172	.32	.001
20	172	.46	.001
25	172	.20	.004
30	172	.32	.001
35	172	.35	.001
40	172	.49	.001
44	172	.33	.001
47	172	.44	.001

Radicalism

Item No.	N	r	p
2	174	.61	.001
7	174	.60	.001
12	174	.52	.001
17	174	.51	.001
22	174	.40	.001
27	174	.59	.001
32	174	.63	.001
37	174	.55	.001

Collective Action

Item No.	N	r	p
1	170	.33	.001
6	170	.32	.001
11	170	.46	.001
16	170	.49	.001
21	170	.35	.001
26	170	.39	.001
31	170	.58	.001
36	170	.36	.001
41	170	.58	.001
45	170	.44	.001

Criminalization

Item No.	N	r	p
4	170	.62	.001
9	170	.66	.001
14	170	.78	.001
19	170	.67	.001
24	170	.28	.001
29	170	.46	.001
34	170	.61	.001
39	170	.56	.001
43	170	.36	.001

Racism-Sexism

Item No.	N	r	p
3	170	.55	.001
8	170	.36	.001
13	170	.42	.001
18	170	.62	.001
23	170	.43	.001
28	170	.34	.001
33	170	.55	.001
38	170	.40	.001
42	170	.31	.001
46	170	.40	.001

N = Number of cases
r = Correlation coefficient (Pearson's r)
p = Probability (significance) level

Table 60
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUES SCALE ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS

Rahway

Prisonization

Item No.	N	r	p
5	113	.42	.001
10	113	.64	.001
15	113	.36	.001
20	113	.62	.001
25	113	.37	.001
30	113	.17	.033
35	113	.20	.019
40	113	.48	.001
44	113	.45	.001
47	113	.36	.001

Radicalism

Item No.	N	r	p
2	114	.58	.001
7	114	.60	.001
12	114	.58	.001
17	114	.27	.002
22	114	.36	.001
27	114	.60	.001
32	114	.65	.001
37	114	.53	.001

Collective Action

Item No.	N	r	p
1	112	.12	.101
6	112	.26	.003
11	112	.44	.001
16	112	.53	.001
21	112	.41	.001
26	112	.10	.140
31	112	.50	.001
36	112	.44	.001
41	112	.64	.001
45	112	.41	.001

Criminalization

Item No.	N	r	p
4	110	.44	.001
9	110	.58	.001
14	110	.66	.001
19	110	.48	.001
24	110	.51	.001
29	110	.32	.001
34	110	.64	.001
39	110	.58	.001
43	110	.08	.196

Racism-Sexism

Item No.	N	r	p
3	110	.58	.001
8	110	.52	.001
13	110	.36	.001
18	110	.59	.001
23	110	.51	.001
28	110	.28	.002
33	110	.44	.001
38	110	.41	.001
42	110	.20	.016
46	110	.48	.001

N = Number of cases
r = Correlation coefficient (Pearson's r)
p = Probability (significance) level

Table 61
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUES SCALE
ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS

Oregon (OSP)

Prisonization

Item No.	N	r	p
5	169	.53	.001
10	169	.58	.001
15	169	.50	.001
20	169	.36	.001
25	169	.19	.007
30	169	.39	.001
35	169	.44	.001
40	169	.35	.001
44	169	.38	.001
47	169	.37	.001

Criminalization

Item No.	N	r	p
4	170	.56	.001
9	170	.72	.001
14	170	.72	.001
19	170	.68	.001
24	170	.31	.001
29	170	.41	.001
34	170	.64	.001
39	170	.65	.001
43	170	.25	.001

Radicalism

Item No.	N	r	p
2	169	.69	.001
7	169	.67	.001
12	169	.40	.001
17	169	.58	.001
22	169	.46	.001
27	169	.62	.001
32	169	.57	.001
37	169	.51	.001

Racism-Sexism

Item No.	N	r	p
3	164	.55	.001
8	164	.46	.001
13	164	.40	.001
18	164	.64	.001
23	164	.46	.001
28	164	.52	.001
33	164	.36	.001
38	164	.36	.001
42	164	.28	.001
46	164	.44	.001

Collective Action

Item No.	N	r	p
1	166	.19	.009
6	166	.21	.003
11	166	.46	.001
16	166	.58	.001
21	166	.24	.001
26	166	.39	.001
31	166	.41	.001
36	166	.35	.001
41	166	.51	.001
45	166	.36	.001

N = Number of cases
r = Correlation coefficient
(Pearson's r)
p = Probability (significance) level

Table 62
PRISONER SOCIAL VALUES SCALE
ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS
Bedford Hills

Prisonization

Item No.	N	r	p
5	148	.43	.001
10	148	.32	.001
15	148	.40	.001
20	148	.43	.001
25	148	.39	.001
30	148	-.10	.109
35	148	-.16	.028
40	148	.37	.001
44	148	.52	.001
47	148	.48	.001

