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GROUP DYNAMICS IN THE PRISON COMMUNITY

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The thesis upon which this paper is predicated may be briefly stated: A scientific knowledge of the dynamic interrelations existing between social groups within the prison community is indispensable to the prison administrator, warden, deputy warden, heads of prison departments, and other members of the prison staff. The orderly operation of a prison or prison system depends primarily upon a sociological understanding of the nature of the functional relations existing between the formal personnel groups and the informal inmate groups within the prison community.¹ These functional relationships may be comprised under the caption, "Group Dynamics." In other words, this paper deals specifically with the dynamic relations existing between the informal social structure of the prison community and the formal social structure. The data for this paper are based upon investigations of prisons in five mid-western and southern states, and previous studies of the prison community.

¹ Previous studies of the prison community: DONALD CLEMMER, *The Prison Community* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1940); DONALD CLEMMER, *Leadership Phenomena in a Prison Community*, JOUR. CRIM. L. AND CRIMINOL., Vol. 28, No. 6 (March-April, 1938), pp. 861-872; IDA ANN HARPER, *A Study of the Natural Groups within a Woman's Correctional Institution*, M.A. thesis (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1951), pp. 66-182; HANS RIEMER, *Socialization in the Prison Community*, PROCEEDINGS, American Prison Association, 1937 pp. 151-155; NORMAN S. HAYNER AND ELLIS ASH, *The Prisoner Community as a Social Group*, AMER. SOCIOLOGICAL REV., Vol. 4, No. 3 (June, 1939), pp. 362-369; EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND AND DONALD R. CRESSEY, *Principles of Criminology* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1955), pp. 497-512; NORMAN S. HAYNER AND ELLIS ASH, *The Prison as a Community*, AMER. SOCIOLOGICAL REV., Vol. 5, No. 4 (August, 1940), pp. 577-583; PAUL B. FOREMAN, *Guide Theory for the Study of Informal Inmate Relations*, SOUTHWESTERN SOC. SCI. QUART., (December, 1953), pp. 34-46; S. KIRSON WEINBERG, *Aspects of the Prison's Social Structure* AMER. JOUR. OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. 47, No. 5 (March, 1942), pp. 717-726; CLARENCE SCHRAG, *Leadership among Prison Inmates*, AMER. SOCIOLOGICAL REV., Vol. 19, No. 1 (February, 1954), pp. 37-42; VERNON FOX, *The Effect of Counseling on Adjustments in Prison*, SOC. FORCES, Vol. 32, No. 3 (March, 1954), pp. 285-289; NORMAN S. HAYNER, *Washington State Correctional Institutions as Communities*, SOC. FORCES, Vol. 21, No. 3 (March, 1943), pp. 316-322; DONALD R. TAFT, *The Group and Community Organization Approach to Prison Administration*, PROCEEDINGS, American Prison Association, 1942, pp. 275-284; IDA ANN HARPER, *The Role of the 'Flinger' in a State Prison for Women*, SOC. FORCES, Vol. 31, No. 1 (October, 1952), pp. 53-60.

The prison community is a relational system in which a number of persons, inmates and personnel, interact overtly and covertly with one another according to specially prescribed rules of behavior. Within the confines of the prison locale, inmates and staff participate jointly in many of the common social relationships and activities found in "free" communities outside prison walls. These relationships and activities include the production of agricultural and industrial products, the utilization of health services, the acquirement of academic, vocational, and industrial education, participation in religious services, participation in recreational activities and programs, and cooperation in many other communal activities. However, the prison relational system presents a dichotomous community consisting of the formal prison structure and the informal prison structure. Professors Hayner and Ash have attempted to distinguish these two structures by using the term "prison community" to indicate the formal prison organization and the term "prisoner community" to signify the informal group structure.² Nevertheless, these two parts of the prison structure are inseparable. Definite functional relationships exist between them, which directly affect the success or failure of prison administration and the rehabilitative programs. Wardens, superintendents of correctional institutions, and other prison administrators should be keenly aware of these functional interrelationships.

