

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE INMATE
LIAISON ROLE IN THE INFORMAL
COMMUNICATIONS STRUCTURE IN A
MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON
PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
JOHN WALTER PRELESNIK
1972



This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
AN INVESTIGATION OF THE INMATE
LIAISON ROLE IN THE INFORMAL
COMMUNICATIONS STRUCTURE IN A
MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON
PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC
presented by

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has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Social Science

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Date 6-17-72



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The communications structure between inmates of a maximum security prison determines, in part, the values and beliefs that will be held by these inmates. The inmate informal organization exists to relieve the "pains of imprisonment" suffered by the inmates subjected to imprisonment. The relationships between inmates are based on reciprocated agreements, exchanging goods and services for prestige, to relieve the pains of imprisonment. This model is in contrast to a model based on dominance and submission. Access to information and goods, and the relaying of the same become very important functions in the prison informal organization. Knowledge of this function and the relationships that exist between this role, the liaison role, and the prison clique or primary groups can be useful in system analysis and planning. The liaison role person can facilitate or hinder the orderly passing of information within the inmate informal system.

This study investigated the communications structure of a prison psychiatric clinic located in a maximum security institution. The psychiatric clinic functions as a residential treatment program for those convicted for sex crimes, drug abuse (opiate), and youthful offenders.

Data were obtained by: (1) a Communication Questionnaire requesting the respondent to provide demographic and self-perception data on a number of communication-related issues as well as data that link this study with the traditional roles; (2) a Personal Contact Checklist, in which the respondent indicated the five inmates who resided on the clinic with whom he communicated; and (3) a Personal Contact Questionnaire, in which a respondent indicated his perceptions of the named individual's communications function, or the extent that he controls the passage of information to various clique groups in the organization. The communications functions that were tested were: the number of communications contacts the individual possessed, the amount of task-related information he had access to, the control he could exercise in passing or hindering the passage of information to others in the prison, the amount of influence he had in the organization, the importance of his secondary contacts, his specific leadership functions, whether his contacts with

the named individual are accidental or deliberate, and whether or not the individual serves as a first source of task-related information in the organization.

Analyses were conducted on the basis of a constructed sociogram utilizing reported reciprocated communications contacts. Considering only reciprocated contacts linkages, communications networks were constructed identifying two communication function roles. Liaison, defined as analogous to articulation points of graph theory, constituted the role of interest in this study. In graph theory the articulation points are positions that serve as linkages between a select group of points and the main body of graph points. The articulation point if removed will result in isolation of the select group from the main body of the graph. The articulation point serves as the select group's only channel of contact to the main body of points. This places the articulation point in a "gatekeeper role" where the articulation point has the ability to pass on information to the select group from the main body partially, wholly, or not at all. Non-liaisons, who conduct most of their communications in small groups, were compared with liaisons on their communications functioning.

Both samples were compared on several demographic variables to assist in describing the two samples. The samples were compared for differences in their mean values

using the "T" test for independent means with samples with unequal numbers on the following demographic variables:

(1) span of reciprocated contacts; (2) crimes of violence; (3) aspects of sentence, minimum, maximum, and span, the difference between the maximum and minimum sentence; (4) number of times seen parole board; (5) time remaining to see parole board; and (6) traditional roles found in prison research: politician, square John, outlaw, right guy, and ding roles.

The only demographic variable that was significantly different at the 0.05 level of significance using the "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample, was span of contact. Span of contact was defined as the number of inmates in the clinic that the individual had reciprocated contacts with, i.e., had established a regular mappable communications channel. The liaison sample had a greater span of reciprocated contacts than did the non-liaison sample. This is the definition of the liaison role, according to theory. This finding provided empirical evidence that the roles analyzed were in reality liaison persons. No other aspects of the demographic data were significantly different at the 0.05 level. It was noted that the study population, liaisons and non-liaisons when compared to the average prison population, had longer minimum, maximum, and spans of sentences, were convicted of more crimes of violence, and

tended to agree with the values of the politician and right guy roles while rejecting or remaining neutral on the square John, outlaw, and ding roles.

It was postulated that liaisons would be perceived by their reciprocated non-liaison contacts, and would perceive themselves to have: (1) a greater number of contacts in the organization, (2) more task-related information, (3) more control over message flow in the organization, and (4) more influence in the organization.

Other hypotheses predicted liaison: (1) are perceived to have more influence over personal opinions than non-liaisons, (2) are perceived to have more important secondary contacts than non-liaisons, (3) perceive the communications system as more open than do non-liaisons, (4) perceive the communications system to be more satisfying than do non-liaisons, (5) liaison-non-liaison dyads more frequently participate in deliberate message transaction than non-liaison-non-liaison dyads, (6) liaison-non-liaison dyads amount of deliberate message transaction is more disproportionate than in non-liaison-non-liaison dyads, (7) are perceived to be first sources of information, and (8) are more likely to hold high status inmate positions and are more likely to manipulate themselves into these positions than non-liaisons.

A "T" test for samples with independent means with samples with unequal numbers was used to test for significant differences at the 0.05 level in the sample means.

It was found that the liaison persons are perceived to have a significant effect on the personal opinions of non-liaison individuals. No other hypotheses reached the 0.05 level of significance.

The findings suggest that knowledge of the liaison location in a prison organization should be important to the prison administrator. These roles could enhance communications and opinions to assist or hinder the administration and management of a penal institution among the population confined there, through their manipulation of the attitudes and opinions of the inmates they are in contact with.

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A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

College of Social Science

1972

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Appreciation is expressed to the members of my guidance committee for their assistance in the pursuing of my educational goals. The members of the committee were Dr. John H. McNamara who served as chairman, Dr. Robert C. Trojanowicz who represented the School of Criminal Justice, Dr. Robert A. Zucker who represented the Department of Psychology, and Dr. Christopher Sower who represented the Department of Sociology. A special degree of indebtedness is owed to Dr. John McNamara who widened my perspective of the criminal justice system and process.

Appreciation is also expressed to the members of the Michigan Corrections Department, especially Dr. Fred Pesetsky for allowing me access to the prison psychiatric clinic and providing me with numerous valuable suggestions for my research. I would also like to thank the inmates who participated in my research for their cooperation and honesty.

Appreciation, more than can be expressed here, is also extended to my chief typist, editor, and moral supporter, my wife, Judith Ann Prelesnik, whose many years of support assisted me in the pursuit of my academic goals.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Prison as a Community	11
Degradations of the Prison Community and Primary Groups	15
Postulated Primary Group Conformity Using Small Group Theory	23
Inmate Roles	32
Inmate-Staff Interactions	36
Inmate Code	39
Prisonization	43
Adaptation to Prisonization	49
Summary	99
II. RESEARCH CONTEXT: THE COMMUNICATION ROLE LINK BETWEEN THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL SYSTEM, THE LIAISON ROLE CONCEPT	102
Research Content: Hypotheses	107
Sociometric Analysis	121
Hypotheses Testing	124
III. RESEARCH DESIGN	126
The Sample	128
Operationalizing Variables	130
Contact with Original Research Operationalized, Self-Perception Scale	149
Operationalizing of the Sociometric Design, The Personal Contact Checklist	152

Chapter	Page
Pretest Procedures	154
Pretest Scale	156
IV. FINDINGS	161
Administrative Arrangement	161
Administering the Instrument	164
Scale Analysis	173
Sociometric Analysis	179
Characteristics of the Respondents	188
Sociometric Description of the Study Population	189
Demographic Characteristics of the Study Population	191
Aspects of Sentence and Parole	191
Data Sources for Hypotheses Tests	208
Tests of Hypotheses	208
V. CONCLUSIONS	249
Summary	249
Discussion	261
Contributions of the Study	281
Suggestions for Future Research	284
BIBLIOGRAPHY	287
APPENDICES	
Appendix	
A. Questionnaire Packet (Cover Letter, Personal Data Questionnaire, Contact Checklist, Personal Contact Questionnaire)	302
B. Administrative Agreement Letter	316

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Number of Contacts, Scale 1	156
2. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Number of Contacts, Scale 2	157
3. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Task-Related Information, Scale 3	157
4. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Task-Related Information, Scale 4	157
5. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Control of Message Flow, Scale 5	158
6. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Control of Message Flow, Scale 6	158
7. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Influence over Personal Opinions, Scale 7	158
8. Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Importance of Secondary Contacts, Scale 8	159
9. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Influence in the Organization, Scale 9	159

Table	Page
10. Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Influence in the Organization, Scale 10	159
11. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Openness of Communications System, Scale 11	160
12. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Satisfaction with Communications System, Scale 12	160
13. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, First Sources of Information, Scale 15	160
14. Administration of Research Instrument	172
15. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Number of Contacts, Scale 1	175
16. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Task-Related Information, Scale 4	175
17. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Control of Message Flow, Scale 6	175
18. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Influence in the Organization, Scale 9	176
19. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Openness of Communications System, Scale 11	176
20. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Satisfaction with Communications System, Scale 12	176
21. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Number of Communications Contacts, Scale 2	177

Table	Page
22. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Task-Related Information, Scale 3	177
23. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Control of Message Flow, Scale 5	177
24. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Influence over Personal Opinions, Scale 7	178
25. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Importance of Secondary Contacts, Scale 8	178
26. Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Influence in the Organization, Scale 10	178
27. Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, First Source of Information, Scale 15	179
28. Self-Reported Crimes Currently Serving Sentence for by Study Population Type	192
29. Self-Reported Length of Sentence and Have Seen Parole Board, Liaison Individuals	194
30. Self-Reported Length of Sentence and Have Seen Parole Board, Non-Liaison Individuals	195
31. Time Left in Sentence in Months Before Sample Groups are Eligible to Come Before Parole Board	199
32a. Politician Role Scale Score of Liaison	202
32b. Square John Role Scale Score of Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals	203
32c. Outlaw Role Scale Score of Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals	204

Table	Page
32d. Right Guy Role Scale Score of Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals	205
32e. Ding Role Scale Score of Liaisons and Non-Liaison Individuals	206
33. Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perception for Hypothesis 1	210
34. Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads, and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads, to Test Hypothesis 2	212
35. Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads, to Test Hypothesis 3	215
36. Summary of the Average Summed Values from Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions, for Hypothesis 4	217
37. Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads, to Test Hypothesis 5	220
38. Summary of the Average Summed Values for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions, for Hypothesis 6	222
39. Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads, to Test Hypothesis 7	224
40. Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads, to Test Hypothesis 8	227

Table	Page
41. Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions for Hypothesis 9	229
42. Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads to Test Hypothesis 10	232
43. Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions for Hypothesis 11	234
44. Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions for Hypothesis 12	236
45. Summarizes out of 100 Contacts, the Number of Contacts of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads that were on a Chance Basis, as Perceived by Non-Liaison Individuals, Test for Hypothesis 13	239
46. Summarizes out of 100 Contacts, the Frequency of Times the Contacts in the Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads were not on a Chance Basis, Test for Hypothesis 14	241
47. Summary of the Average Summed Value from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads to Test Hypothesis 15	243
48. Formal Job Classification of the Liaison and Non-Liaison Persons	246
49. Score Weights of Job Assignment, by Sample Population, Routine Selection=3, Request=2, Asked For=1	248

Table	Page
50. Summary of the Results of the Demographic Data, Between the Liaison and Non-Liaison Samples	262
51. Summary of the Results of Tests of Hypotheses Between Mean Value Differences of the Liaison and Non-Liaison Roles	263

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Communication Patterns	92
2. Graph Theory Concepts	105
3. Matrix of Reported Communications Contacts	183
4. Sociogram of the Communication Structure of the Inmate Informal Organization Lines Connecting Individuals Repr- sent Reciprocated Contacts	187
5. Frequency Polygon for the Reciprocated Choices Received by Liaisons and Non-Liaisons	190

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The fact that there are 230 state and federal maximum security penal institutions for adults, which had a total average inmate population of 214,000 at the beginning of 1969 justifies research that will enhance the general level of knowledge about these institutions.¹ The practice of placing men in custody is as old as society itself, but only within the last 300 years has custody emerged as a major weapon of the State for dealing with the "criminal." In an historical sense, the development of imprisonment as a form of penalty for the violation of society's laws is rather new. The new philosophy of imprisonment is designed to impose a sentence or judgment of penance on an individual which implies a term of imprisonment or its equivalent in terms of restricted freedom, with the exception of those few cases where the death penalty is prescribed. While serving

¹"Manpower and Training in Correctional Institutions," Staff Report of Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training (College Park, Md.: American Correctional Association, December, 1969), p. 15.

his sentence the individual is either to be punished or reformed. Like universities and mental health hospitals, correctional institutions have multiple goals. These goals can be characterized in terms of the relative importance of custody or treatment purposes.² The debate between the two polar opposites rages even to date. There is one point that both sides do agree upon, that is, while imprisoned the offender who was judged to be dangerous to society cannot harm the general public. The prisons are given the task of controlling these people who society has judged unable to control their own lives.³ It is for this reason if no other that society will retain prisons whether or not they reform or punish the individuals sentenced to them. It is the duty of the social sciences to investigate the effects of custody upon the individual, that the society will demand in the foreseeable future. It is only through such scientific research that the full effects of reformation or punishment as takes place in penal institutions can be understood, myth separated from fact.

Historically larger society has no direct stake in the prison system, other than its perceived protection.

²Mayer N. Zald, ed., Social Welfare Institutions (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), p. 451.

³Samuel E. Wallace, Total Institutions (New York: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971), p. 3.

The remoteness of the prison and the lack of communications with knowledgeable authorities makes it hard for the public to judge the institutions' effectiveness, assuming the goals of the institution are clear to the public. Unless there is a dramatic escape, or a bloody riot the general public is apathetic to the operations of the society's prisons or the men held in custody within them.⁴ In the light of the public uproar which follows close on the heels of an escape from prison or a riot, it is not surprising that prison officials have chosen the course of treating all inmates as if they were equally serious threats to the task of custody.⁵ Stringent security measures are imposed on the entire inmate population with the full realization that much of the effort may be unnecessary. Unlike most other organizations in American society, a prison's policies are always determined by various outside groups having direct interests in the institution's operations. The prison system is given a general legal mandate to operate by the taxpayers, which like most mandates, sets a floor below which achievement cannot fall, but does not require the achievement of even higher aims.

⁴Norman S. Hayner and Ellis Ash, "The Prison as a Community," American Sociological Review, V (1940), 577.

⁵Gresham Sykes, The Society of Captives (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 20.

The significant public, or the group of individuals who judge the effectiveness of the institution however are not the same as the general mandate granters. The significant public of custodial institutions are made up of police, judges, prosecuting attorneys, and others having custodial goals.⁶ The official policies directed from these outside interest groups have definite implications for the criterion that is used in officially measuring the institutions' success and those who administrate them. The individuals who administrate the custodial institutions are aware that the majority of inmates do not fit the full extent of the dangerous definition that society has placed on them, but the overreaction of the general public to an escape or riot, the significant public's expectations, and the failure of the social sciences to study inmates as a group has the effect of inflating the number of prisoners who are handled as though they were dangerous.⁷ There is certainly no convincing proof that the majority of inmates are bent on flight. The warden being human, is strongly inclined to follow the path of least resistance in his administering of the institution in his charge. The path of least resistance, in the light of the ordinary understanding of a prison warden and the reactions of the

⁶Ibid., p. 46.

⁷Elmer H. Johnson, Crime, Correction, and Society (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968), p. 497.

general and significant publics' is to make inmate escapes and disturbances as difficult as possible, by making the individual inmate helpless.⁸ The inmate population is handled in a very efficient routing manner. This handling of the ordinary human needs for physical survival by a large bureaucratic organization is a key factor that makes up what Erving Goffman has called a "total institution."⁹ A total institution is defined by Goffman as a place of residence and work where a huge number of like-situated individuals, cut off from wider society for an appreciable period of time, lead an enclosed, formally administered life. In a maximum security institution this bureaucratic administration not only provides for the basic physical needs of the men in its charge, but also serves the function of minimizing opportunities for inmate escape or rebellion, though discouraging inmate interaction.

The penal administrator's efforts to minimize interaction among the men in his charge is doomed to failure. The very act of custody where many individuals are bound together for long intervals of time must eventually give rise to a social system. This social system is not simply the social order decreed by the custodians, but the social order which grows up more informally as men interact

⁸ Frank Tannebaum, Wall Shadows (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1922), p. 13.

⁹ Erving Goffman, Asylums (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1961), p. 6.

in meeting the problems posed by their imprisonment.¹⁰ When any type of social institution--religious, educational, legal or medical--begins to exercise total control over its population, that institution begins to display certain characteristics, communication between inside and outside is rigidly controlled or prohibited altogether, those inside the institution are frequently referred to as inmates, subjects whose every movement is controlled by the institution's staff, an entirely separate social world comes into existence within the institution, which defines the inmates' social status, his relationship to all others, his very identity as a person.¹¹

In the research literature it is customary for both sociologist and correctional workers to adapt the viewpoint of society, rather than the prisoner, when discussing the goals of prisons and other correctional institutions. Prisons are seen as performing an integrative function for society and at the same time is a means of safeguarding the other institutions of society from attack. The means to carry out this task is varied, and is represented by several philosophies of imprisonment. These are isolation through ostracism, punishment,

¹⁰Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. xii.