Radicalism

Item No.	N	r	p
2	146	.58	.001
7	146	.57	.001
12	146	.56	.001
17	146	-.37	.001
22	146	-.44	.001
27	146	.50	.001
32	146	.62	.001
37	146	.54	.001

Collective Action

Item No.	N	r	p
1	144	-.08	.159
6	144	.31	.001
11	144	.34	.001
16	144	.47	.001
21	144	.54	.001
26	144	-.35	.001
31	144	35	.001
36	144	.37	.001
41	144	.50	.001
45	144	.52	.001

Criminalization

Item No.	N	r	p
4	143	.63	.001
9	143	.58	.001
14	143	.50	.001
19	143	.56	.001
24	143	.38	.001
29	143	-.26	.001
34	143	.60	.001
39	143	.60	.001
43	143	.10	.125

Racism-Sexism

Item No.	N	r	p
3	147	.56	.001
8	147	.39	.001
13	147	.49	.001
18	147	.57	.001
23	147	.35	.001
28	147	-.19	.010
33	147	.51	.001
38	147	.36	.001
42	147	-.24	.002
46	147	.48	.001

N = Number of cases
r = Correlation coefficient (Pearson's r)
p = Probability (significance) level

Table 63

CORRECTIONAL OFFICER OCCUPATIONAL CONCERNS SCALE ITEM-TO-SCALE CORRELATIONS

CONTROL

Item No.	N	r	p
3	360	.63	.001
4	360	.62	.001
17	360	.54	.001
19	360	.61	.001
27	360	.41	.001

SAFETY

Item No.	N	r	p
2	369	.46	.001
13	369	.71	.001
21	369	.36	.001
23	369	.59	.001
30	369	.21	.001

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

Item No.	N	r	p
6	371	.62	.001
7	371	.47	.001
9	371	.71	.001
15	371	.68	.001
22	371	.62	.001

RACISM-SEXISM

Item No.	N	r	p
5	363	.73	.001
11	363	.40	.001
16	363	.29	.001
24	363	.76	.001
28	363	.77	.001

POWER

Item No.	N	r	p
8	369	.61	.001
12	369	.58	.001
18	369	-.28	.001
20	369	.51	.001
29	369	.70	.001

COMMUNICATIONS AND SUPPORT

Item No.	N	r	p
1	370	.04	.202
10	370	.55	.001
14	370	.51	.001
25	370	.61	.001
26	370	.09	.050

N = Number of cases
r = Correlation coefficient (pearson's r)
p = Probability (significance) level

APPENDIX D

CROSSTABULATIONS

TABLE

64 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Age: Affiliated Females D-2

65 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Race: Affiliated Females D-3

66 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Marital Status: Affiliated Females D-4

67 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Education: Affiliated Females D-5

68 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Age When First Arrested: Affiliated Females D-6

69 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Current Offense: Affiliated Females D-7

70 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Number of Prior Felony Convictions: Affiliated Females D-8

71 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Time Served (Lifetime): Affiliated Females D-9

72 Crosstabulation of Type of Organization with Time Remaining on Current Sentence(s): Affiliated Females D-10

Table 64

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY AGE AFFILIATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	25 years or less	25 to 30 years	over 30 years	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 21.1 4 Col % 10.0	36.8 7 16.3	42.1 8 19.0	19	15.2
Religious	25.0 2 5.0	12.5 1 2.3	62.5 5 11.9	8	6.4
Self-help	35.8 19 47.5	34.0 18 41.9	30.2 16 38.1	53	42.4
Special Interest	33.3 15 37.5	37.8 17 39.5	28.9 13 31.0	45	36.0
Total	40	43	42	N=125	
%	32.0	34.4	33.6		

Table 65

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY RACE AFFILATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	White	Black	Hispanic	Native American	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 5.0 1 3.6	-- 0 --	95.0 19 46.3	-- 0 --	20	15.5
Religious	25.0 2 7.1	50.0 4 6.8	12.5 1 2.4	12.5 1 10.0	8	6.2
Self-help	29.1 16 57.1	47.3 26 44.1	23.6 13 31.7	-- 0 --	55	42.6
Special Interest	19.6 9 32.1	63.0 29 49.2	17.4 8 19.5	-- 0 --	46	35.7
Total	28	59	41	1	N=129	
%	21.7	45.7	31.8	0.8		

Table 66

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY MARITAL STATUS
AFFILIATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	Single	Married	Split Family	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 38.1 8 Col % 14.0	33.3 7 17.1	28.6 6 18.2	21	16.0
Religious	50.0 4 7.0	37.5 3 7.3	12.5 1 3.0	8	6.1
Self-help	50.0 28 49.1	23.2 13 31.7	26.8 15 45.5	56	42.7
Special Interest	37.0 17 29.8	39.1 18 43.9	23.9 11 33.3	46	35.1
Total	57	41	33	N=131	
%	43.5	31.3	25.2		