THEORY OF INFORMAL GROUPS

An informal social group may be thought of as a number of persons possessing established patterns of social interaction, similar social attitudes, social values, and group loyalties, mutual interests, and the faculty of cooperation in the performance of a natural function. Membership in informal groups may range from a minimum of three persons to as many as twenty-five or more, depending upon the needs and interests of the persons concerned. The members generally display similar types of attitudinal behavior and adhere to the same set of social values. An important interest of informal groups centers around the cooperative performance of a natural function. In a prison community for adult males this function may be the making of moonshine liquor, gambling, or engaging in homosexual practices. The informal group may logically be designated as a "natural group" because of its universal existence and the fact that it emerges naturally in all types of environments and social situations to fulfill personality needs not satisfied by formal organizations. These informal groups have been delineated in large industrial organizations, labor organizations,³ business establishments, the army,⁴ college and university fraternities and sororities, women's dormitories, boys' clubs,⁵ churches, and in many other establishments where persons interact with one another. The informal group is similar to Cooley's concept of the primary group in that contacts are intimate

² NORMAN S. HAYNER AND ELLIS ASH, *The Prisoner Community as a Social Group*. AMER. SOCIOLOG. REV., Vol. 4, No. 3 (June, 1939), p. 362.

³ JOSEPH B. GITTLER, *Social Dynamics*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p. 59.

⁴ ANONYMOUS. *Informal Social Organization of the Army*. AMER. JOUR. OF SOCIOLOG., Vol. 51, No. 5 (March, 1946), pp. 365-370.

⁵ E. F. PIERCY, *Boys' Clubs and Their Social Patterns*. BRIT. JOURNAL OF DELINQUENCY, Vol. 2, No. 3 (January, 1952) pp. 229-237.

face-to-face contacts. Also, the informal group may be regarded as a "natural group" since the interactions occur spontaneously and naturally as contrasted with the prescribed rules for group behavior in the formal group.

The formal group according to Professor Gittler⁶ orders the relations between persons in "explicit rules set down in constitutions, established precedents, charters of incorporation, and directives. . . . Interpersonal relationships of members are impersonal, formal, deliberate, rational, and planned." Thus, it is apparent that the concept of the informal group presented above can readily be distinguished from the formally organized group.

FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PRISON

For the purpose of carrying out the legal and administrative objectives of the prison program, the civilian personnel is organized into a number of closely related formal prison groups. These formal staff and personnel groups have the responsibility for organizing the work, maintenance, and rehabilitative programs of the prison, and classifying the inmates into formal work groups and maintenance units for the accomplishment of these same prison objectives. These formal groups, both personnel and inmate, are coordinated and integrated into a functioning social system in an administratively efficient prison. This system constitutes the formal group organization and formal social structure of the prison.

In a typical prison for adult male offenders, the formal organization includes the warden at the top of the hierarchy, a deputy warden in charge of custody, a deputy warden responsible for the rehabilitative program, the prison guards, superintendent of prison industries, superintendent of prison farms, superintendent of prison road camps, director of classification, clinical psychologist, prison physician, superintendent of education, the chaplain, recreational director, institutional parole officer, and perhaps other specialized personnel. These functionaries, which head up the formal personnel groups, give leadership and direction to the prison program, and are responsible for executing the work and rehabilitative programs of the prison.

INFORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PRISON

The available data indicate that a very large proportion of prison inmates are organized into small informal, natural or primary groups, based upon common interests or the performance of natural functions of some kind. These informal groups, which may relate to such activities as "moonshining," gambling, sexual perversion, or the manufacture of weapons, are only loosely coordinated into an overall informal prison system, because of restrictions placed upon them by the formal system. Nevertheless, the informal prison system exists as a very real threat and potent danger to the formal prison program. At any rate a state of covert conflict, "psychological warfare," or open hostilities may develop between the groups constituting the two systems. If the conflict becomes too severe, the informal groups may go "underground" and perform many of their activities "sub-rosa."

The informal prison organization of a certain medium-sized women's prison recently presented the unique and amazing phenomenon of two opposing and con-

⁶ GITTLER, *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

CHART 1
INFORMAL GROUP ORGANIZATION OF PRISON ANONYMOUS*
"X" Series

a	b	c	d	e	f
"Y" Series					
m	n	o	p	q	r

* Name of the institution withheld for the protection of the institution in accordance with approved social work practice.