¹¹Wallace, op. cit., p. 7.

deterrence, and rehabilitation.¹² The most prevalent philosophy of imprisonment, which ignores the inmate social system, is that the inmate is to serve out his sentence in complete isolation from the general public and the prison administration at best was to be on hand to see that it occurs as humanely and quietly as possible. The restriction in individual freedom is felt to serve as a deterrence to others who might otherwise contemplate committing a crime or recommitting a crime, for which he would be punished in like manner.

A new philosophy that seems to be challenging the concept of isolation sees imprisonment as protecting society by the prevention of crime, through the rehabilitation of individuals who commit them. The advocates of rehabilitation point out that effective deterrence rests upon the assumption of unbroken operation of deterrent instruments. As soon as they cease to operate or make default, deterrence ceases. Deterrence is thus a limited method of controlling human behavior and checking human urges, since some individuals may be chronically or temporarily fearless of the penal sanctions for a crime.¹³

¹²Hans Mettich, "Some Latent Functions of Imprisonment," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, L (1959), 238.

¹³Hans Von Hentig, "The Limits of Penal Treatment," The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXXII, No. 4 (November-December, 1941), 403.

They urge a system whereby the individual internalizes the checks upon his own behavior and does not rely on society's sanctions or fear of them as a substitute for self control.

Even with the recent rise of the popularity of the ideal of rehabilitation and the increasing interest of professional treatment workers challenging the old significant public of penal institutions, the rehabilitation ideal is still not prevalent within prison walls. Many well-meaning prison administrators are trapped by the outmoded structure that was built to support the punitive model. The buildings were designed without reference to the users wants and needs, except as individuals conforming to the institution's stereotype of them. The prisons were designed for the security of the guards and citizens of the society without consideration for even the personal security of the inmates who must live within them.¹⁴ To preserve the security of the inmates the warden is forced to become a jailer first, a reformer, a guardian, a disciplinarian or anything else second. Within the total institution of the prison, the essential task, namely preservation from chaos, permeates all the tasks which the institution may have as its declared aim.¹⁵ This

¹⁴Johnson, E., op. cit., p. 495; Wallace, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁵Paul De Becker, "The Sociology of Change in Penal Institutions, in Changing Concepts of Crime and its Treatment, ed. by Hugh J. Klare (New York: Pergamon Press, 1966), p. 139.

emphasis is not altogether unjustified, for institutional chaos would represent a grave danger not only to the staff and general public, but also to the inmates who live within the institution. The assurance of order is regarded as worth the price paid in terms of subjecting the inmates to detailed routine, with secondary emphasis on treatment. Men in prison are always counted day and night. The heart of the maximum security institution lies in the daily regimentation, routines, and rituals of domination which bend the subjects into customary posture of silent awe and unthinking acceptance.¹⁶ The regularity of prison routing means predictability, and predictability has two sides to it. It leaves out after an initial learning period, the possibility that situations filled with ambiguity, uncertainty, and threat may arise, but it also leaves out the possibility of new challenges, and unknown and unexplored possibilities will arise. The issue becomes which is worse: perfect predictability or perfect chance? Probably the latter, yet we do not know what degree of uncertainty is equivalent to perfect certainty in negative value, and what degree of uncertainty is optimal for the welfare of the prisoners.

¹⁶Richard McCleery, "The Governmental Process and Informal Social Control," in The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. by Donald Cressey (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), p. 140; Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 12.

The dilemma is clear enough: justice and efficiency both point in the direction of perfect certainty, but this may be contrary to the basic needs of prisoners. Inmates in custodial institutions want a change in the monotony of daily prison routine. Ironically, disruptions in routine even if endangering life may be welcome as a break in the routine of prison life which serve to make the system less predictable and hence less unbearable for the inmate involved.¹⁷ The inmate in prison has two principle systems for manipulating time and routine of prison life. The first and one already mentioned would be to change the signposts already there by conscious interference with prison routines, by infractions of the rules. Secondly, the inmates can try to introduce new and private signposts by interaction with officials and peers. The first type of reaction gets immediate effects, but the second, although not so dramatic, has longer lasting benefits to the inmate involved.

Conditions of imprisonment which lead the inmate to seek relief can be summarized as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating the spheres of life: (1) all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under a single authority, (2) each phase of the inmates'

¹⁷Patrick Driscoll, "Factors Related to the Institutional Adjustment of Prison Inmates," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVII (July, 1952), 135.

daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large number of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together; (3) all phases of the day's life activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time to the next, and the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above through a system of explicit rulings and by a body of officials; (4) finally, the contents of the various inferred activities are brought together as parts of a single overall purportedly rational plan designed to fulfill the aims of the institution.

Prison as a Community

Imprisonment, once hailed as the great revolutionary reform, is being doubted and contested as a solution to today's crime problem.¹⁸ The bleak fact is that, just as monstrous punishments of the eighteenth century failed to curb crime, so the more human total institutions of the twentieth century seems also to be failing.¹⁹ Professional workers in penology have an overriding obligation to acknowledge this failure and to seek its causes. The traditional protective functions of confinement are not as true today as in the past. The man adjudicated and

¹⁸ Joseph Eaton, Stone Walls not a Prison Make (Springfield, Ill.: Charles Thomas, 1962), p. 401.

¹⁹ Lloyd McCorkle and Richard Korn, "Resocialization Within Prison Walls," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXCIII (May, 1954), 530.

sentenced to prisons to serve a sentence is in most cases serving only his minimum sentence and even this is cut down by rules of good time. Today we must recognize that, except for certain types of offenses which require an imposition of a mandatory term without privilege of parole, practically all sentences in the United States are in effect, indefinite sentences with the possibility of parole or mandatory release after reduction of maximum good-conduct allowances.²⁰ Not only is the protective function of prisons becoming outmoded by reduced sentences, but the reformators are failing to reform the men in their charge. Nothing in them seems to be conducive to reform, they are excellent schools of crime, and the majority of inmates leave them as confirmed criminals rather than reformed men.²¹

It is not necessary to belabor the point that inmates flocking out of American penal and correctional institutions go forth in tragic numbers to engage in crime again. One of the basic reforms taking place in recent years is to keep people out of prisons, to keep them from being educated in criminal ways. One result of this is the practical neglect by present day reformers, to reform

²⁰James V. Bennett, "The Sentence and Treatment of Offenders," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCXXXIX (January, 1962), 144.

²¹Benjamin Karpman, "Sex Life in Prison," The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXXVIII (January-February, 1948), 475.

the prisons as a penal and correctional device. As in the other fields of social science, scientific progress in the field of corrections depends on reducing the infinite variety of problems through conceptualization. If the action of incarceration is to be understood the effects of the interactions of the people who make up the immediate reality for any given inmate must also be understood. The prison must be understood as a community. It is well recognized that control is carried out in a custodial institution by the obvious means of walls around the institution, the constant surveillance and segregation of the prisoners, the counting and recounting, and the para-military discipline. Another type of control and less obvious operates within the overtly coercive controls, since even they demand some degree of prisoner cooperation for their continuance, the inmate social system.²²

Gresham Sykes stated this view in his statement "any effort to reform the prison--and--thus reform the criminal--which ignores the social system of the prison is as futile as the labors of Sisyphus."²³ The warden cannot hope to keep his institution's inmates in total isolation. If inmates are to work, which is purported to be necessary for effective rehabilitation of the inmate

²²DeBecker, op. cit., p. 140.

²³Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. 34.

and functioning of the institution, they must have some freedom of movement and this provides opportunity for interaction. The failure of criminological research to account for the interpersonal relations among inmates is a serious theoretical and methodological omission. The objective description and analysis of the prison experience has remained somewhat neglected in the literature, which has focused on recidivism and performance on parole.²⁴ As a social system and an organization, the prison is a subject for study by the social scientist that could assist the administrator determine and develop the proper functions and qualities of future correctional institutions.

Research in penology is only of recent origin. Prior to 1940, no systematic sociological analysis of prison life had ever been done. The first work was done by Donald Clemmer in his now classic work, The Prison Community. This classic remained the only comprehensive work until Gresham Sykes published his Society of Captives in 1958. Although articles in American journals appear sporadically in the intervening years, most of them were concerned with the exploration of the ideals which Clemmer had expounded in a context which leaned heavily upon theoretical sociology of the 1920's. The explosive clash of traditional inmate cultures with the wave of riots in

²⁴Clarence Schrag, "Leadership among Prison Inmates," American Sociological Review, XIX (February, 1954), 37; McCorkle and Korn, op. cit., p. 536.

the 1950's, 60's, and 1970's show a need to look at the system of power within the inmate society. The riots that rocked the institutions of the 1950's were blamed on the historical causes of riots: (1) poor and insufficient food, (2) inadequate or unsanitary housing, (3) sadistic brutality of prison officials, (4) aggressiveness of different types of inmates, and (5) restriction of the semi-official informal inmate self government by a new administration.²⁵ With the new emphasis on treatment in the custodial institution the quality official has improved, housing has improved, the brutality of prison officials is restricted, yet we witnessed bloody riots in prisons in recent years. This indirect evidence seems to point out the need for research into the power relationship of the inmate society and its relationship to the formal system. This is by no means an easy task, but a task of grave importance.

Degradations of the Prison Community
and Primary Groups

Specialists in corrections are becoming increasingly convinced that experiences which prisoners have in prison life turn out to be considerably more important than various formal schemes for rehabilitation set up by

²⁵ Frank Hartung and Maurice Flock, "A Social-Psychological Analysis of Prison Riots an Hypothesis," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, XLVII (May-June, 1956), 52.

the prison administration.²⁶ It is becoming increasingly clear that techniques of inducing change in human behavior can be no better than the quality of the interpersonal content within which they exist. Yet, very little is known, even by prison workers, of the kinds of social interaction which take place among prisoners or the make-up of the prison social system. Incarceration imposes what could be considered a group problem on all the inmates. All inmates are cast in a huge melting pot with an unsuccessful attempt at individualization and isolation, and are expected to live in harmony. The inmates all have suffered the degradations that are suffered with the criminal justice adjudication process.²⁷ This process has had the effect of reducing their social status and withdrawing them physically from the normal stream of society. Upon entrance to the correctional institution the stripping of the remaining elements of the individual's former identity continues.²⁸ The individual begins his stay at the institution by learning "the way we do things around here" from

²⁶Vernon Fox, "Prison Disciplinary Problems," in The Sociology of Punishment and Correction, ed. by Johnston, Savitz and Wolfgang (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970), p. 383.

²⁷Rosser Smith, "A Probation Officer Looks at Discrepancies in Sentences," Federal Probation, XXVI (December, 1962), 28.

²⁸Wallace, op. cit., p. 4.

the prison guards and inmates. He soon learns that the prison routine leaves no room for individuality. The inmate feels that prisons lack concern for the individual's personal dignity and safety as individuals.²⁹ When he becomes a prisoner, the offender becomes a number, a unit to be processed by the prison employees. The physical isolation takes on the symbols of psychological isolation from the world of "respectable" and "decent" people. The inmate is being told by society he is not only a bad man in moral evaluation, but he is also a bad man socially.³⁰ He is not to associate with other people better than himself. The various types of offenders the inmates is forced to live with may be repugnant to him personally.³¹ Being told he is as evil as the men he is being forced to live with may be an ego-shattering experience for the new inmate.

The new inmate may soon suffer another blow to his self-conception. It has been reported that a society composed exclusively of men tends to generate anxieties in its members concerning their masculinity.³² This anxiety

²⁹E. Johnson, op. cit., p. 499.

³⁰Tannenbaum, op. cit., p. 9.

³¹Mattick, op. cit., p. 241.

³²Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. 71.

over masculinity may take on a physical sexual nature. Affect-hunger is not provided for while in prison. The inmate is unable to meet his need for love from the authority figures of the prison staff. He may become preoccupied with his domestic responsibilities and feel disgrace and guilt for those he left behind. The inmate may become fearful of the infidelity of loved ones whether true or imaginary, cutting off his last ties with the "free" community.³³ In the free community there are outlets for a man to sublimate his sexual drives so that he may control them, but in prison such sublimation becomes practically impossible for some inmates.³⁴ For some of these inmates masturbation becomes a suitable outlet for their physical sexual drives, but for others it only approximates the goal of sexual satisfaction. For approximately 24 per cent of the prison population homosexual liaisons provide a sexual outlet.³⁵ This arrangement is at least partly a sexual role fulfillment rather than simply a form of physical gratification. The recruitment of new inmates

³³George Train, "Unrest in the Penitentiary," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, XLIV, No. 3 (September-October, 1953), 283.

³⁴Karpman, op. cit., p. 478.

³⁵Charles Tittle, "Inmate Organization: Sex Differentiation and the Influence of Criminal Subcultures," American Sociological Review, XXXIV (August, 1969), 498.

into the liaisons is often done by risk of life threats. The young good-looking "boy" may find himself a prize "catch" and status symbol by older inmates in this strange new world. This may be the final blow to the young man's dignity and sense of self worth. All the factors of imprisonment; the loss of liberty, loss of material goods, loss of heterosexual contact, loss of personal autonomy and the symbolic affirmation of his low value to society as an individual all threaten the inmate's sense of self worth. No matter how the inmate reacts to the stress of imprisonment, there is a common sharing of a common status as inmates among all the offenders assembled in the institution.³⁶ The inmate may react to the stress of imprisonment by rejecting the "respectables" who placed him in this strange environment.

This rejecting and the coping with the deprivations of imprisonment are reported to be the chief reason for what has been called the inmate social system.³⁷ The banding together with other inmates of like status gives the individual inmate the mechanism for controlling the environment and permitting the maintenance of a sense of masculinity and self-dignity. The very forces which strip the individual of his masculinity and self-dignity at the

³⁶Smith, op. cit., p. 29.

³⁷Tittle, op. cit., p. 492.

same time create a sense of identity among the faceless mass.³⁸

Upon entering the institution the new inmate becomes aware very early in his period of commitment that there exists a very rigid social hierarchy in the new society he finds himself forced to live.³⁹ The prison population is broken up into clique or primary groups governed by an overall philosophy. The task of the new inmate member of the prison society is to determine his own status within the institutional environment. The new member feels that he is an anonymous figure in a subordinate group. He observes that each man in the prison community acquires status and the privileges that accompany that status by his reaction to the prison situation.⁴⁰ Inmates who held the highest esteem are the ones who belong to clique groups. Also on the practical level the new inmates soon discover that individuals who get into trouble with the prison administrators are usually the inexperienced non-clique inmates.⁴¹ The clique groups in prison are organized to give the individual inmate

³⁸Torence Morris and Pauline Morris, Pentonville (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1963), p. 222.

³⁹Joseph Eaton, Stone Walls not a Prison Make (Springfield, Ill.: Charles Thomas, 1962), p. 404; Wallace, op. cit., p. 43.

⁴⁰Wallace, op. cit., p. 46.

⁴¹Donald Clemmer, The Prison Community (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1940), p. 145.

support in the performance of a task or to provide relief from the rigors of imprisonment.⁴²

Donald Clemmer in his research found five degrees of group attachments possible within a prison society. Clemmer's classification is based on the strength of cohesiveness the individual displays toward a primary group. Clemmer defined a primary or clique group, the terms will be used interchangeably in this paper, as a collectivity of prisoners who possess a common body of knowledge and interests sufficient to produce an understanding and solidarity which is characterized by a we-feeling, sentimental attachment, and unanimity among its members. Clemmer classified 18 per cent of his study population as total clique men. They shared everything with the group and were subject to complete control by the group. Clemmer classified as group men these individuals who referred their opinions to a primary group yet interacted with other inmates in the prison population, 39 per cent of his sample fell into this category. The 41 per cent of his population that had no primary group affiliation yet interacted with other inmates were called by Clemmer semi-solitary men. The remaining population who talked to no one and wanted to be alone were called complete solitary men. Up until the appearance of Clemmer's work penologists were not

⁴²Morris Caldwell, "Group Dynamics in the Prison Community," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, XLVI (1956), 650.

aware of the extent of individual inmate participation in the prison community. Given the aims of penal administration which encouraged individuality and anomie among the inmate population this finding was shocking. The question arose how and why does such interaction take place.

Clemmer suggested that perhaps a man's initial contact when he entered prison was important.⁴³ From this initial contact the inmate learns about the prison organization and enters into friendships with men he can "trust." This initial contact is related to the original cell assignment made by the administration. It would seem ironically that the prison administration through its restriction on communications and by cell assignments created prison primary groups, it was bent on discouraging. As Stanton Wheeler said, "the restrictions upon social intercourse restrict the range appreciably, but more important the character of prison life makes it dangerous for a man to be intimate with more than the small handful of men whom he feels he can trust."⁴⁴ The relationship between residence and friendship formation has been well-documented by the work of Festinger, Schachter and Back.⁴⁵ Their

⁴³Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 100.