Table 67

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY EDUCATION AFFILIATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	11 years or less	12 or 13 years	14 or 15 years	16 years or more	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 65.0 13 Col % 24.1	25.0 5 10.6	5.0 1 12.5	5.0 1 16.7	20	17.4
Religious	28.6 2 3.7	57.1 4 8.5	-- 0 --	14.3 1 16.7	7	6.1
Self-help	48.8 21 38.9	41.9 18 38.9	7.0 3 37.5	2.3 1 16.7	43	37.4
Special Interest	40.0 18 33.3	44.4 20 42.6	8.9 4 50.0	6.7 3 50.0	45	39.1
Total	54	47	8	6	N=115	
%	47.0	40.9	7.0	5.2		

Table 68

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY AGE AT FIRST ARREST
AFFILIATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	25 years or less	25 to 30 years	over 30 years	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 5.6 1 Col % 4.0	50.0 9 17.0	44.4 8 21.1	18	15.5
Religious	12.5 1 4.0	50.0 4 7.5	37.5 3 7.9	8	6.9
Self-help	20.0 11 44.0	50.9 28 52.8	29.1 16 42.1	55	47.4
Special Interest	34.3 12 48.0	34.3 12 22.6	31.4 11 28.9	35	30.2
Total	25	53	38	N=116	
%	21.6	45.7	32.8		

Table 69

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY CURRENT OFFENSE AFFILIATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	Violent Personal	Property	Drug, Other	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 27.8 5 Col % 10.2	22.2 4 14.3	50.0 9 21.4	18	15.1
Religious	57.1 4 8.2	28.6 2 7.1	14.3 1 2.4	7	5.9
Self-help	48.1 25 51.0	25.0 13 46.4	26.9 14 33.3	52	43.7
Special Interest	35.7 15 30.6	21.4 9 42.1	42.9 18 42.9	42	35.3
Total	49	28	42	N=119	
%	41.2	23.5	35.3		

Table 70

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY NUMBER OF PRIOR FELONY CONVICTIONS AFFILIATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	None	1 or 2	3 to 5	6 or more	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 88.2 15 Col % 19.7	5.9 1 2.4	-- 0 --	5.9 1 100.0	17	13.9
Religious	75.0 6 7.9	25.0 2 4.8	-- 0 --	-- 0 --	8	6.6
Self-help	54.5 30 39.5	43.6 24 57.1	1.8 1 33.3	-- 0 --	55	45.1
Special Interest	59.5 25 32.9	35.7 15 35.7	4.8 2 66.7	-- 0 --	42	34.4
Total	76	42	3	1	N=122	
%	62.3	34.4	2.5	0.8		

Table 71

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY TIME SERVED-LIFETIME AFFILIATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	Less than 1 year	1 to 2 years	3 to 5 years	6 to 10 years	over 10 years	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 28.6 6 Col % 19.4	38.1 8 18.2	19.0 4 15.4	9.5 2 11.1	4.8 1 14.3	21	16.7
Religious	25.0 2 6.5	12.5 1 2.3	37.5 3 11.5	12.5 1 5.6	12.5 1 14.3	8	6.3
Self-help	17.0 9 29.0	50.9 27 61.4	15.1 8 30.8	13.2 7 38.9	3.8 2 28.6	53	42.1
Special Interest	31.8 14 45.2	18.2 8 18.2	25.0 11 42.3	18.2 8 44.4	6.8 3 42.9	44	34.9
Total	31	44	26	18	7	N=126	
%	24.6	34.9	20.6	14.3	5.6		

Table 72

CROSSTABULATION OF TYPE OF ORGANIZATION BY TIME TO BE SERVED-CURRENT OFFENSE AFFILIATED FEMALE PRISONERS

	Less than 6 months	6 to 12 months	12 to 24 months	25 to 48 months	over 48 months	Total	%
Ethnic	Row % 14.3 3 Col % 18.8	4.8 1 11.1	19.0 4 16.7	38.1 8 15.7	23.8 5 19.2	21	16.7
Religious	14.3 1 6.3	-- 0 --	28.6 2 8.3	42.9 3 5.9	14.3 1 3.8	7	5.6
Self-help	14.8 8 50.0	11.1 6 66.7	24.1 13 54.2	38.9 21 41.2	11.1 6 23.1	54	42.9
Special Interest	9.1 4 25.0	4.5 2 22.2	11.4 5 20.8	43.2 19 37.3	31.8 14 53.8	44	34.9
Total	16	9	24	51	26	N=126	
%	12.7	7.1	19.0	40.5	20.6		