flicting linear type sub-systems or series, which may be designated as Series "X" and Series "Y." Each series consisted of a number of informal personnel groups and informal inmate groups united in a chain-like sort of arrangement (Chart 1). Series "X," which was headed by a high-ranking prison official, may be represented as consisting of six informal groups, "a," "b," "c," "d," "e," and "f." Series "Y," captained by one of the prison matrons, may be shown as comprising six other informal groups, "m," "n," "o," "p," "q," and "r." Each series developed effective methods of gossip and rumor, conflict, espionage, aggression, and spying on the other side. The leader of Series "Y" developed ingenious methods of discovering, sabotaging, and upsetting the secret plans of the "X" Series of favored cliques. The leader of the "X" Series, with strong moral support of her clique sisters, retaliated in kind. The leaders of both series had strong political support outside the institution. Neither side was strong enough to overthrow or destroy the other. Thus, the institution reached a battle stalemate along its "38th parallel," with no possibility of a permanent truce.

TYPES OF INFORMAL PRISON GROUPS

Donald Clemmer⁷ found that informal prison groups were based upon such factors as "mutual home background, association in crime, expressed or unexpressed homosexual attraction, mutual toleration by a forced propinquity, and the wish of a submissive personality to share in the prestige of a notorious and dominant criminal and the men who plot and plan for future crime." Also, the pursuit of common interests and the desire to participate in the performance of one or more natural functions should be added to the foregoing list of factors motivating informal group formation and behavior.

On the basis of on-the-spot investigations in a selected number of men's prisons, it is possible to differentiate a number of important informal inmate groups as follows:

(1) *The Politicians or "Big Shots."* The politicians have achieved distinction as a group in the prisoner community because of their checkered criminal careers and participation in one or more notorious crimes. Their chief functions in the prison consist in seizing power, and the planning of sabotage, strikes, riots, and future prison breaks.

(2) *The "Right Guys."* The right guys exert tremendous power and influence over other inmates in enforcing strict observance of the "Prisoners' Code." They are

⁷ DONALD CLEMMER, *Leadership Phenomena in a Prison Community*. JOUR. OF CRIM. L. AND CRIMINOL., Vol. 28, No. 6 (March-April, 1938), p. 863.

eternally vigilant in exploiting all opportunities for better jobs, improvement in living conditions, and eventual discharge.

(3) *The "Moonshiners."* The moonshiners comprise those inmates who engage in the secret manufacture and sale of moonshine liquor to other inmates. The ingredients of this spirituous concoction may include shaving lotion, listerine antiseptic, shoe polish, rubbing alcohol, sugar stolen from the commissary, and perhaps other available components. This liquor is in considerable demand by the "long termers," neurotic prisoners, and depressed inmates who require exotic stimulation.

(4) *The Dope Peddlers.* In many institutions a small informal group of inmate dope peddlers has the monopoly on the distribution and sale of narcotics at exorbitant prices to fellow inmates. Narcotics are often smuggled into an institution by unreliable guards and irresponsible visitors, who act as liaison agents for the drug traffic. The hazards of prison dope peddling are very great; however, the financial returns are fabulous, and the inmate consumer receives temporary release from the monotony, routine, and tensions of prison life.

(5) *The Larceny Boys.* The larceny boys make a special business of stealing the personal belongings of unsuspecting prisoners and selling the loot to still other inmates. This practice is not generally regarded by the inmates as petty larceny, but as part of a larger program for "sharing the wealth." Crime is regarded as a phenomenon of free competitive society, and not of communal society such as a prison.

(6) *The Gambling Syndicate.* Gambling in prison is often organized into a hierarchy consisting of several informal gambling groups. A monopoly of gambling may exist within the institution whereby the Kingpin at the top of the hierarchy exacts a toll, tax or levy from the stakes of each game played. Recently the chief gambler at a certain institution was released on parole with sufficient capital to start three legitimate businesses.

(7) *Leather Workers.* The leather workers consist of one or more informal groups which devote all of their leisure time to the manufacture of artistic leather goods for sale to the public. These leather products consist of purses, handbags, watchbands, briefcases, and other leather items. The prison administration generally encourages this type of work because of the vocational values, skills, and techniques acquired by a selected number of inmates.

(8) *The Religionists.* Many prisons have one or more fanatically religious groups which believe in giving emotional expression to their radical religious beliefs at any time or place within the institution. They read the Scriptures aloud, pray long and fervently, and sing hallelujahs in the prison shops and factories, and in their cells. They believe that the "Spirit of the Lord" is upon them at all times. Jehovah's Witnesses is one of the most important of these informal religious groups.