⁴⁴Stanton Wheeler, "Socialization in Correctional Communities," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), 224.

⁴⁵Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter, and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups: A Study of Human Factors in Housing (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 8.

experiments show that individuals tend to form friendships with individuals whose homes are in close proximity to each other. Erving Goffman found that in total institutions in addition to fraternization among inmates, there is likely to be found formation of a more differentiating kind between select groups of inmates. These solidarities tend to exist throughout physically close regions, such as a ward or cottage, where inhabitants perceive they are being administered as a single unit and hence have a common fate.⁴⁶ It seems as if formal policy and building construction may effect the inmate social system that the formal administrative policies discourage.

Postulated Primary Group Conformity
Using Small Group Theory

The process of "buddy-formation" whereby a pair of inmates, or a small number of them come to be recognized as "buddies" or "mates" and come to rely on each other for a wide range of assistance is not simply the effect of cell assignments. The buddy formation process is an intimate face-to-face contact between two people that is natural and spontaneous as contrasted with the prescribed rules for group behavior that the formal structure seeks

⁴⁶Erving Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions; Staff Inmate Relations," in The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. by Donald Cressey (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 56.

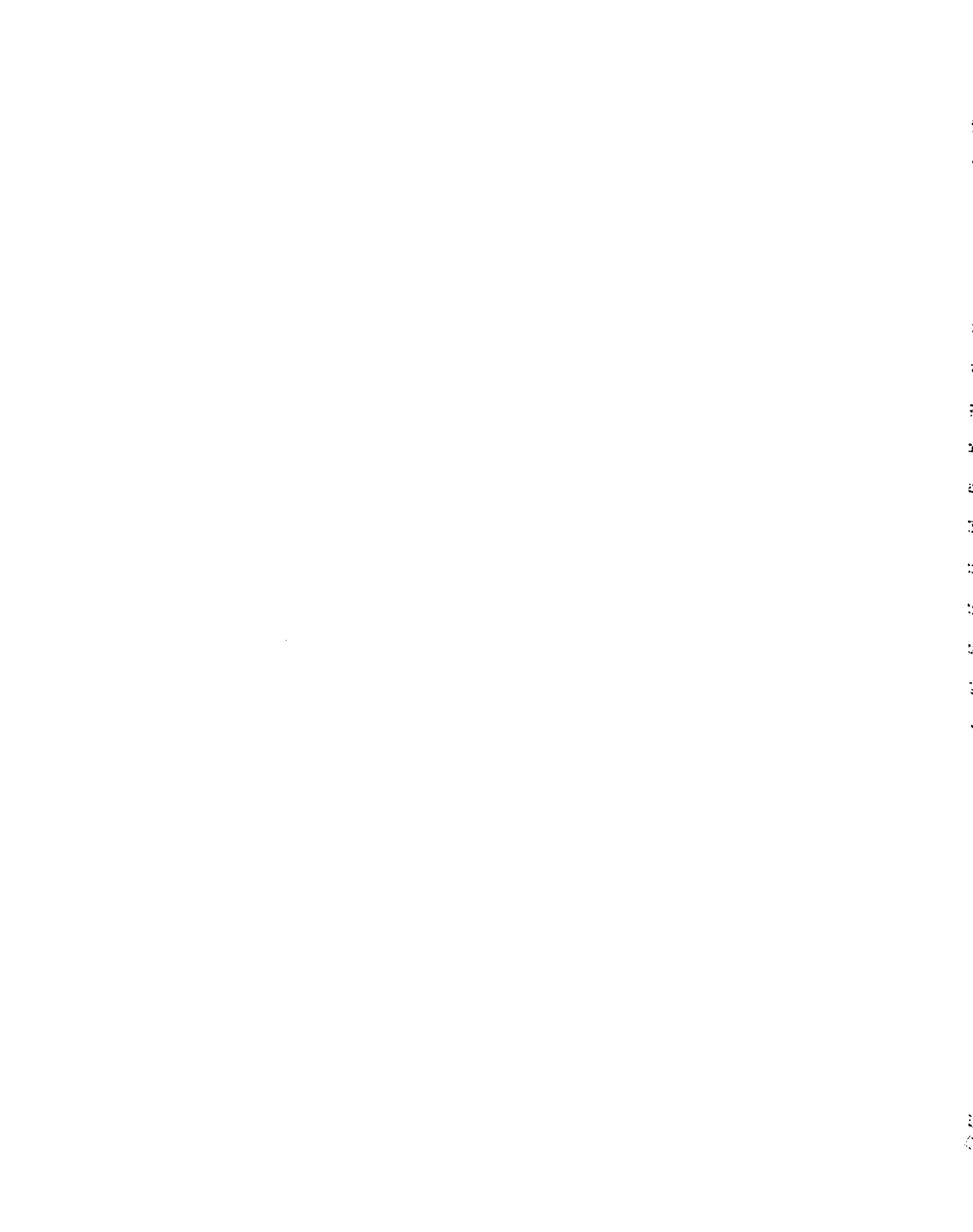
to influence.⁴⁷ This relationship provides the only area where warm and socially-rewarding human relations remain possible for the majority of inmates. Clique groups provide the inmates with the continuance of emotional contacts and mutual support and understanding.⁴⁸ This support extends to the inmate community, for each individual inmate's status within a primary group depends on his relationship with the other members of a given group, which depend on his reactions to imprisonment.⁴⁹ The fact that the primary group exists implies that thereby an active channel of communication between the clique members. This communication makes the social relations of the group possible, and provides the process that mediates the interpersonal activities of the inmates, which affects not only their self-conceptions of the inmate community, but also their personal attitudes.⁵⁰ The extent of influence a given inmate group has upon its members depends on (1) the extent which a given inmate is attracted to or values membership in the group, and (2) the extent he

⁴⁷Caldwell, op. cit., p. 649.

⁴⁸Smith, op. cit., p. 27.

⁴⁹Peter Blau and Richard Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), p. 3.

⁵⁰Donald Gibbons, Changing the Lawbreaker (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 15.



feels that the other members of the group value him.⁵¹

The effect on an inmate belonging to a primary group tends to produce changes in his opinions and attitudes about the inmate community and himself, in the direction of establishing conformity within the group. The extent or degree of conformity that the primary group can demand of the individual inmate is a direct function of how attractive the group is to the inmate. High attraction groups attempt more influence upon its members and change their opinions and attitudes more often than low attraction groups.⁵²

The inmate involved is also more likely to refer an opinion to an attractive group than he is to one that is less attractive, the net result is for the attractive groups to have a great influence on its individual member's opinions. Group attractiveness or cohesion is defined as the summation of forces acting upon its members to remain in the group.⁵³ Members who do not conform to a given highly cohesive group norm may risk rejection from the group unless they are of great value to the group, as in the case

⁵¹James Dittes and Harold Kelley, "Effects of Different Conditions of Acceptance on Conformity to Group Norms," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LIII (1956), 100.

⁵²Harold Gerard, "The Anchorage of Opinions in Face-to-Face Groups," Human Relations, VII (1954), 314.

⁵³Richard Emerson, "Deviation and Rejection on Experiment Duplication," American Sociological Review, XIX, No. 6 (December, 1954), 688.



of a leader, where they are given more freedom of individual expression.⁵⁴ The inmate clique leader, assuming clique groups act as other small groups do, is allowed some freedom to deviate from the group norm, as long as he is doing it for the good of the group. The average inmate follower in the group is not granted this freedom. If he wants to return group support which means social approval and the avoidance of disapproval he must follow the dictates of the primary group. The approval or disapproval of one's only affective contacts is a very powerful force for social contact in the remote island of the penal institution. The individual inmate lacks even the choice of where he wants to live in the institution. The primary group usually does not have to take the extreme action of total rejection of a deviant member. When the primary group sees a member's opinions or attitudes deviating from the acceptable norm they start to communicate their disapproval to that member.⁵⁵ This increased pressure by the primary group is usually sufficient to change the deviant's opinions. If the deviant should fail to respond to the group's pressure, the group may reject him as a member and feel no more pressure to communicate with him

⁵⁴ Leon Festinger and John Thibaut, "Interpersonal Communication in Small Groups," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVI (1951), 92.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 99.

and extend him the rights of membership. In the rare case that the deviant is a highly valued group member, the group also may change its norms in the direction of his opinion to once more establish consensus within the group.⁵⁶

In a maximum security institution where the stimuli are very ambiguous to the recipients, the pressures that emerge through the communicative process that establishes and maintains conformity within the group provides the major support for personal correctness for the individual. The individual inmate is confused and deprived of all knowledge of the normative order when incarcerated in a maximum security institution. The individual will seek to come to terms with the new environment in which he is forced to live. The opinions of his peers become the only contact available for the majority of inmates. They become, to use Stanley Schachter terms, the individuals "Social Reality." Schachter described Social Reality as an issue for which there is no empirical reference, the "reality" of an opinion is established by the fact that other people hold similar opinions.⁵⁷ It is the clique groups who provide clarification and definition that determines the "social reality" of the inmate community. It is the clique's clarification and definition that determines the social reality of a new piece of information for its

⁵⁶ Emerson, op. cit., p. 688. ⁵⁷ Ibid.

individual member. It would seem since there may be a number of clique groups with separate memberships within the same prison community there may be a number of "social realities" existing simultaneously on any given piece of information or attitude.

Clique group formation with its resulting pressures have been researched in a number of penal institutions. George H. Grosser in his research in a juvenile institution found that clique group formation was very real.⁵⁸ Grosser found that there existed cliques of juveniles that recruited and screened new members and passed on institutional lore to the newcomer. Within these cliques developed group social norms, social sanctions, loyalty, and group ties and that group beliefs were reinforced by constant reinforcement of referring beliefs to the group for clarification and definition. Morris Caldwell reported that within a prison community "membership in informal groups may range from a minimum of three persons to as many as twenty-five or more depending on 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."⁵⁹ Donald L. Garrity reports,

⁵⁸George Grosser, "The Role of Informal Inmate Groups in Change of Values," Children, V (January, 1958), 25-29.

⁵⁹Caldwell, op. cit., p. 649.

We have shown that inmate populations are arranged into a number of separate social worlds which effectively become membership groups. A member of one of these groups may or may not come to use it as a reference group, but it is always a potential reference group.⁶⁰

Norman Hayner in his study of a Washington State correctional institution reported "Group pressures are very strong against anybody who violates certain types of accepted behavior."⁶¹ Peter Blair reported the relationship between group cohesion and values directly, "the enforcement of social norms requires an effective network of communications in a group, hence, a group with strong communications network will be more effective in enforcing the prevailing anti-administration norms than one with a weak network."⁶²

The preceding discussion on primary group formation suggests that the function of the primary group within the maximum security institution is to form and maintain a social reality for opinions and beliefs among men who live in close proximity to one another. The formulation of a

⁶⁰ Donald Garrity, "The Prison as a Rehabilitative Agency," in The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. by Donald Cressey (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 375.

⁶¹ Norman Hayner, "Washington State Correctional Institutions as Communities," Social Forces, XXI (April, 1943), 319.

⁶² Peter Blair, "Structural Efforts," American Sociological Review, XXV, No. 2 (1960), 190.

social reality for a group can be thought of as task performance. Kurt Back has done research on group cohesion and suggests that group cohesion cannot only be based upon task performance, but also in terms of group prestige.⁶³ Back concludes that,

When cohesiveness is based on group prestige group members try to risk as little as possible to endanger their status; they act courteously, concentrated on their own actions, and adjusted to their partner's social environment. One partner would easily assume a dominant role, and the submissive member was influenced more without trying to establish this relationship.⁶⁴

This view of dominance and submission being the only relationships possible in some forms of clique groups finds support from research done in the penal environments. Penal research points out that the number of roles an individual can play in a prison community are severely limited, and once assigned a role, this role is usually maintained throughout the individual's stay in the institution, no matter to what extent his attitudes or opinions might change.⁶⁵ The researchers feel that a situation of equality is a situation of threat which must be resolved into a relationship of subordinate and subordinate rules, within the prison community. The individual inmate acquires attitudes toward himself in relation to other

⁶³Kurt Back, "Influence through Social Communication," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVI (1951), 9-23.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁵McCorkle and Korn, op. cit., p. 521.

inmates in the organization which makes it possible for him to interact with others in the prison community.

"The basic inter-personal relationship in inmate society was dominance and subordination."⁶⁶ This system of dominance and submission presents difficulties within the prison community. Prestige or dominance must be acquired from peers. This creates a situation of competition among a greater number of prestige seekers than the inmate community can accommodate.⁶⁷ This forces competition for esteem. This creates a condition where those granting the esteem can make demands upon the leadership that they normally would not make. To grant esteem for a low status person is of little relative cost to him. To be looked upon as inferior all along implies that social parity is not an issue for the low prestige individual. Some parity is not of great concern for those who must grant prestige, esteem can be exchanged readily for services.⁶⁸ This creates the unique situation in the prison community

⁶⁶Clarence Schrag, "Some Foundation for a Theory of Correction," in The Prison Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. by Donald Cressey (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 163.

⁶⁷Richard Cloward, "Social Control in the Prison," Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison, Social Science Research Council Pamphlet 15 (New York, 1965), p. 21

⁶⁸Eugene Weinstein, William DeVaughan, and Mary Wiley, "Obligation and the Flow of Deference in Exchange," Sociometry, XXXII (1960), 11.

where leadership and goods do not necessarily follow as in the "free" community. In the prison community the symbols of social status have been largely stripped away. Status becomes equated with power. The demonstration of power in the prison community is based on the amount of goods and services a leader can deliver to his followers.⁶⁹ These goods and services serve the function of making the rigors of imprisonment more tolerable.

Inmate Roles

In attempting to understand the meaning of imprisonment, the researcher must view prison life as something more than a matter of walls, bars, cells, and locks, and clique groups. We must see the prison as a society or social community. The community should be examined to determine if social roles exist outside of the primary clique groups that would effect a prisoner's self-image and other social-psychological traits. In the literature on complex organizations one of the approaches for studying complex organizations stems from the common observations that people in organizations tend to have relatively uniform expectations about the behavior of persons in various positions, and that the behavior of these persons

⁶⁹Norman Hayner and Ellis Ash, "The Prison Community as a Social Group," American Sociological Review, IV (1939), 364.

is interpreted in terms of these expectations.⁷⁰ These expectations which others share of the individual as an occupant of a position, a status category is called a role. The general term role can be further broken down into Social roles and Personal roles. Social roles are a set of expectations associated with a position without respect of the characteristics of the persons who occupies the position. A Personal role is a set of expectations which others share of an individual's behavior in a position, without respect to the social role.⁷¹ The value of a definition of the roles based on shared expectations is that it emphasizes the social consequences of a given behavior. The system of shared expectations can be looked upon as the basis for the behavior of a given individual and for their interpretations of the behavior of others. It would be of value to separate the Social roles from the Personal roles in the inmate community. Social roles could be looked at as the rules represented by jobs in the social division of labor involving a set of normative expectations that the occupant is expected to follow in the pursuit of some international end or objective. Social roles would represent the group solidarity or uniting

⁷⁰Eugene Jacobson, W. W. Charters and Seymour Lieberman, "The Use of the Role Concept in the Study of Complex Organizations," Journal of Social Issues, XI, No. 3 (1951), 18.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 19.

bonds and collective strengths derived from the unity of the various clique groups with their networks of personal roles within them. Charles Tittle suggested that "primary group affiliation and symbiotic organization exist side by side in a prison for both males and females."⁷² Personal roles by their very definition would be based in the clique groups, while social roles would be free of the influence of any one clique group. This distinction may have very important implications for leadership styles in the prison community.

Social roles can be thought of as traits exhibited by an individual, because of the organizational climate he finds himself in. Social role behavior is not to be thought of as a psychological characteristic "owned" by an individual alone, but exists, because there is an organizational place for them to occur.⁷³ The social milieu to a large extent determines the characteristics that the various role inhabitants will exhibit, but the role will remain the same. Clarence Schrag comments, "The role of a convict among his fellows is determined not so much by psychological traits or social background as by the relationships between the groups to which he belongs."⁷⁴

⁷²Tittle, op. cit., p. 503.

⁷³Sethard Fisher, "Social Organization in a Correctional Residence," Pacific Sociological Review, IV, No. 2 (Fall, 1961), p. 9.

⁷⁴Hayner, op. cit., p. 32.

Gresham Sykes commented "Prisons appear to form a group of social systems differing in detail, but alike in fundamental processes."⁷⁵ Sheldon Messenger noted in his studies of correctional institutions "It is noted that inmate culture and social relations are notably similar from prison to prison."⁷⁶

The literature recognizes the existence of inmate roles that appear to be consistent between institutions, but there have been few attempts to identify their sources, to assess their social functions, or to analyze their interrelationships. "There is far too little knowledge of the variety of roles played by criminals in prison and even less knowledge of how these roles were related to one another."⁷⁷ Furthermore, there has been a pronounced tendency to discuss these roles as if they were independent of the official system or clique groups. The total complex which is called a prison with its complex of social roles which control the behavior of the individuals within them has been largely ignored. "Both small groups and

⁷⁵Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. xii.

⁷⁶Sheldon Messinger, "Issues in the Study of the Social System of Prison Inmates," Issues in Criminology, IV, No. 2 (1960/1969), 135.

⁷⁷Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. xvii.

complete societies can be viewed as types of interaction systems."⁷⁸ "The interrelationships between the various role sets comprise what is known as the inmate social system."⁷⁹

Inmate-Staff Interactions

In any study of the prison community whether focusing on social or personal roles the concept of social control is very important in the study of the prison community. The focus of the perceptual problem is the relation of the social order and the individual being, the relation of the unit and the whole. Prisons are often conceptualized as being autocratic in form with the custodial officials giving the orders and the inmates blindly obeying them. Prisoners are seen as totally managed, as persons whose opportunities for self-direction and individual action are almost completely circumscribed. Prisons are thought to be islands of social isolation where prison administrators use what approximates absolute control of inmates in order to accomplish functions given it by society. This view of prison life ignores the

⁷⁸Robert Bales, "A Set of Categories for the Analysis of Small Group Interaction," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 257.

⁷⁹Peter Garabedian, "Social Roles and Processes of Socialization in the Prison Community," in The Sociology of Punishment and Correction, ed. by Johnston, Savitz and Wolfgang (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970), p. 487.

effects of the inmate social system which has been found to exist across custodial institutions separated by time and place. All custodial prisons are apt to show a common social structure. Perhaps this is due to a diffusion of ideas, customs, and laws; perhaps it is a matter of similar social structures arising independently from attempts to solve much the same problems. In recent years the literature reports studies that have paid increasing attention to aspects of prison life of a sociological nature commonly identified as the "inmate culture," the "prison community" or the "inmate social system." It is becoming increasingly clear that a chart of the prison's administrative hierocracies, showing lines of authority, does not begin to describe how the prison is organized, who is responsible to whom, or who influences whom. Despite the formal policy of complete control of inmates, a social system exists within the walls of the institution. The prison inmates do not degenerate into a chaotic mass of social relations which have no order and make no sense. The prison community is a rational system in which a number of inmates and staff interact overtly or covertly with one another according to specially prescribed rules of behavior.⁸⁰ Donald Cressey stated this relationship when he said, "Personnel of the prison and inmates are bound

⁸⁰Caldwell, op. cit., p. 649.

together enough so that most conflicts and misunderstandings are not critical."⁸¹ If viewed in this light inmate-staff relations can be viewed as analogous to other types of social organizations that is, as a number of interacting human groups that exercise power and control over each other. At times the two strata are in conflict, but in general they operate as a going concern.

The prison community is unique in the sense that the two strata of inmates and custodial personnel are easily identifiable. Each strata views the other with mixed feelings of distrust and suspicion. There is a reinforcement of these mutually hostile attitudes through stereotyping.⁸² The term caste can be used to describe the two general social systems. The term caste is used since there is no possibility of movement across caste lines in the prison. This tends to create a social distance between the inmates and the prison personnel which enables inmate leaders to exercise tremendous control over all the spheres of the individual inmates lives. The appearance of the two separate societies seems to be an inevitable reaction to the pressures of custodial care in

⁸¹Donald Cressey, The Prison Studies in Institutional Organization and Change (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 2.

⁸²Lewis Yablonsky, "Correction and the 'Doing-Time' Society," Federal Probation, XXIV (March, 1960), 56.

penal institutions.⁸³ The observations that inmates who normally would hate each other in the outside world "tend to suspend their intra-mural conflict when confronting the enemy--the prison officials--suggests an underlying belief structure held by all the members of the inmate community."⁸⁴ No matter what role or clique group the individual inmate belongs to, he holds overt allegiance to a belief structure commonly called the inmate code.

Inmate Code

Research in the prison community has pointed out the fact that 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 attitudes and opinions toward the prison system.⁸⁵ The "prison code" determines the type and extent of legitimate interaction between the guards and the inmates' social systems. The code prohibits fraternization with guards or other prison personnel. The inmate social system has been said to be built around this solidarity of opinion

⁸³McCleery, op. cit., p. 153.

⁸⁴Gresham Sykes, "Men, Merchants, and Toughs: A Study of Reactions to Imprisonment," Social Problems (Fall, 1956), 137.

⁸⁵Caldwell, op. cit., p. 655.

that is anti-administration.⁸⁶ Yet, it must be recognized that a prison does not run by threat of force from the administration alone, but largely by virtue of the acceptance on the part of inmates and their adherence to rules. Adherence to prison rules does not mean law-abiding behavior necessarily. It means that breaks of regulations take place in such a way that they do not disrupt the smooth order of the custodial institution.⁸⁷ The inmate culture can administer a type of self-government that can reduce the number of discipline problems brought to the administration's attention. This form of control or obedience to official and inmate rules, revolves around the concept the individual inmate has of himself as a member of the inmate community. "It concerns his view of his role in the clique group, and how these fit into the pattern of control for the total inmate community, and how adherence to them is reinforced."⁸⁸ Compliance to the inmate code also involves the relationship between the different means of influencing behavior and the kind and amount of affect generated by these means.⁸⁹ The

⁸⁶David Street, "The Inmate Group in Custodial and Treatment Settings," American Sociological Review, XXX (February, 1965), 40.

⁸⁷DeBecker, op. cit., p. 143. ⁸⁸Ibid., p. 140.

⁸⁹Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 383.

compliance to rules enable role relationships or perceptions and the kind and amount of rewards and punishments that can be delivered by the enforcers.

The inmate role is also said to exist to lessen the pains of imprisonment. Upon entering the custodial institution the individual inmate is subjected to a series of role-stripping processes. As the new inmate when he first enters the institution begins a series of abusements, degradation, humiliations and profanities of the self.⁹⁰ The stripping of the individual's identity starts upon first arrival from court. The inmate is stripped of his former clothing and possessions and name. The prison administration appears to the new inmate to be an omnipotent force which he imperfectly understands. Most prisoners report they are afraid, bewildered and lost when first entering the institution, the only friendly face is that of another prisoner.⁹¹ The prisoner feels that outside society has rejected him. This may arouse in him feelings of guilt, remorse, resentment, or hostility. The consequences of his segregation forces the individual to take on the sociological definition of himself as a "bad person" or he can reject this conception by contriving rationalizations which exonerate him from blame for his deviant

⁹⁰Donald Cressey, "Contradicting Theories in Correctional Group Therapy Programs," Federal Probation, XVIII (June, 1954), 14.

⁹¹DeBecker, op. cit., p. 141.

conduct.⁹² Greshem Sykes stated this process in his statement, "Somehow the rejection or degradation by the free community must be walled off--somehow the imprisoned criminal must find a device for rejecting his rejectors, if he is to endure psychologically."⁹³ The acute sense of status degradation that the prisoner experiences generates powerful pressures to envoke a means of restoring his status. Principal among these mechanisms that emerge is an inmate culture. In other words, prisoners are forced to seek from within their own numbers what the outside world withholds. The culture gives the individual inmate some self-respect, it encourages mutual aid among the inmates. "As a population of prisoners moves toward a state of solidarity, as demanded by the inmate code, the pains of imprisonment become less severe."⁹⁴ "It permits the inmate to reject his rejectors rather than himself."⁹⁵ With the modification of rejection feelings, the inmate begins to become aware of the formal and informal privilege

⁹²Gibbons, 1965, op. cit., p. 1.

⁹³Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. 67.

⁹⁴Greshem Sykes and Sheldon Messenger, "The Inmate Social System," in Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison, Social Science Research Criminal Pamphlet Number 15 (March, 1960), p. 16.

⁹⁵McCorkle and Korn, op. cit., p. 89.

system. The privilege system provides the framework for personal reorganization within the new society. The inmate becomes aware of the official and unofficial rules of the institution.

Prisonization

Penology in the past has been the providence of the moralizer and the social reformer and the major question they researched has been related to how current patterns of adjustment in the prison may effect readjustment to the free community. The nature of the inmate social system tended to remain a given, something accepted without exploration. The process of prisonization or the taking on in greater or lesser degrees the folkways, mores, customs and general culture of the penitentiary has tended to be accepted without question as being harmful to future adjustment. It has been equated with institutionalization. Torrence and Pauline Morris define prisonization as "the continuous and systematic destruction of the psyche in consequence of the experience of imprisonment, and the adoption of new attitudes and ways of behaving which are not only unsuited to life in the outside world, but which may frequently make it impossible for the individual to act successfully in any normal social role."⁹⁶

⁹⁶Morris and Morris, op. cit., p. 169.

Prisonization in recent years has come under investigation by social scientists not bent on reform. This body of literature feels it would be incorrect to equate prisonization with the more general concept of institutionalization, as the reformers suggest.⁹⁷ Prisonization differs from institutionalization in that it embraces a form of behavior which does not require the individual to retreat into an apathetic state of anomie. It is positive in that it gives rise to a type of behavior forms, the inmate code, that enable the individual to survive and function in prison. Two interpretations for the origin of the inmate code have developed in the literature, which can be termed the functionalist and diffusion schools of thought. In the functionalist view, the prison normative system is alleged to be functional in solving certain adjustment problems of inmates, whereas in the diffusion view, the code is seen as a set of norms which certain convicts import into the institution from the outside world. The functionalist school of thought is represented by the works of Sykes, McCorkle, Korn, Gibbons, Tannenbaum, Schrag, Goffman, Garabedian, and Ohlin. These researchers feel that the special nature of the institutional environment of the prison gives rise to special problems that must be faced by the inmate. The inmate is forced to

⁹⁷ Charles Welford, "Factors Associated with Adoption of the Inmate Code: A Study of Normative Socialization," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, LVIII, No. 2 (1967), 197.

learn new modes of behavior in order to meet the requirements of prison life. The emotional shock of loss of freedom and compulsory separation from friends and relatives turns the inmate toward introspection and self-preoccupation.⁹⁸ The inmate feels swallowed up upon entering the prison. The acute sense of status degradation accompanied by self-preoccupation and deprivation of liberty makes the inmate ready to accept a belief that will fill his emotional and physical needs. The prison culture provides him with the answers in how "to do time" and at the same time gain the greatest amount of physical and psychological satisfactions. The inmate code helps the individual cope with his new environment, it helps him survive in prison.

The diffusion school of thought is represented by researchers like Irwin, Cressey, Cline, Tittle, Wheeler, and Clemmer. These researchers discuss prison culture and inmate culture in terms that suggest that the behavior systems of various types of inmates stem not from the conditions of the prison environment, but are part of a larger "criminal subculture" from which the inmates come. The individual inmates bring their culture with them when they enter the institution. These researchers agree it would be a mistake to assume that all newcomers to the prison are uniformly dismayed, and suffer equal status

⁹⁸Johnson, E., op. cit., p. 500.

deprivations. Perceptions of the prison environment would depend to a great extent upon the individual's capacity to adjust to it with a minimum of difficulty. They also point out that deprivation of liberty is meaningful only to the extent to which a man is emotionally involved in the outside world. For some prison may be comforting and provide temporary security.

The issue of the origins of the prison culture remains unsettled in the literature. Both schools of thought agree that prisonization exists in all maximum security prisons, but its origins remain in question. Despite the number and diversity of prison populations studied they all seem to have one normative system which serve as guides for the behavior of the inmates in his relations with his peers and the institutional staff.⁹⁹ The inmate code serves as a set of conduct norms that define proper behavior for the inmates. The inmate code can be viewed as a group of positive and negative sanctions which apply to the behavior of an inmate population in a prison, it defines and limits the actions of the inmate as an individual and as a member of an inmate society. The inmate themselves create the prison code which operates outside of, and usually in disregard of, the regular

⁹⁹Sykes and Messenger, 1970, op. cit., p. 5.

institutional rules.¹⁰⁰ These social norms help the inmate select a safe pattern of action that will maximize rewards and minimize risks involved for the individual in his quest to make his term of imprisonment as pleasurable as possible. There are two ways of viewing why members of the inmate society follow the social norms and values of the inmate code: (1) each member internalizes the norms of the society into his super ego, to use psychoanalytic terms, and (2) the second method not unrelated to the first is an individual's adherence to social norms is determined not only by his internalization of the values, but also by his interaction with other individuals with the same values. Blame, ridicule, and holding up to shame are controls if they express commonly-accepted values and correspond to the promptings of the super-ego.¹⁰¹ Even with the weapons of ridicule there is no claim that the values of the inmate community are held with equal intensity by every member of a prison population. All that is being claimed is that the interaction between inmates tends to produce a collective definition of proper interaction among the members of the inmate community, that serves as a common mechanism of defense and insurance

¹⁰⁰Paul Miller, "The Prison Code," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIV (June, 1958), 583.

¹⁰¹S. F. Nadel, "Social Control and Self-Regulation," Social Forces, XXXI (1953), 270; Grosser, 1958, op. cit., p. 25.

against the hostile prison environment. The premium for the individual inmate lies in the smooth functioning of the normal course of events the individual encounters in the prison.¹⁰² The blatant non-accepting offender is rejected from the sub-society he is forced to live, and as an outcast is not given to the benefits that membership would provide. The task of the inmate upon entering a correctional institution lies somewhere between the extremes of complete rejection or acceptance of the inmate culture. Complete acceptance of the culture would run the inmate afoul with the prison personnel, complete rejection of the culture afoul with the inmates.

The inmate code has been summarized in the works of Sykes and Messinger, and of Elmer Johnson.¹⁰³ The code covers four basic areas of concern to the inmate society, that emphasizes noninterference with another inmate's interests. These values stress serving the least possible time in prison and to enjoy the greatest pleasures and privileges while in prison, by being loyal to the inmate social system. In prison jargon, (1) never rat on a con, don't be noseey, don't have a loose lip, don't put a guy on the spot--in brief be loyal to your class--the cons--and

¹⁰²Nadel, op. cit., p. 268.

¹⁰³Sykes and Messinger, 1970, op. cit., p. 401; Sykes and Messinger, 1960, op. cit., p. 6; Johnson, E., op. cit., p. 507.

present a united front to the screws, the custodial staff; (2) refrain from quarrels and arguments with other inmates, don't lose your head, play it cool, do you own time; (3) don't take advantage of another inmate by means of force, fraud or chicanery, don't exploit a con, don't break your word, don't steal from cons, don't sell favors, don't be a racketeer, don't welsh on bets, don't sell scarce goods, be right; (4) maintain your self-respect, don't weaken, don't whine, don't cop out, don't suck around, be tough, be a man; and (5) forbid respect to the custodians, don't be a sucker, guards are hacks or screws, don't be influenced by values of screws, be sharp.

Adaptation to Prisonization

The degree of adaptation each individual inmate displays to the inmate code has been the subject of much research in the field of penology. Wilson, Galtung, Cressey, Clemmer, and Morris have all attempted to investigate the different degrees of acceptance of the prison code and environment possible by an inmate.¹⁰⁴ Four basic response patterns have emerged upon examination of their works: (1) a cooperative adaptation pattern where

¹⁰⁴Thomas Wilson, "Patterns of Management and Adaptations to Organizational Rules, a Study of Prison Inmates," The American Journal of Sociology, LXXIV (September, 1969), 146-51; Morris and Morris, op. cit., pp. 1, 71; Cressey, op. cit., pp. 2-26; Johan Galtung, "Social Functions of a Prison," Social Problems, VI (Fall, 1958), 127-40.

the inmate completely accepts the inmate code; (2) where the inmate verbally purports to accept the code, but follows it only to the extent it serves his own ends; (3) reject the code and identify with the goals of the prison administration; (4) escape into one's own world, into a state of anomie. The cultural assimilation or prisonization can be total, partial, or not take place at all. The inmate, in his interactions with his peers, has only three choices he can make overtly, he can expound the virtues of the inmate society, or reject those virtues, and side with the administration or become an isolate, in which case he would not be required to expound any pattern of belief. Sykes and Messinger in their summarization of penology literature in prisonization concluded that inmates give strong verbal support to a system of values that has group cohesion as a basic theme, but actual behavior ranges from full adherence of the norms to complete deviance.¹⁰⁵

The overt agreement by most inmates no matter what their acceptance pattern creates a difficulty for the researchers in determining which inmates are socialized into the society and which inmates are only following a pattern of adaption to avoid negative sanctions. This could be rephrased into which inmates take on the inmate society as a point of reference and which inmates use the "free"

¹⁰⁵ Sykes and Messinger, 1970, op. cit., p. 405.

community as a reference group. Donald Clemmer who originated the works on prisonization suggested that an inmate's degree of prisonization would be related to the length of time he was away from the normal community, or the length of the inmate's sentence, as well as selected personality variables that he did not specify and chance placement next to men who believed in the code.¹⁰⁶ This hypothesis between length of imprisonment would weaken the inmate's attachments with the values of the free community as the years passed by seemed to make logical sense to many researchers. It was argued that imprisonment is likely to have a disintegrating effect on marriages and other close relationships with inmate's friends and families. It seemed logical that men would turn to their peers for support in the absence of support from the outside community. When put to empirical test by Charles Tittle and Marvin Wolfgang the relationship between length of sentence and degree of prisonization was not found to be related.¹⁰⁷ In addition, Wolfgang's work showed no relationship to race, intelligence, or any other personality

¹⁰⁶ Donald Clemmer, "Imprisonment as a Criminality Science," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, XLI, No. 3 (September-October, 1950), 318.