(9) *The Homosexuals or "Wolves."* The prison community is abnormal in that it is a one-sex community. The prison rules and regulations strongly disapprove of all types of sex expression. The resulting sex repression and frustration create an environmental climate within the prison conducive to the emergence of homosexuality, which may take the form of promiscuity, prostitution, or even "marriage." The marital form of homosexuality may be preceded by courtship and dating behavior, and consummated by an actual "ceremony." In a medium sized adult male prison,

we were recently able to identify 50 married pairs, or a total of 100 homosexuals, not including the prostitutes. Tremendous social pressures in the form of bribes, or threats of bodily harm or death are applied to the innocent new inmate to yield during his first few nights in prison. Once initiated into the "fraternity of homosexuals" the neophyte is powerless to escape from the informal sexual system.

(10) *Manufacturers of Weapons*. The prison also has its informal inmate groups secretly engaged in the production and sale of weapons to other inmates, such as knives, saws, hatchets, black jacks, whips, and the like. These weapons are purchased by other inmates for one of the following purposes: (a) as personal protection against the aggressive trends of other inmates; (b) as a weapon used by homosexuals to protect their "gal-boys" against the sexual advances of other inmates; and (c) to increase the inmate stockpile of inmate weapons in the event of a possible prison riot or prison break and escape.

(11) *The Spartans*. The Spartans, an absolutely harmless informal group, are primarily interested individually and as a group in displaying their physical bodies in the nude. They take great delight in strutting about the locker rooms, showers and toilets, flexing their muscles, displaying their sexual organs, and exhibiting the hair on their breasts as evidence of masculinity.

All inmates are aware of the existence of these informal inmate groups, and the possibilities for "mutual aid" between them during periods of crisis, riots, escapes, and wholesale prison breaks. However, because of strict discipline by the formal prison organization, these informal groups may be only loosely coordinated into an overall system during prison "peace times."

STATUS SYSTEMS IN PRISON

Status means position or standing accorded the individual inmate by his fellow inmates. Status does not necessarily imply high standing, but simply position along the social scale. Role, on the other hand, is the pattern or type of behavior which the inmate builds up within himself in terms of what other inmates expect of him. Role consists of activity; status is the place achieved by an inmate on the prestige scale. Prison status may be either ascribed or achieved. Ascribed status is generally formulated in advance by cultural definition, and signifies some characteristic feature, such as age, race, intelligence, or family background of the inmate. Achieved status is acquired by the individual inmate because of choice, special ability, or unique achievement. Factors in the achievement of status may include previous criminal record, observance of the "prisoners' code," personality, educational status, work placement within the prison, type of custody, informal group membership, type of visitors, and type of political connections with the outside world.

Data from several prisons show that prison inmates and prison personnel behave in terms of a deeply-entrenched status hierarchy, a well-developed formal prison organization, and an informal social system. Legal status and well-developed behavioral patterns are the principal factors which assign prison personnel to a superordinate position and prison inmates to a subordinate position in the status system. Prison life is a status continuum or prestige scale. Each individual inmate achieves or is assigned a position on this scale by his fellow inmates.

CASTE AND CLASS ASPECTS OF PRISON ORGANIZATION

The prison community displays many features of caste and class behavior. The warden, prison officials, guards, heads of departments, and the prison rehabilitative personnel constitute the upper caste, while the inmates form the lower caste. The foregoing division is evidence of caste structure because the opportunities for vertical mobility on the "social ladder" are exceedingly limited. The relations between these two social strata are formal and impersonal. Members of each stratum regard the members of the other caste as stereotypes,⁸ rather than as personalities. The officials and other prison personnel expect and demand obedience, humility, and deference from the inmate group. The members of the inmate group, on the other hand, anticipate these caste-like requirements, and respond overtly and artificially by submissive behavior and submerged hostility toward the prison upper caste. However, these hostile attitudes and aggressive trends towards the upper caste may often find expression in flagrant criticism of the prison administration, high-level intrigue, and open rebellion in the form of prison riots.

Stratification in the form of social classes may be found in both the upper prison caste and the lower inmate caste. However, class lines are more sharply differentiated in the inmate group. The inmate group or lower caste in most prisons may be subdivided into five major social classes as follows:⁹

(1) The upper class, consisting primarily of the politicians and others with superior status. This group is interested in social power and the control of inmate public opinion.