¹⁰⁷ Tittle, op. cit., p. 202; Marvin Wolfgang, "Quantitative Analysis of Adjustment to the Prison Community," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, LI, No. 6 (March-April, 1961), p. 614.

variable. Charles Wellford concluded at the end of his research that "the relationship between length of time served and degree of adaption of the inmate role was found to be low and not significant."¹⁰⁸ Rodney M. Coe concluded at the end of his extensive research on prisonization that prison adjustment was not related to: citizenship, religion, education, military record, intelligence, number of children in family, sibling rank of inmate, marital status, number of own children, area of residence, amount of mobility, drinking habits, emotional stability, type of sentence, number of previous arrests, number of previous convictions, number of commitments to juvenile institutions, time served in prison, times paroled and number of parole violations or number of associates involved in the commitment of the most current offense.¹⁰⁹ Charles Tittle and Pauline Tittle in their study of an 800-bed narcotics hospital found a relationship between prisonization and the length of stay in the hospital for these inmates who had previous jail

¹⁰⁸ Charles Wellford, "Factors Associated with Adaption of the Inmate Code: A Study of Normative Socialization," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, LVIII (1967), 200.

¹⁰⁹ Rodney Coe, "Characteristics of Well Adjusted and Poorly Adjusted Inmates," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, LII (July, 1961), 182.

records.¹¹⁰ It should be pointed out that their results could have reflected the differences between a penal and correctional environment. Further research should be done before considering the Tittles' findings as contradictory to the research of Coe.

One of the best-known studies that sought to test the relationship between prisonization and length of sentence was done by Stanton Wheeler.¹¹¹ Wheeler did not find the straight linear relationship that Clemmer had suggested and Coe and the Tittles failed to find. Wheeler found a curvilinear distribution of high conformity to conventional standards by the inmates near the beginning and end of their stay at the institution and uniformity to the inmate code at the middle phase of their internment, when the inmate is furthest removed from contacts with the outside world. Wheeler suggested that his findings showed that the point where community contacts are last the inmate turns to his peers to lessen the "pains of imprisonment," as he comes closer to joining the free community he no longer uses the prison culture for support and begins to look to the wider community for support and guidance.

¹¹⁰ Charles Tittle and Pauline Tittle, "Social Organization of Prisons: An Empirical Test," Social Focus, XLIII (December, 1964), 219.

¹¹¹ Stanton Wheeler, "Socialization in Correctional Communities," American Sociological Review, XXVI (October, 1961), 165-74.

Clarence Schrag tested Wheeler's findings that length of sentence and prisonization is a curvilinear relationship.¹¹² Schrag found this relationship to be true for only what he called pro-social and anti-social inmates, but not for the a-social or pseudo-social inmates who failed to show any systematic shift in normative orientation. In Schrag's terminology a pro-social inmate would be one who never thought of himself as a criminal type, yet finds himself in prison--a white-collar criminal would be an example of this type of individual. The anti-social type would be represented by the inmate who is a "true believer" of the inmate code, a professional thief would be representative of this group. The a-social inmate would be an isolate who shuns all contact with other inmates in the prison, an isolate would be representative of this group. The pro-social inmate would be the inmate who is friendly with his peers, but does not form any close associations with them.

Peter Garabedian replicated Clarence Schrag's study to test for the relationship between length of sentence for the four forms or categories of inmates proposed by Schrag.¹¹³ Garabedian found as did Schrag that

¹¹²Clarence Schrag, "A Preliminary Criminal Typology," The Pacific Sociological Review, IV, No. 1 (Spring, 1961), 11-16.

¹¹³Peter Garabedian, "Social Roles and Process of Socialization in the Prison Community," in The Sociology of Punishment and Correction, ed. by Johnston, Savitz, and Wolfgang (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970), pp. 484-96.

the anti-social and pro-social inmates displayed the curvilinear relationship between length of sentence and prisonization as Wheeler had found in his research. Garabedian further defined the relationship between prisonization and length of sentence served for the pseudo-social and a-social inmates who did not display the curvilinear relationship in Schrag's study. Garabedian found the linear relationship that Clemmer hypothesized for these two groups, the longer the time served for the two categories of inmates, the greater the degree of prisonization.

The research of Wheeler, Schrag and Garabedian seemed to point out that the degree of involvement in the inmate community as well as length of time in that community can have an effect on the acceptance of the community's norms. The inmate categories that totally accept the culture or totally reject it both ironically show the same curvilinear relationship between length of sentence and degree of prisonization, while the categories of inmates that display withdrawal patterns both become prisonized to a greater extent as they spend a greater amount of time in the community. The most recent study reported in the literature on prison socialization cast some question on the uniformity of the relationship shown in the research of Wheeler, Schrag, and Garabedian. Robert Alchley and Patric McCabe's research in a maximum security institution failed to find the linear relationships of

Clemmer or the curvilinear relationships of Wheeler and his students.¹¹⁴ The study was a replication of the work done by Wheeler, using the same instruments and scales that Wheeler had used in his original work. Alchley and McCabe found that the longer a person was imprisoned, the greater will be his tendency to conform to the dictates of the staff or display anti-inmate code behavior. There was no polarization of the involved and non-involved inmates, with all of Schrag's categories of inmates interacting with the staff to a greater degree as length of imprisonment increased. These findings directly contradict the work of Wheeler, Schrag, and Garabedian.

The inconsistent findings raise some question of the legitimacy of the division of prisonization and interaction with custodial staff. Rather than thinking of these as cause and effect, perhaps the possibility of being highly involved with inmates and inmate values and yet being highly involved with custody is possible and should be explored.

Overt Compliance to Code
"Myth of Solidarity"

The literature points out that to some extent every inmate becomes prisonized, even those who become

¹¹⁴Robert Alchley and Patric McCabe, "Socialization in Correctional Communities: A Replication," American Sociological Review, XXXIII (May, 1968), 774-85.

isolates. Every inmate must learn the prison routine and the various dictates of the inmate community even if he chooses to reject them. The inmate's identity within the prison walls both to himself and to his peers, is largely determined by his communications with the other members of the prison society. The inmate who completely refuses to conform to any of the dictates of the inmate code tends to become unpopular and to receive very little status or recognition from the inmate community. The inmate community will tend to communicate less and provide fewer services to these low status members of their society.¹¹⁵ The new inmate to secure favorable status and services in the prison community is expected to display overtly the dictates of the inmate code. Since there is a keen awareness of all acts in a prison, the inmate must play his role at all times or risk ostracism from his fellow inmates.¹¹⁶ The inmate community may not necessarily demand any real personality or attitudinal adjustment, as much as overt secondary adjustments on the part of the new inmate. The prison community may only demand ritualistic insubordination and other signs of

¹¹⁵ Samuel Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," American Sociological Review, XIV, No. 6 (December, 1949), 707.

¹¹⁶ F. Haynes, "Sociological Study of the Prison Community," The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXXIV, No. 4 (November-December, 1948), 437.

"rightness" on the part of its members. All inmates can be expected to follow this minimum requirement for they will have a stake to some degree in its preservation.

"All inmates, whether they follow the code or not voice it, for all inmates have an interest in maintaining cohesive behavior on the part of others, regardless of the role they play themselves, and vehement vocal support of the inmate code is a potent means to this end."¹¹⁷

The solidarity of the inmate community on the vocal level may in reality be highly functional. The inmates' overt behavior may be motivated by a desire to conform to what they perceive to be the expectations of their peers. The inmate culture viewed in terms of private versus public expression of values may be less criminalistic than frequently supposed. Peter Blau reports that a group climate can change the attitudes of the individual members or just affect their actions without affecting their private attitudes.¹¹⁸ Stanton

Wheeler found that,

inmates perceive the opinions of others to be more opposed to the staff than actually they are. The resulting pattern of pluralistic ignorance operates to restrain even the initial seeking out of like minded individuals.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Sykes and Messenger, 1960, op. cit., p. 18.

¹¹⁸ Blau and Scott, op. cit., p. 101.

¹¹⁹ Wheeler, 1968, op. cit., p. 705.

Wheeler comments that, "the social organization of the (penal) institution exists to create a perception of severe conflict in role expectations that on the private level does not exist."¹²⁰ The social relations of the inmate community seems to be colored by a polarity of attitudes favoring extremity in the evaluation of a person as being wholly "with us" or "against us." In the prison atmosphere there exists minimal cues with which the inmate can test the attitudes of his peers, other than his reciprocated contacts with them. This condition gives rise to an environment supporting the "myth of solidarity" which is not tested because of the fear of rejection by the inmate community.

Peter Garabedian also found that the prison staff members believed in the myth of inmate solidarity.¹²¹ The custodial officers in Garabedian's study felt that the inmates represented a hostile united front against them. This stereotype of the inmate community as hostile and criminal was also found to be held by high prison administrators.¹²² The two caste systems in the inmate community

¹²⁰ Stanton Wheeler, "Role Conflict in Correctional Communities," in The Prison Studies in Institutional Organization, ed. by Donald Cressey, op. cit., p. 230.

¹²¹ Garabedian, 1963, op. cit., p. 485.

¹²² Lawrence Hazebrigg, "An Examination of the Accuracy and Relevance of Staff Perceptions of the Inmate in the Correctional Institution," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, LVIII (June, 1967), 205.

both seem separated by the inmate code, that perpetuates a hostile antagonistic stereotype between the two groups. The staff members are ready to assume extreme positions when evaluating the individual inmate. The staff members "assume that such conduct as 'uncooperativeness,' 'loyalty,' 'honesty,' 'aggressiveness,' and 'paranoia' are the personal property of the individuals exhibiting the behavior."¹²³ Perhaps in reality they are functions of the environment, demands placed on the individuals exhibiting the behavior and not a true manifestation of the individual's feelings. The barriers to free communication between the two groups within the prison community could contribute to the hostile stereotype. Stanton Wheeler has suggested that the crisis orientation of the prison, with its fear of insurrections and escapes, leads both inmates and staff to magnify the effects of a small number of hostile, antagonistic inmates or guards, such that their values are assumed to hold for a major portion of the respective caste.¹²⁴

The ideal model of behavior which the inmate system projects for its members is a pattern of social

¹²³Cressey, 1961, op. cit., p. 7.

¹²⁴Stanton Wheeler, "Social Organization and Inmate Values in Correctional Communities," Proceedings of the American Correctional Association (1959), p. 191.

isolation. The inmate must become a master at "playing it cool." Few, if any inmates fully realize this ideal model of behavior. What is significant, however, is the fact that the pressures in the system tend to move all inmates toward conformity with this model. Conformity to, or deviation from, the inmate code is the major basis for classifying and describing the social relations of prisoners within the inmate community.¹²⁵ Presumably, an inmate's role is descriptive of his own personality and his mode of adjustment to the prison environment. He either accepts the role, or evaluations placed on him by other inmates or suffers the consequences of rejection. The essence of the inmate organization seems to be dependent on the expression of the same general overt cultural beliefs by all inmates and inmate groups within the prison. These beliefs describe the various role relationships within the community. "The central social-psychological mechanism affecting behavior in organizations is the complex of attitudes an individual develops toward himself in the organization."¹²⁶ Prison life is one large continuum or prestige scale. Each individual inmate achieves or is assigned a position on this scale by his fellow inmates. This position determines what other inmates can demand and

¹²⁵Cloward, op. cit., p. 21.

¹²⁶Wilson, op. cit., p. 157.

expect from the individual, and what he can expect from the inmate social system.

These roles are said to exist, and are so well known by all the inmates of the social system, that argot terms have been developed to designate them. (Prison argot terms are words that have a specialized meaning only in context of the prison or carry specialized meaning in terms of the prison.)¹²⁷ "The society of captives exhibits a number of distinctive tags for the social roles played by its members in response to the particular problems of imprisonment."¹²⁸ Most of the work that has been done in analyzing the roles within a prison community has focused on these argot roles. Researchers have used two orientations in examining these roles, a sociological group approach and a psychiatric orientation.

Donald Clemmer in his classic work set the tone for role research in the prison community.¹²⁹ Clemmer saw the inmate community as three distinct classes; the elite class, the middle class and the Hoosier class of inmates. His classification scheme was felt to reflect

¹²⁷Richard Stephenson and Frank Scarpitti, "Argot in a Therapeutic Correctional Milieu," Social Problems, XV (Winter, 1965), 387.

¹²⁸Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. 86.

¹²⁹Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 107.

who the individual inmates felt were their social equals and subordinates. Clemmer was suggesting a reference group approach. Clemmer predicted that a man's social class would also determine his attitudes, reputation, and prison behavior.

Sociological researchers that follow Clemmer used his scheme of determining the amount of deviation from the inmate norm or code as a basis for assigning a given individual to a class or prestige level. Violators of the code as set down in the work of Sykes and Messinger and Johnson stated earlier in the paper were basically violations of the goods or interaction norms.¹³⁰ Men who violated the prohibition on using goods for advantage for one's self, and not sharing with one's peers come to be known as "merchants" or peddlers." The men who violate the norm that prohibits the use of force against a fellow inmate to gain material advantage are known as "guerrillas," if they use force out of pure pleasure they are called "toughs." The inmate who complains about his imprisonment or who will not defend himself is known as a "hipster" or "weak sister." The men who violate the sexual norms and take on the active male role are known as "wolves," their female counterparts if by choice are "fags," if by force "punks." The inmate who betrays his fellow inmates to the

¹³⁰Elmer Johnson, "Crime, Correction, and Society," p. 508; Gresham Sykes and Sheldon Messinger, "The Inmate Social Code," p. 403.

administration is the most hated of all, to him falls the role of the "rat" or "squealer." His is the most despised role, the lowest on the social scale.

A second sociological approach that uses a different set of argot roles is represented by the research of Peter Garabedian and of Morris Caldwell. This approach uses an individual inmate's degree of orientation to outside norms and values while in prison.¹³¹ The "square John" role is placed on the man who does not feel he is a criminal, and who uses the outside world as a frame of reference. The "right guy" role is reserved for the inmate who believes in the inmate code and totally rejects the norms of the outside community. The role of the "politician" is reserved for the man who can shift his orientations at will between conventional society and the inmate world to best serve his own needs. The role of the "out-cast" is reserved for the inmate who rejects both conventional norms and the norms of the inmate community, they act impulsively and are unpredictable. The two sociological schemes of classification based on argot roles use as their basis for classification, the degree the individual inmate accepts the traditional inmate code, completely, partially, or not at all.

¹³¹Caldwell, op. cit., pp. 618-56; Garabedian, 1963, op. cit., pp. 484-96.

The psychiatric orientation for classification of inmates has its origins in the historical policy of individualized treatment. This policy is based on the principle that criminality is an individual disorder which therefore, can be treated in a clinic or by a clinical approach.¹³² This view sees a person as criminal principally because they have been relatively isolated from the behavior patterns (including attitudes, motives, and rationalizations) of law-abiding groups or because they have been in relatively frequent contact with many behavior patterns of criminal groups; by reason of their residence, employment, social position, native capacities, or some other reason beyond the control of the individual. Criminals are viewed as fundamentally psychologically sick people.¹³³ These sick people can be classified according to their degree of illness that can be presumed by their criminal careers.¹³⁴

There is almost an infinite number of ways in which law violators can be classified or typed but the one

¹³² Donald Cressey, "Changing Criminals: The Application of the Theory of Differential Association," The American Journal of Sociology, LXI (September, 1955), 116.

¹³³ Karpman, op. cit., p. 485.

¹³⁴ John Galtung, "Prison, the Organization of Dilemma," in The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. by Donald Cressey, op. cit., p. 139.

used most often is based upon legal offense categories, that made the individual come to the attention of the correctional institution. Frank Tannenbaum and Donald Gibbions use this approach in differentiating the different degrees of criminality and treatment needed for the inmates under sentence in correctional institutions.¹³⁵ The two authors suggest the roles of the professional criminal, accidental criminal, drug and alcohol addicts, the victim of social conditions offender, the casual criminal, and the truly psychotic offenders will take on different functions within the institution and require differential treatment. Donald Gibbions expressed his feelings on the sociological classifications when he stated, "they are structured around the viewpoint that 'crime' and 'delinquency' represent heterogeneous grab bags of behavior . . . we should investigate specific offender types."¹³⁶

Inmate Code Violation and Custody

The early researchers, before Donald Clemmer's first work appeared, assumed that the inmate community was made up of individuals in a state of anomie with no social bonds extending throughout the institution. The

¹³⁵Tannenbaum, op. cit., pp. 57-62; Gibbions, op. cit., 1965, p. 101.

¹³⁶Gibbions, 1965, op. cit., p. 24.

sociological literature starting with Clemmer's classic work on institutional adaptation suggests that the inmates in maximum security institutions, exist in clusters, which are organized into an overall symbolic structure epitomized by the inmate code (Clemmer, 1940; Sykes, 1958; Wheeler, 1961; Sykes and Messinger, 1960; Garabedian, 1963; Schrag, 1954; Schrag, 1961). In the maximum security institution there are advantages for the inmate who becomes an "organization man," sticks to his primary group, and conforms to the inmate value system. The inmate who insists on accepting the values and norms of the outside community may find himself in the difficult situation of being rejected by both worlds. The inmate society will protect itself from betrayal by ostracizing the nonconforming inmate and depriving him of the advantages of membership in the inmate community.¹³⁷ If the individual inmate who has been assigned the role of the "rat" or "out-cast" has strong and sufficient relations with friends and family in the normal community, he can resist the sanctions of the inmate community, and gain the needed support to survive in prison from his outside contacts.¹³⁸ The average inmate in prison lacks these strong supportive ties with the outside community or they weaken over time. Frequently a new inmate will hesitate to engage himself

¹³⁷Yablonsky, op. cit., p. 57.

¹³⁸Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 113.

actively in the inmate society for fear of endangering his opportunities for early parole and release from the prison. He soon discovers, however, that he endangers his position more by maintaining this attitude than by relaxing and joining the inmate society.¹³⁹ The new inmate soon discovers that the role of the "rat" or "squealer" is problematic for it not only signifies the division of loyalty between the guards and the inmates, but the prison officials look upon the "rat" as a man who has his face against all normative orders and demands, a man who cannot even get along with his "own kind."¹⁴⁰ The administration, to be sure, recognizes at times that the "rat" performs a valuable service to the prison, but there are times when information about illicit inmate activities place officials in a position where they must take action although they would prefer to preserve the status quo. This is especially true when the deviance concerns a valued inmate employee.¹⁴¹ By limiting investigations on some violations to only when someone "rats," the administration is in effect implying that the actions would have been tolerated if not brought to the direct attention of the administration. This official

¹³⁹Hayner and Ash, 1939, op. cit., p. 364.

¹⁴⁰Sykes, 1956, op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁴¹Rose Giallombardo, Society of Women: A Study of a Women's Prison (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 108.

policy of overlooking deviant acts until betrayed from within adds some legitimacy to the hatred and persecution of the inmate "rat" and adds to the role conflict suffered by the inmate acting in this role. Few men find the strength to take on the role of the "rat" which is punished by the inmate and official power systems within the prison community.

Power in the Inmate Community

The dominating value of the inmate community is said to be the possession of coercive power.¹⁴² The patterns of victimization and patronage have been given much attention by penologists. Victimization refers to an inmate who through superior strength or knowledge of inmate lore, preys on the weak and less knowledgeable inmates. Patronage refers to a weak inmate physically or one who has little knowledge of prison lore exchanging prestige for services and goods from a stronger or more knowledgeable inmate.

Victimization may be of a physical, verbal or material level. The inmates form an alliance with a stronger inmate who will protect them from physical harm or provide them with the material goods and services available in the inmate community. "The problems of self

¹⁴²James Hargan, "The Psychology of Prison Language," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXX (October-December, 1935), 522.

protection in a society composed of exclusively of criminals constitutes one of the inadvertent rigors of confinement."¹⁴³ Torrence Morris observed,

. . . a common error of superficial observations of the prison scene is that prisoners "stick together." But, inside the prison community there is hate as well as comradeship, and the company a prisoner keeps may be distasteful to him.¹⁴⁴

These hatred and comradeship relationships create a need for protection from threatening situations of inmate origin among the inmates and a means to solve the problem. For self protection the weak inmate or one that is less knowledgeable of inmate lore must form a patronage alliance with a powerful inmate who can fulfill his needs for goods, services, or protection. This creates a condition of dominance and submission found in most prison communities.¹⁴⁵

This condition of dominance and submission has led researchers to look at the organizational structure of the prison in terms of the distribution of power and the channels for the utilization of that power that exists in the inmate community. The possession of power is both a dominant value and also a means of coercion in the inmate code,

¹⁴³ Sykes and Messinger, 1970, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁴⁴ Morris and Morris, op. cit., p. 168.

¹⁴⁵ Richard McCleery, Policy Change in Prison Management (East Lansing, Mich.: Government Research Bureau, Michigan State University, 1962), p. 16.

but they are not necessarily cause and effect. Power in a prison community can take on the form of physical strength, but secondly it can take on the form of the ability to obtain favors from officials or have access to material goods. The reliance on physical strength even for the men most successful in exploiting others find it a dangerous and nerve-wracking game, for they cannot escape the company of their victims. Furthermore the victims hold the trump card, since a word to the officials is frequently all that is needed to ruin the most domineering figure in the inmate population.

For the majority of inmates the secondary forms of power account for a large share of the "extra" goods that enter the inmate social system as a result of illicit conniving against officials, which requires lengthy and extensive cooperatives and trust.¹⁴⁶ The structure of these cooperatives is designed to achieve what the processes of custodial control denies the inmates; personal identity, meaning, purpose of behavior, independence from official sanctions, space for free movement in both the physical and psychological sense and physical symbols by which integrity can be displayed. The cooperative takes the form of a hierarchy of inmates, plus a belief system which provides

¹⁴⁶Cloward, op. cit., p. 21.

self-justification.¹⁴⁷ The belief system takes the form of the inmate code. This adoption suggests that the way of life of the inmates can be understood as creative adaptation to the conditions of the inmate experience. This implies that inmate conduct, like anyone's conduct, is responsive and problem-solving in intent. Richard Cloward comments, "The inmate, who has to live under conditions of deprivation in the most humane institutions, develops norms for his protection, a status system for the maintenance of his self-image, and adaptive behavior to cushion the deprivations, he thereby retains a medium of control over the situation."¹⁴⁸

The inmate social system can be viewed as providing assistance and protection to its members and restricting non-members from harming a member in any way. Pressures toward disruptive behavior by inmates against inmates are channeled into adaptive patterns, by the inmate social system, by providing rewards and punishments in the form of access to goods and prestige. The emphasis is on group action rather than on individual strength and knowledge, for only through group action can services be rendered. Strategic placement and effective informal connections

¹⁴⁷ Giallombardo, op. cit., p. 5.; Richard McCleery, "Authoritarianism and the Belief System of Incurables," in The Prison Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. by Donald Cressey (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 304.

¹⁴⁸ Cloward, op. cit., p. 20.

rather than individual strengths become the critical method for the attainment of material and psychological goods and services. Social roles become more important than personal roles.¹⁴⁹ The social order represents a means, a method of achieving goals or accomplishing tasks that individual action could not accomplish in the custodial environment. The full significance of the informal inmate system becomes clear only when we understand the ends its support serves. The system: (1) replaces aggression with reciprocity of favors between inmates, (2) scarce goods are more equally distributed, (3) a shared belief structure that denies the link between merit and achievement that helps the inmate psychologically, and (4) value of dignity and the ability to "take it" while in prison replaces lost self-respect and masculinity.¹⁵⁰ The welfare of the individual inmate does not depend on individual attributes, but upon his relationship with his peers.

The hypothesis that is arising out of the literature, in summary, is that the prison environment limits the available supply of rewards and creates a high ratio of deprivation to gratification, which sets the stage for the development of a system by the inmates to secure valued materials and psychological needs. The development of a system means some inmates have access to values in short

¹⁴⁹Hargan, op. cit., p. 524.

¹⁵⁰Sykes and Messinger, 1960, op. cit., p. 16.

supply and inmates are interdependent to allocate and stabilize its role expectations. This mutual aid requires a division of labor, which is likely to produce a leadership structure reflecting differential power with regard to the values within the system. Norms of reciprocity are likely to develop, to limit the advantages of the powerful inmates, with material rewards and leadership not becoming one and the same. Through the rigid and categorized practices of control and authority of the formal administration, the inmates develop a keen awareness of their common fate. A group feeling represented by the inmate code arises. The formal separation of the inmates from the custodial staff reinforces this feeling. This rigid control allows only small cliques to formulate with a loose overall coordinative network with each clique developing its own individual leadership structure which must adhere to the dictates of the inmate code, and cooperate in the overall goods and services network. This cooperation is essential for the leader to have access to goods and services that can be exchanged for leadership prestige.

Inmate System, Custody, and Mapping

The inmate system in its attempts to make its members' term of imprisonment as bearable as possible must "purchase" by adherence to certain dictates of the custodial staff freedoms that are technically illicit. The

inmates and the custodians develop an understanding that certain rules of the institution must be accepted without challenge, and others have a degree of leeway built into them. The machinery for maintaining discipline in the institution becomes more than one of walls, guns and bars. The use of force, the ability of the officials to physically coerce their captives into paths of compliance is something of an illusion given the humanitarian dictates of American society.¹⁵¹

Custody must have the cooperation of the inmates to maintain order in the penal institutions. The administration is given the duty to maintain order within the institution, yet their means of doing it by force is limited. A prison cannot expel a troublesome member as most other institutions can, they must come to terms with the trouble-maker internally. In dealing with the troublesome inmate the institution must possess rewards and punishments that will be effective from the point of view of the individual to be controlled. Some conventional controls like segregation may have the effect of increasing the prestige of the inmate involved in the eyes of his peers. Norman Hayner and Ellis Ash observed that "in this [prison] community, persons in deadlock or solitary do not

¹⁵¹Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. 49.

lose the respect of the inmate group as a whole, their isolation is physical rather than social."¹⁵²

Penal administrators in recent years have placed themselves in the peculiar position of granting the prisoner all available benefits and rewards at the time of his entrance into prison. Good time allowances which are subtracted from the minimum sentence almost automatically cease to become rewards, that is, as benefits contingent upon performance, instead rewards are apt to be defined as obligations "owed" the inmates.¹⁵³ Positive sanctions tend to become merely the absence of negative sanctions. Positive sanctions and negative sanctions to be effective must depend upon rationality and consistency. Yet, in prison, rewards cannot be given entirely in terms of merit, but are limited by objective factors beyond the individual's control, such as length of his sentence, the period served, and the offense for which the person is convicted, further limiting the powers of the custodial staff in enforcing order upon the inmate population. The custodial staff must begin to rely upon voluntary compliance from the inmates in exchange for additional freedoms not formally prescribed to the inmate population.

¹⁵²Hayner and Ash, 1939, op. cit., p. 364.

¹⁵³Morris and Morris, op. cit., p. 135.

This observation seems incongruent with the existence of the inmate code and the sanctions placed upon any member of the inmate body who communicates with the custodial staff. The most observable and consistent finding on prison research is the presence of a sharp distinction between the inmate population and their keepers in a penal institution. Intracast contacts and influence are minimized and strictly defined and controlled by both the inmate and custodial power structures. Yet, the fact that inmates and custodial staff members are members of the same formal organization, which by its very nature is a system of action, should have some definable areas of overlap or cooperation that should be identifiable. Both the official and unofficial contact points should, when established have a definable and mappable history that assists in closing the gaps between the two organizational strata in an acceptable manner to both groups.¹⁵⁴

There has been little exploration in the literature of the relationships between the formal and informal organization of the prison. There has been little exploration into how deviations from the formally prescribed rules of the prison institution become institutionalized and controlled. Philip Selznick gave some direction for

¹⁵⁴Bernard Beck, "Organizational Goals and Inmate Organization," American Journal of Sociology, LXXI (March, 1966), 530.

exploration in this area when he wrote,

In large organizations, deviations from the formal system tend to become institutionalized. The informal patterns arise spontaneously, are based on personal relationships, and are usually directed to the control of some specific situation.¹⁵⁵

Selznick suggests that deviations can be looked at as interpersonal patterns of information exchange, that develop into permanent predictable patterns of interactions. In her study of women's penal institutions Ida Harper noted that, "Each faction [clique group] in a prison established channels of communication through which rumors, fears, and other information about prison life traveled up and down, keeping its members informed."¹⁵⁶ Harper is suggesting that cliques delegate the function of information seeking and dissemination to select members of the groups whose function is to keep the members of the cliques informed of new developments in the prison environment. The implications of Selznick and Harper's observations could serve as a basis for further research to explain how the clique groups exist as entities in themselves yet are coordinated into an overall inmate system.

¹⁵⁵ Philip Selznick, "Foundations of the Theory of Organization," in Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, ed. by Amitai Etzioni (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 522.

¹⁵⁶ Ida Harper, "The Role of the 'Finger' in a State Prison for Women," Social Forces, XXXI (1952), 54.

Communications in the Prison
Community

The importance of and concern over communications in a prison organization should never be minimized. Donald Cressey reported that, "An important aspect of the position from which the inmate fears staff exclusion is from knowledge of the decisions taken regarding his fate."¹⁵⁷ Joseph Julian wrote, "Restriction of information and communications is related to the effectiveness of organizations that utilize coercive sanctions and generally exercise high degrees of control to attain their objectives."¹⁵⁸ Communications between the staff and inmates is a shared concern. Both strata recognize the importance and implications of the content and ease of communications that takes place within the prison community. Traditional prison theory views the role of the inmate as one of accepting the communications that the officials communicate to them without question. The communications to the inmates are said to be channeled and controlled by the lower staff with the consent and knowledge of the higher administrative personnel.¹⁵⁹ The inmates are thought of as passive recipients in this model.

¹⁵⁷Cressey, 1961, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁵⁸Joseph Julian, "Compliance Patterns and Communication Blocks in Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review, XXXI (June, 1966), 389.

¹⁵⁹Cressey, 1961, op. cit., p. 19; Wallace, op. cit., p. 10; Goffman, op. cit., p. 8.

The work that has been done in the exploration of the areas of overlap between the formal and informal systems concern the relationship between the inmate and the staff member. It is becoming recognized in the literature that the deep chasm which is supposed to separate the captives from the captors actually is bridged at innumerable points. The correctional officer who is in close intimate association with his charges throughout the course of a working day, can remain aloof only with great difficulty.¹⁶⁰ He may sympathize with the captives he is supposed to be guarding, and he may even develop close friendships with the men in his charge.¹⁶¹ It is felt that these unofficial contacts would be the most logical point at which accommodations between the two systems would be made.

The understaffed and underfinanced prison administration is forced into cooperation with the inmate system to maintain at least an overt image of order and discipline in the institution.¹⁶² Complete isolation between low

¹⁶⁰Lloyd McCorkle, "Guard-Inmate Relations," in The Sociology of Punishment and Correction, ed. by Johnston, Savitz, and Wolfgang (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970), p. 420.

¹⁶¹Gresham Sykes, "The Corruption of Authority and Rehabilitation," in Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, ed. by Amitai Etzioni (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 194.

¹⁶²Yablonsky, op. cit., p. 57.

level custodial personnel and inmates is impossible when prisoners outnumber employees. Inmate leaders must be used to get work tasks done and to maintain a quiet secure institution.¹⁶³ To gain a quiet cell block the guard may allow inmate leaders certain privileges in exchange for his efforts in keeping the noise in the block at an acceptable level. The guard also may wish to make friends with influential inmates who in times of institutional insurrection could save the guard's life.¹⁶⁴ The failure of the formal reward and sanctioning system forces the guard to rely upon informal means of control. The guard can obligate inmates to himself by providing them illegitimate access to desired goods and services in exchange for compliance to certain institutional rules for which the guard has the responsibility of enforcing. Richard McCleery found, "Order is maintained in a custodial prison through the use of arbitrary power, combined with allocation of valid information to a select elite of inmates in exchange for their support of order in prison."¹⁶⁵ Clarence Schrag found in his work at Ohalu State Prison,

¹⁶³ Donald Cressey and Withold Krassowski, "Inmate Organization and Anomie in American Prisons and Soviet Labor Camps," Social Problems, V (Winter, 1957-58), 218.

¹⁶⁴ Nadel, op. cit., p. 195.

¹⁶⁵ McCleery, op. cit., p. 388.

Inmate leaders were exponents of adjustment within an order which guaranteed their own position. They gave expression and interpretations to adaptive norms shared by guards and inmates alike.¹⁶⁶

This accommodation implies reciprocal expectation and obligations. If either party to the arrangement fails to fulfill his part of the bargain, the relationship is likely to deteriorate and break down. Each exercises a degree of power over the other. The guard may punish the inmate elite by withdrawing his privileges, the inmate the guard by mobilizing other inmates to embarrass him, if not to cast doubts on his abilities to perform his assigned task. "In effect, the guard buys compliance or obedience in certain areas at the cost of tolerating disobedience elsewhere."¹⁶⁷ In theory the staff has almost absolute control over the inmates but in reality inmates can exercise considerable influence on their own living conditions.

This process of accommodation has been viewed as "corrupt" by many prison reformers, but from a structural standpoint it solves a profound control problem. The process of accommodation makes inmate elites' positions possible that circumvent the traditional separation of the two caste systems. The process of accommodation has the

¹⁶⁶Clarence Schrag, "Some Foundation for a Theory of Corrections," in The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. by Donald Cressey (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 163.