(2) The middle class, consisting of the "right guys," is vitally interested in preserving and enforcing the "Prisoners' Code."

(3) The lower class includes the uneducated, unskilled, the mentally retarded, and abnormal sex offenders.

(4) The neophytes or "fish" consist of the newcomers, who are principally young first offenders.

(5) Stool pigeons or social outcasts. These inmates are lowest in the social scale, because of their espionage activities conducted in behalf of the prison administration.

In southern prisons with large proportions of Negro offenders, the inmate group or lower caste may further be subdivided into a white sub-caste and a Negro sub-caste—each sub-caste retaining its own distinctive class system.

INMATE LEADERSHIP

Inmate leadership in the prison community differs greatly from democratic leadership in the free community. This difference may be accounted for on the basis of such factors as inmate individualism, lack of opportunity for consensus, and the fracturing of the prison community into small informal groups or cliques. These factors produce conditions within the prison favorable to the assumption of leadership roles and political power by the long-term recidivist. His status within the

⁸ S. KIRSON WEINBERG, *Aspects of the Prison's Social Structure*. AMER. JOUR. OF SOCIOLOGY, Vol. 47, No. 5 (March, 1942), p. 718.

⁹ Adapted from RUTH S. CAVAN, *Criminology*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1948), p. 590.

institution may be greatly enhanced by the commission of acts of aggression and violence, by possessing a "gal-boy" as a marital partner, the wearing of a mustache, and by displaying psychopathic behavior. Prison culture is organized primarily around the social values and grandiose ideas posited by these dangerous and unreformable criminals. Socialization (prisonization) for the inmate population may involve conditioning to the anti-social attitudes and criminal behavior patterns of these dangerous recidivists.

THE PRISONERS' CODE AND PRISON CULTURE

The prison has a distinctive culture of its own, which is transmitted to each newcomer and handed down from one generation of inmates to the next. Prison culture consists of habit systems, behavior patterns, prison customs and folkways, the prisoners' code, and prisoners' attitudes and opinions toward the prison system, prison personnel, and the major social institutions in "free society." Specifically, prison culture may also include the prison folklore and mythology built around such historic events as outstanding prison riots, daring prison breaks, protracted sit-down strikes, dramatic deeds of perseverance, fortitude and valor by prison inmates, and previous criminal exploits of some of the nation's dangerous criminals.

The prisoners' code, as stated above, constitutes a fundamental part of prison culture. This code determines the type and extent of legitimate interaction between guards and inmates. The code prohibits fraternization with guards or other prison personnel. In fact, inmates are discouraged from talking to guards except on business matters. The code stipulates that key information regarding plots, impending riots or prison breaks should never be given to the administration. Prisoners are taught never to squeal on fellow inmates. Inmates are not supposed to notify prison officials of escapes or attempted escapes. In fact, the code even approves the giving of material assistance to inmates planning escapes. The code strongly disapproves giving information to the administration regarding the membership, purposes, activities, and programs of the various informal prison groups. A strong spirit of cooperation and sense of loyalty develop between inmates in their various dealings with one another. Finally, the code prescribes humility and deference toward prison officials, and cooperation with the rehabilitative personnel as the surest method of securing an early parole. First offenders are indoctrinated with the "morality" of the code upon incarceration; the recidivists are already well-acquainted with its tenets from previous incarcerations.

THE PROCESS OF PRISONIZATION

The term "prisonization," originally coined by Clemmer,¹⁰ is synonymous with prison acculturation. It includes all the various ways by which inmates or informal inmate groups take on new prison culture traits, and incorporate them into their own manner of living. Prisonization is the process by which the individual inmate acquires the customs, folkways, mores, institutional behavior patterns, and the general culture of the prisoner community. Eventually, the new inmate, in order

¹⁰ DONALD CLEMMER, *The Prison Community*. (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1940), p. 299.

to secure favorable status, is forced to adopt patterns of behavior in line with the culture of his fellow inmates. He accepts their system of social values, and becomes highly sensitive to their criticism, threats, and applause.