¹⁶⁷Sykes, 1958, op. cit., p. 57.

effect of developing a conservative ideology in the prison elite, who develop a stake in the operations of a smooth-running institution.¹⁶⁸ The elite become just as anxious to suppress any form of disruptive behavior as the custody staff. If there should be a change in the customary patterns of accommodations between the elites and the custodians, a collapse of authority in both the official and inmate societies could be the result.¹⁶⁹ Frank Hartung and Maurice Floch in their hypotheses on prison riots concluded,

The sudden elimination of the informal self-government changed the status of the informal inmate leader's position. They lost all their power of control over the other prisoners. This turned these subjects into a destructive force.¹⁷⁰

The disruption of the traditional communications patterns and accommodations upset the power relationship between the formal and informal social structure.

The result of this breakdown could be disorder and anarchy until new inmate elites arise to take command of the informal structure or the old patterns reestablish themselves. Under stable conditions the inmate elites support a culture that assists in the functioning of the institution. But, during a period of disorganization or

¹⁶⁸ Cloward, op. cit., p. 105.

¹⁶⁹ Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 35.

¹⁷⁰ Hartung and Floch, op. cit., p. 55.

challenge to inmate government, aggressiveness becomes the assertion of moral independence and contempt for officials plays a special, self-justifying role. The ability to take punishment becomes the equivalent of the manipulation of power. The challenge to the complex inmate system of authority by the policy change of the formal structure, left former inmate relations of dominance and submission in exchange for goods and services meaningless. Relationships between inmates reverted back to resolution by force at all levels.¹⁷¹ This reversion to force by the inmate society plus the active anti-administration leadership of former elites can compound each other into a destructive force to be reckoned with. Francis Scott stated the problem in very clear language.

We can see why a change from custodial to therapeutic structures can result in prison riots. If the administration permits the allocation and integrative decisions necessary to implement re-socialization, this means a change in the established relationship between the guards' system and the inmate system and a breakdown of the inmate system as an effective means of coercing inmates and guards.¹⁷²

The equilibrium in the interrelationships among the various inmate groups and types of inmates is no longer in

¹⁷¹Richard McCleery, "Correctional Administration and Political Change," in Prison Within Society, ed. by L. Hazebrigg (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1968), p. 129.

¹⁷²Francis Gillespie Scott, "Action Theory and Research in Social Organization," in Prison Within Society, ed. by L. Hazebrigg (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1968), p. 260.

balance. The strong inmate may begin to exploit the weak, all leadership becomes open for testing. The leader and his deputy can no longer compliment each other, they begin to compete for the same function.¹⁷³

Prison riots are not riots against increased liberalism, they are caused by the disorganization of the inmate community, they are conservative in nature rather than revolutionary.¹⁷⁴ This presents an interesting dilemma for the prison administrator. As staff alter its patronizing behavior toward select inmate elites and show equality of treatment for all or establish contacts with a new elite, the stage is set for the build-up of tensions among inmates that may erupt into episodes of disruptive violence. On the other hand, the administration has an obligation to check the build-up of inmate power if it wishes to prevent despotism which will be inconsistent to the new demands for treatment in the penal institution. Frank Hartung and Maurice Floch warn,

It is good to destroy self-government but to avoid trouble the administrator should use some of the old leaders to attain the new end. We should use inmate

¹⁷³ Maxwell Jones, Beyond the Therapeutic Community (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 32.

¹⁷⁴ Cloward, op. cit., p. 91; George Grosser, "External Setting and Internal Relations of the Prison," in Prison Within Society: A Reader in Penology, ed. by Lawrence E. Hazebrigg (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1968), p. 18.

leaders under official direction so they will have the incentives for a stable smoothly operating peaceful prison.¹⁷⁵

The allegiance of the leader must be kept, so that he will **be** able to preserve the wholeness of the organization.

The leader more than anyone else must know what is going **On** and why, so that he can keep his position of leadership **in** the organization and insure cooperation from his peers **with** a minimum of disturbance from them.

The inmate leader who has contacts with the formal **administration** may not be in a position of clique leadership. Leadership in a clique implies a social acceptance **in** a group and the respect for his opinions and commands. **This** interaction is carried out on a face-to-face exchange **of** interactions between the participants.¹⁷⁶ It is this **communication** that takes place within the peer group, that **has** a profound influence on an inmate's responses to situations that arise in the prison community. It is in the **peer** group that a social reality exists for opinions, **attitudes** and beliefs that assists an inmate to survive **the** rigors of imprisonment. It becomes easier to **communicate** within one's own peer group, where one has established

¹⁷⁵Hartung and Floch, op. cit., p. 56.

¹⁷⁶Everett Rogers and David Cartano, "Methods of Measuring Opinion Leadership," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Fall, 1962), 436.

patterns of communication in the past than to other groups or prison inmates.¹⁷⁷ The reoccurring communications between inmates takes on a pattern of regularity and consistency. Through membership in an inmate peer group the individual inmate gains access to the "grapevine," but is also at the same time excluded from others.¹⁷⁸ The individuals within the individual peer groups tend to become isolated from other inmates not in their particular group. The community-wide inmate code reflects this tendency in its diction "do your own time." Analysis of inmate relations by Clemmer, Schrag, Hayner, and others consistently point out the phenomena of isolated clusters of inmates, who despite their isolation hold allegiance to the community wide inmate code.

What is needed in the literature is an explanation of the relationships between the formal structure of the administration, and the informal structure of the inmate community which is made up of independent clusters of highly cohesive peer groups who hold a coordinative symbolic allegiance to the prison community. The inmate community and the prison community must interact so they can share and work towards common objectives and goals. They

¹⁷⁷ Leon Festinger, Kurt Back, Stanley Schachter, Harold Kelley, and John Thibaut, Theory and Experiment in Social Communications (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards, Inc., 1950), p. 14.

¹⁷⁸ Johnson, E., op. cit., p. 506.

must somehow communicate their shared expectations to each other. The concept of authority as a standard pattern of interaction, as a system of communication, would serve to explain two paradoxical characteristics of the prison community, (1) custodial forces and senior inmates both resist changes in routine, and (2) a shared definition of the situation works to "filter out" inconsistent orders and to "authorize" those orders which are consistent with it.¹⁷⁹ Yet, this explanation fails to explain how the independent clique groups come to share in these definitions.

It is possible that individual clique group leaders are given "permission" to violate the inmate code and to interact with the prison administration to work towards common objectives and goals without being labeled a "rat."¹⁸⁰ Stanton Wheeler found some support for this possibility when he found that the norms perceived to be held among the prison inmates by the prison staff were close to the norms actually maintained by inmates highly involved in the informal life of the inmate community.¹⁸¹ Sethard Fisher also reported that the staff recognized the high prestige inmates and that institutional rewards and

¹⁷⁹Schrag, 1961, op. cit., p. 154.

¹⁸⁰Eaton, op. cit., p. 117.

¹⁸¹Wheeler, 1959, op. cit., p. 191.

Punishments were differentially available to them.¹⁸²

This could assure the clique leader of his continued acceptance as a leader, with his endless supply of goods and services. It is also widely recognized in the small group literature that leaders are given a greater amount of independent action that violates groups' norms than less prestigious group members.

A second explanation for inmate self-government revolves around the observation that within the prison community the advantages of one type of work assignment over another may be considerable.¹⁸³ Over the years by default and disuse, some of the routine responsibilities of prison administration at different levels have come to be performed routinely by selected inmate clerks. Inmate assistants and inmate clerks of key officials discharge many of the major custodial and administrative duties of a prison. These jobs with their access to information and mobility within the institution, and close contact with the privilege dispensing officials are very powerful and sought after. The effect of assigning inmates to administrative positions has the effect of raising the informal inmate structure to a semi-official

¹⁸²Sethard Fisher, "Informal Organization in a Correctional Setting," Social Problems, XIII (Fall, 1965), 91.

¹⁸³Morris and Morris, op. cit., p. 137.

Form of self-government. What is being suggested is that clique leadership would be a personal role, dependent on the personality of the occupant of the role whereas the job assignment could represent a social role. Regardless of who occupies the role, is in it certain rights and duties would be associated with it. These two types of leadership could compliment each other, the personal role providing clique leadership and getting needed information from the social role leader, who has his position of power in his job assignment. This would not require the clique leader to violate the ban upon communications by associating with the custodial staff, they could get their needed information and influence through contacts with inmate employees. These employees would gain their influence and power through the functions of their assigned duties. The symbolic structure and the clique groups could thus compliment each other.

The inmate community is enmeshed in a system of interdependent units, based on prestige from two sources, inmates and staff.¹⁸⁴ To become an effective leader an inmate must get high evaluations from both the inmate population and the staff. Status comes primarily from

¹⁸⁴Erving Goffman, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions: Staff Inmate Relations," in The Prison, Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. by Donald Cressey (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 93.

personal contacts and political influence.¹⁸⁵ This influence is related to centrality of communications within the organization. Alex Bavelas writes, "The person occupying the most central position in a pattern was most likely to be recognized as the leader."¹⁸⁶ Robert Bales expands this concept,

There are empirical uniformities in the way activities are distributed between persons. If people are rank ordered according to the number of acts they originate they will also stand in rank order as to (1) number of acts they originate in the whole group, (2) the number of acts they originate to specific members of the group, (3) the number of acts they receive from all other members of the group, and (4) in addition each person in the rank order series addresses a slightly larger amount of activity to the person just above him in the series than the person above addresses him, with the top person addressing the group as a whole to a disproportionate degree.¹⁸⁷

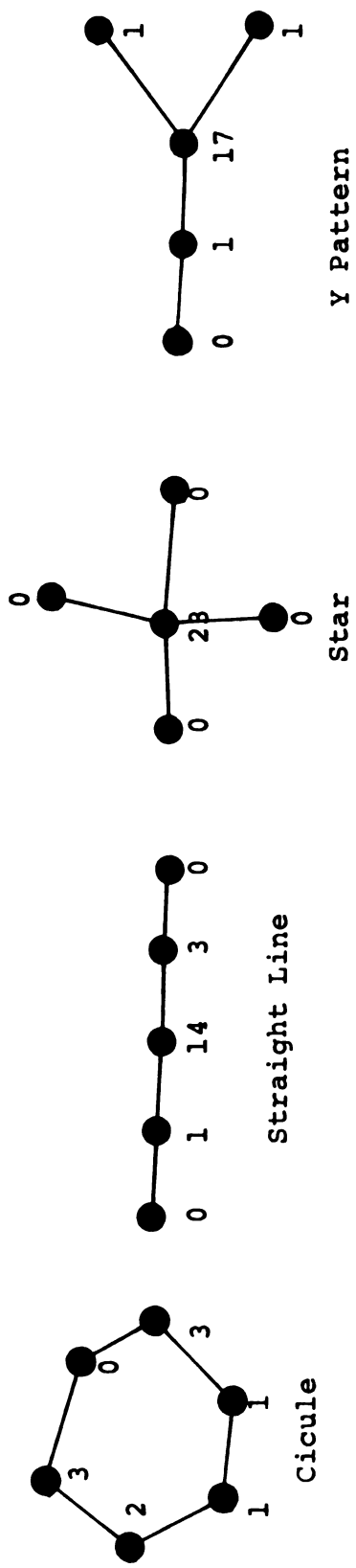
The relationship between centrality and recognized leadership has been investigated by Sidney Smith and Harold Leavitt¹⁸⁸ (Figure 1). Smith confirmed that in circular communications patterns all members received

¹⁸⁵Fisher, 1965, op. cit., p. 218.

¹⁸⁶Alex Bavelas, "Communication Patterns in Task-Oriented Groups," in Group Dynamics, ed. by Darwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968), p. 508.

¹⁸⁷Robert Bales, "A Set of Categories for the Analysis of Small Group Interaction," American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 261.

¹⁸⁸Bavelas, op. cit., p. 508.



Numbers represent votes to question who is the leader of the group.

Figure 1.--Communication Patterns.

approximately equal votes as to who was the leader, while in a straight line pattern of organization the individual occupying the central position was recognized as the leader. Harold Leavitt also found that in the line pattern that the central position was associated with leadership, while the circular pattern failed to produce a recognized leader. Leavitt also tested the star pattern, and found a more dramatic phenomenon of the man in the center being named as the leader to a greater degree than any other position. Leavitt also tested the Y-pattern. Here he once more found that the individual in the center of a communications network was named as the leader. The individual in the center of the communications network gains control over the flow of information to a greater degree than any other position in the group. This control over communications gives the individual power in the inmate community. In the inmate community the higher the control of information, the higher an inmate's status.¹⁸⁹ Richard McCleery stated, "The system of communication is closely related to status, low status men are ignored, or bypassed by the system."¹⁹⁰ A job as secretary to the captain or warden could provide the individual inmate with much information and consequent

¹⁸⁹James Hickey, "The Effects of Information Control on Perceptions of Centrality," Journalism Quarterly (Spring, 1968), 50.

¹⁹⁰McCleery, 1961, op. cit., p. 284.

power in the inmate community.¹⁹¹ Richard Cloward noted that,

The prison politicians, sometimes known as front office men or big shots, are generally located in jobs that provide intimate access to files, officials, and other sources of information and services. They may be typists, file clerks, or even janitors.¹⁹²

The prison represents an ideal setting for studying the relationship between position in the communications network and power in the community for the customary difference in status symbols has been equalized among the inmates, and every inmate, even the isolates, have a stake in the governing structure.

The topic of inmate leadership has been of keen interest to penal researchers since Donald Clemmer's early work. Researchers sought to identify individual traits that constituted the reasons why men become leaders, and who they lead. Clarence Schrag concluded in his research on leadership that inmate leaders or those who are recognized as such, do not differ with respect to age, former occupation, ethnic status, education, marital status, or scores on intelligence tests, from those who they lead.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹John Irwin and Donald Cressey, "Thieves, Convicts and the Inmate Culture," Social Problems, X (Fall, 1962), 149.

¹⁹²Cloward, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁹³Clarence Schrag, "Leadership Among Prison Inmates," American Sociological Review, XIX (February, 1954), 37-42.

The leaders were found to have longer sentences and a longer time remaining in the institution than their followers. Schrag concluded that inmate leadership was associated with a man's prior criminal career and also a man's institutional career, or adjustment. Individuals tended to select as their leaders men who have committed similar offenses, and who have been in the institution for a long period of time and have a lengthy sentence left to be served. This requirement that the inmate leadership is to have long experience in the prison is felt by Richard McCleery to serve the function of keeping the young overtly aggressive inmates from assuming a position of leadership within the inmate community.¹⁹⁴

The findings of Schrag were in opposition to the earlier work by Donald Clemmer.¹⁹⁵ Clemmer found inmate leadership to be made up of men who were above average in intelligence and who are younger inmates. Clemmer found no relationship with offense categories or length of sentence served and remaining to be served.

George Grosser commented on the relationship between time in prison and leadership in a pragmatic tone when he stated that "Long term inmates get a position of leadership because a good part of the inmate population

¹⁹⁴McCleery, 1961, op. cit., p. 166.

¹⁹⁵Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 136.

changes more rapidly and thus cannot entrench itself or challenge the existing power structure."¹⁹⁶ Morris Caldwell also found that leadership in the prison community is held by those who have long prison sentences served and remaining.¹⁹⁷ These findings led Lloyd McCorkle and Richard Korn to warn the prison administrators that the inmate community is centered around the least improvable offenders that destroy any therapeutic function of the prison.¹⁹⁸

Richard McCleery did not find that the leaders of the inmate community were the "bull of the block," but that these men were the lieutenants of the true leaders.¹⁹⁹ Frank Hartung and Maurice Floch also found that in their studies of prison riots that "The real leaders . . . are rarely visible to the naked eye. In the case of a riot they are never found, the open leaders get the blame."²⁰⁰ These studies suggest that perhaps more than one type of leadership can exist in the prison community. There might exist a "power behind the throne model" of leadership that remains hidden from the researcher who is not looking for it.

¹⁹⁶Grosser, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁹⁷Caldwell, op. cit., p. 654.

¹⁹⁸McCorkle and Korn, op. cit., p. 527.

¹⁹⁹McCleery, 1961, op. cit., p. 282.

²⁰⁰Hartung and Floch, op. cit., p. 55.

If leadership is thought of as an organizational phenomena perhaps the individual's position in the inmate group and symbolic organization could shed some light on the governmental structure of the inmate community. Perhaps clique leadership with its emphasis on personal attributes, and symbolic organizational leadership with its emphasis on formal job assignment are two complimentary but separate forms of leadership in the inmate community. Multiple leadership means the distribution of power and authority to many more people than is traditionally recognized within the prison community.