The extent or degree of prisonization, as pointed out by Clemmer,¹¹ is influenced by the inmate's personality, his social relationships prior to incarceration, affiliation with an informal group, type of work placement, and the acceptance or rejection of the prisoners' code. The determinants of optimum prisonization¹² include such factors as a long sentence, maladjusted personality, lack of contact with family and friends outside the prison, membership in informal inmate groups, uncritical acceptance of the prisoners' code, institutional work placement with kindred personalities, and participation in forbidden activity, such as sex perversion or gambling. The process of optimum prisonization implies socialization of the individual inmate to the point that he willingly shares the traditions, memories, attitudes, values, and loyalties of the prisoner community.

IMPLICATIONS OF INFORMAL GROUPS FOR PRISON ADMINISTRATION AND REHABILITATION

Numerous articles in professional, scientific, and popular journals have attempted to explain the causes of the recent wave of prison riots in several of the nation's major prisons during the last four years (1951-1954). These academic interpretations have been supplemented by radio roundtables, and committee reports under such captions as: "Prison Riots—Why?"¹³ "Prison Riots and Disturbances,"¹⁴ and "What is Wrong with American Prisons?"¹⁵ These sources list such well-known causes as inadequate financial support, sub-standard personnel, enforced idleness, lack of professional leadership, absence of rehabilitative programs, overcrowding, political interference, and the sentencing practices of the courts. However, the principal cause of all these riots and disturbances was never mentioned in any of the foregoing treatises on the subject! The basic cause may be found in the social structure of the prison itself, and the nature of the functional relations between the formal personnel groups and the informal inmate social groups within the prison community. Either prison administrators and criminologists are generally ignorant of the existence of these groups, or they refuse to recognize them other than as subversive and rebellious elements in the prison population.

An analysis of the behavior of these informal groups is absolutely essential to successful prison administration. The prison warden cannot successfully prohibit the activities of these groups or eliminate them altogether, anymore than he can request his inmates to desist from eating, sleeping, or breathing. Group formation in prison is a "natural process," which cannot be thwarted, but it can be guided.

¹¹ DONALD CLEMMER, *Observations on Imprisonment as a Source of Criminality*. JOUR. OF CRIM. L. AND CRIMINOL., Vol. 41, No. 3 (September-October, 1950), pp. 316-317.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 318.

¹³ PENNSYLVANIA PRISON SOCIETY, *Prison Riots. . . Why?* THE PRISON JOUR., Vol. 33, No. 1, April, 1953, pp. 2-27.

¹⁴ AMER. PRISON ASSN., *Prison Riots and Disturbances*, New York, May, 1953, pp. 5-27.

¹⁵ UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUNDTABLE, *What is Wrong with American Prisons?* February 22, 1953, pp. 1-20.

The progressive prison administrator will utilize this last alternative. He will formulate policies and approve rehabilitative programs with a full knowledge of the existence of informal inmate groups, and manipulate his institution strategically in terms of the probable behavior of these groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The conflict situation prevailing in many American prisons as a result of the clash between two opposing social systems, can be remedied, at least in part, by the adoption of certain progressive correctional and therapeutic methods, and preventive measures. The custodial and rehabilitative programs of the prison can be greatly strengthened by the utilization of the following measures: the scientific classification of inmates; the use of informal group leaders in certain aspects of the prison program; individual psychotherapy for seriously maladjusted personalities; group therapy or guided group interaction;¹⁶ a prison counseling system along the lines of Michigan's Southern State Prison;¹⁷ comprehensive educational programs (academic, vocational, industrial, and social), an inmate council or grievance committee, constructive use of leisure time, continued research of inmate social groups, and the establishment of many phases of prison life on a democratic basis.

However, in addition to the foregoing preventive measures intended for inmate groups, members of the prison staff need to understand, not only the theory, but the practice of group dynamics as well. They need to know "how to operate" intelligently and function strategically in a community of two conflicting but functionally related social systems.

¹⁶ LLOYD W. McCORKLE, *Group Therapy in the Treatment of Offenders*, FED. PROB., Vol. 16, No. 4 (December, 1952), pp. 22-27; F. LOVELL BEXBY, AND LLOYD W. McCORKLE, *Applying the Principles of Group Therapy in Correctional Institutions*, FED. PROB., Vol. 14, No. 1 (March, 1950), pp. 36-40.

¹⁷ VERNON FOX, *The Effect of Counseling on Adjustment in Prison*, SOC. FORCES, Vol. 32, No. 3 (March, 1954), pp. 285-289.