The two types of leadership suggested here might differ in their personal involvement in the inmate community. The leader of the symbolic system may tend to be less sympathetic and less integrated into primary groups than clique group leaders.²⁰¹ They may serve an instrumental function, to use Bales' terminology, while the primary group leader may serve an expressive function. The system's leader may be skilled at accomplishing goals for the individual clique groups, the primary group leaders at maintaining social relationships within the individual groups. "Robert Bales has data to support his generalization that all informal leadership structures are uniformly

²⁰¹Oscar Grusky, "Organizational Goals and the Behavior of Informal Leaders," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (1959), 61.

differentiated along the instrumental-expressive axis."²⁰² Donald Clemmer in his classic work, The Prison Community, also recognized the two levels of leadership. He used the term leader, for the inmate who was the center of rapport in primary and semi-primary groups and the term popular inmate to describe leadership that extended across a number of clique groups.²⁰³ F. E. Haynes found

The prison population is largely controlled by two groups of leaders. The "Politicians" who hold key jobs in the administration offices, who can distribute special privileges and make possible the acquisition of special foods and other supplies. The other group is made up of the right guys who can always be trusted, do not abuse or take advantage of other inmates, and are always loyal to the interests of the convicts.²⁰⁴

Leadership is being defined as the ability to solve complex problems which commands respect and allegiance from those who are assisted. "Inmate leaders were the men able to explain, predict, or control to some degree a situation in which others were helpless and confused."²⁰⁵ The leaders provide the prison population with some security and satisfactory explanation for organizational experiences.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 62.

²⁰³ Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 134.

²⁰⁴ F. E. Haynes, "Sociological Study of the Prison Community," The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXXIV, No. 4 (November-December, 1948), 437.

²⁰⁵ McCleery, 1962, op. cit., p. 18.

The general inmate population deprived of access to information to explain their environment allocate this function to a select few who turn their source of information into a basis of reward and control.²⁰⁶ This reward and control can be along the instrumental or expressive areas, giving rise to the two forms of leadership.²⁰⁷

Summary

The literature suggests that society neglects its prisons leaving their administration to a select group of persons who hold custody goals. This results in all inmates being treated as if they are equal security risks, with the full realization that this degree of security is unnecessary for the majority of inmates. Even with the stringent security measures of the maximum security institution, the inmates held within them will interact, and form their own informal society. This society has a normative order that seeks to break down the prison routine and provide them with material and psychological rewards that the formal system denies them.

The very act of incarceration with its dehumanizing aspects provides the common basis that makes the inmate society possible. The very act of incarceration presents all the inmates with a group problem, how to survive in

²⁰⁶ Julian, op. cit., p. 388.

²⁰⁷ Haynes, op. cit., p. 437.

prison. To endure psychologically the individual inmate must reject the society that has deemed him not worthy of living among them.

The informal society that arises in the institutions is made up of small primary or clique groups united by an overall philosophy that sets forth the rules of contacts between the inmates and staff. From the clique group, the individual inmate gains perceptions about the institution and society in general. The clique group provides the inmate with the only basis to test the reality of an opinion or attitude. A given perception becomes fact if it is defined as such by the inmate's clique group.

Because of the formal institutional policy of isolation and the inmate norm that prohibits communications with staff members, it is possible for a number of clique groups to exist and have differing definitions of a given phenomena. What develops are small clusters of like opinionated individuals that may differ on definitions of a given phenomena, who never interact, so the attitudes remain unchallenged. Leadership becomes equated with the ability to explain an otherwise ambiguous situation and provide access to information from which the clique group forms a reality. To gain this access to sources of knowledge the clique groups allow select members of the inmate society to communicate with the official system and other

clique groups, to provide them with this needed knowledge. This research project seeks to define the attributes of this liaison person and to define his function in the inmate society and the perceptions of his role held by the members of the inmate society.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH CONTEXT: THE COMMUNICATION ROLE LINK BETWEEN THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL SYSTEM, THE LIAISON ROLE CONCEPT

The work of Jacobson, Seashore, and Weiss presents a conceptual framework and methodology for testing this conceptualization of the inmates' informal community structure.²⁰⁸ Jacobson, Seashore, and Weiss' studies presented structural concepts which can be applied to a sociometric matrix in order to classify topological data of the matrix for analyses of their functional processes. The formal definition of these concepts is presented by Weiss and Jacobson.

(A) Work group: a set of individuals whose relationships are with each other and not with members of

²⁰⁸E. Jacobson, and S. Seashore, "Communication Practices in Complex Organizations," Journal of Social Issues, VII (1951), 28-40; Weiss and Jacobson, "A Method for the Analysis of the Structure of Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review, XX (1955), 661-68; also in Etzioni, Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), pp. 453-64; R. S. Weiss, "Processes of Organization," (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Institute for Social Research, 1956).

- the other work groups (except for contacts with liaison persons or between groups.)
- (B) Liaison Person: an individual who worked with at least two individuals who were members of work groups other than his own.
 - (C) Contact between groups: a single working relationship between members or sets of individuals who would otherwise be classified as separate work groups.²⁰⁹

The definition of work groups was not based upon the organization's formal prescriptions of task units. They are based upon sociometric data on the extent of patterning of communications contacts. The conceptualization of the work group in terms of contact between groups parallels the concept of clique group developed in the review of the literature in Chapter I. The prison clique group is defined as a small group of inmates who have contacts with each other, refer all environmental stimuli and attitudes to the group for interpretation and gain a sense of belonging and reality from it. These clique groups are not formally prescribed by the prison administration, but arise out of individual interaction between individuals.

In this analysis the separation of the work groups into independent entities was accomplished by Jacobson et al. by removing of the liaison persons and contacts between groups from the sociometric matrix. The liaison person was a communications link between multiple work groups. The special criterion for the liaison person was

²⁰⁹Weiss and Jacobson, op. cit., p. 458.

that he must have contacts with at least two persons in work groups other than his own. A single contact between two members of separate work groups was not defined as a liaison, but a contact between groups or bridge person. In graph theory the liaison person is an analogue to the articulation point and the contact between groups is an analogue to the bridge person as illustrated in Figure 2.

The bridge and liaison person concepts as presented by Jacobson and Seashore seem to parallel the leadership structures hypothesized to exist in the inmate community earlier in this paper. The social role with its source of influence existing outside of the clique group is similar to the liaison concept, and the personal role with its bases of influence existing within a clique group is similar to the bridge role concept. In the Jacobson, Seashore, and Weiss studies it became clear that the liaison persons may or may not have membership in one of the separate work groups. Weiss and Jacobson found one-third of the identified liaison persons could not be characterized as members of any separate work group, but had many contacts with other liaison members.²¹⁰ This finding is similar to the research in penology that points out the observable phenomenon that the "front office" politicians have contacts with other inmate big shots

²¹⁰Weiss and Jacobson, op. cit., p. 37.

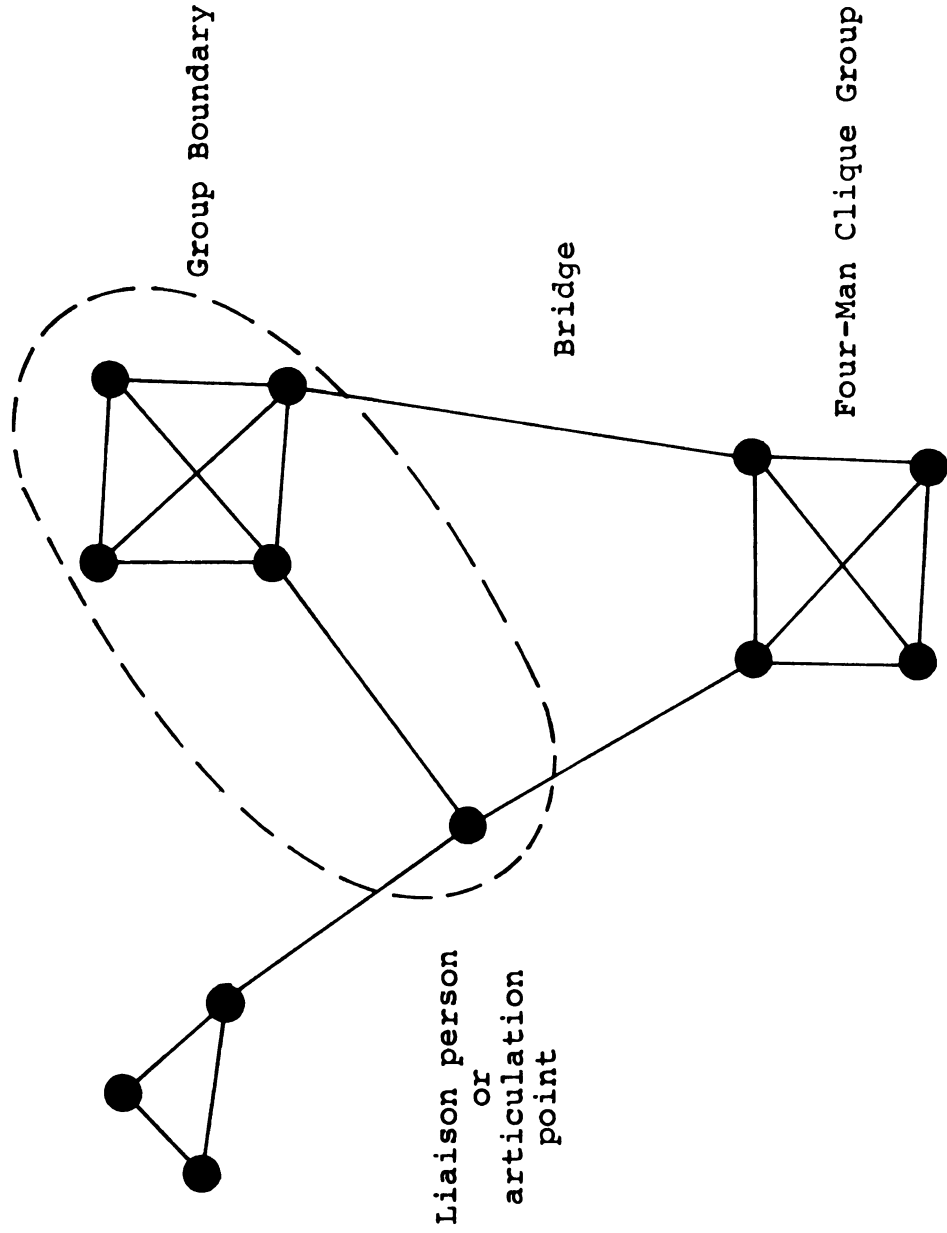


Figure 2.--Graph Theory Concepts.

in the organization. With these contacts favors and information can be exchanged among the inmate elites.

The special functional significance of the liaison person's position in an organization's structure is underlined by Jacobson and Seashore:

These liaison persons appear to be of critical importance to the conceptualization of organization in communications terms as they are in a position to influence significantly or to control the communications to and from certain groups. Through them, it is expected, it will be possible to trace differential influences through . . . (organization) as they are reflected in differences in attitudes among the subgroups.²¹¹

In other words, the liaison person functions at least in a "gatekeeper" role for the various subgroups to which he is connected. "A 'gatekeeper' is defined as controlling a strategic portion of a channel . . . so to have the power of decision over whether, whatever is flowing through the channel will enter the group or not."²¹² The liaison person may selectively relay information about the prison to various clique groups or he may selectively hold up information to various groups. The relaying of information, as discussed in Chapter I, is equated with power in a prison environment. An analysis based upon this topological differentiation of communication structure may provide the researcher with the importance of various roles in the prison community.

²¹¹Jacobson and Seashore, op. cit., p. 37.

²¹²Schwartz, op. cit., p. 25.

Research Content: Hypotheses

The present study has two main purposes. One is to extend the description of the inmate informal community using the concepts of liaison roles as set forth in the work of Jacobson, Seashore, and Weiss. The other is to compare the perceptions of the prison organization held by the occupants of the different communications' defined roles. The research will investigate the extent that the communications' defined roles effect perceptions of the formal prison structure. That is, liaison persons might hold one view of the prison organization, and the loci of influence in the organization, while non-liaisons persons may hold a divergent view. The focus of the study will be upon the comparison of the two sets of individuals, liaison versus non-liaison persons, as to certain aspects of the phenomenology of their roles in the informal inmate organization, their communication behavior and their interpersonal and influence potential.

Justification for the study of liaison roles can be based on two factors:

1. differentials between liaisons and non-liaisons in regard to actual communication behavior and influence; and/or
2. differentials between liaisons and non-liaisons in regard to perceived communications roles and influence potential in the organization.²¹³

²¹³Schwartz, op. cit., p. 31.

Within this broad context, a large number of research questions might be asked. The questions selected for this study are directed primarily toward specifying certain differentials based on perceptions reported by non-liaison persons in direct contact with liaison persons, and selected non-liaisons as well as self-perceptions of liaisons and the selected non-liaisons about their respective roles in the inmate community. The sampling unit will be liaisons and selected non-liaisons, but the source of the data will be non-liaisons persons directly linked to liaisons in order to define the meaning of the liaison role, as well as the self-perceptions of the liaisons to ascertain the perceived role held by the role incumbent. "The focal point of the information vectors will be defined in terms of perceptions by persons immediately adjacent to that point."²¹⁴ These immediate others will be referred to as dyadic contacts. The two members of the dyadic contact if acting as informants about one another must be in agreement that they are in direct contact with each other, reciprocated contact. Where, however, a person reports his self-perceptions of his role or of organizational attributes, such agreement is irrelevant.

In the past the researcher has spent approximately three months observing the "clinic" and the inmates as an interested student with no connections or affiliations

²¹⁴Ibid., p. 32.

with any corrections department or other agency. The inmate community became accustomed to the researcher's presence and would not become suspicious with his presence once more. The researcher made it a point to become known to the inmate population, by participating in various inmate and staff-sponsored "games" (group therapy or rap groups) where the inmates were free to "put a game" on the researcher. A "game" is when the members of the "group" focus their attention and questions upon the person who has the "game on him." During such a game the inmates probed deep into the researcher's motives for being in the clinic, and got to know him as a person. The researcher also spent considerable time in informal "rap" sessions with the inmates. The researcher felt he was accepted when he was invited to join the inmate governing and "bitch" meetings after the normal staff hours. It is at these meetings, which have no staff members present or custodial personnel, that the inmates air their feelings to one another about the living arrangements and staff members, programs, and make general comments about anything on their "minds." The researcher was also invited into the inmates' "houses" or cells to "rap." While in various inmates' houses they were gracious hosts and offered soft drinks and cookies, rare commodities in the prison world.

Network Differentiation

The selection of the analytical perspective of dyadic contacts makes it necessary to collect sociometric data at the same time descriptive data is collected. It is not possible to identify the various roles until a topological analysis of the sociometric data for the entire clinic population is completed. The sociometric data requires the inmates to name their respective contacts. The researcher used his acceptance to assure the inmate community that their responses remained anonymous and was seen only by him.

Since structure, rather than flow, of information is investigated in the present study, data was gathered at one point in time.²¹⁵ Causal statements cannot be made although perceived differences in the behavior of individuals will be used to describe the inmate community's structure. Network differentiation is explored rather than tested in this study.

Variables

The variables that are tested are members of the following variable classes: (1) communications contacts, (2) task related information possession, (3) control over message flow, (4) influence in the organization,

²¹⁵ Donald MacDonald, "Communication Roles and Communication Content in a Bureaucratic Setting" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970), p. 35.

(5) importance of secondary contacts, (6) specific leadership, (7) openness of the communications system, (8) satisfaction with the communications system, (9) deliberate message transaction, (10) direction of message transaction, (11) first source of information, and (12) formal role relationship, formal job assignment, to informal role, liaison versus non-liaison role.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses are designed to examine certain aspects of roles in the informal inmate community, their communications' behavior, and their interpersonal and organizational influence potential.

Communications Contacts

Schwartz found that persons within a college recognize the persons in that organization with the most influence.²¹⁶ The staff also perceived liaison persons to have more influence in the organization than did other members of the college. MacDonald found that in a federal bureaucracy the role of a liaison person was understood by its occupants, who perceived themselves to have a greater number of communications contacts and influence in the organization than other persons in the organization.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 122-23.

²¹⁷ MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

Walton hypothesized that "centrals" differ from "peripherals" by having more power, authority, and expertise in an organization, and supported these predictions in his research.²¹⁸ It seems clear that if the liaison role is understood by others, even though they do not know the term, and the role is understood by its occupants, perhaps one reason for becoming a liaison person in the prison society, may be that the individual is active in seeking out other people in order to request and give information or advice.

Hypothesis 1

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have a greater number of communications contacts than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

By inspecting the sociolgram drawn from the works of Jacobson, Seashore, and Weiss (reported in Weiss) to identify liaison persons, a random sample of liaison and non-liaison persons revealed a broader span of reciprocated contacts for liaison persons.²¹⁹

Hypothesis 2

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have a greater number of communications contacts than non-liaison persons have.

²¹⁸Eugene Walton, "A Magnetic Theory of Communication," NOTS Administration Publication III (China Lake, Calif.: U.S. Naval Ordinance Test Station, 1962).

²¹⁹Weiss, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

Task Related Information

MacDonald postulated and tested the concept that liaison persons would possess a high level of task information and a high level of maintenance information.²²⁰ His work supported the former but failed to support the latter. The Weberian view of social systems implies that liaison persons will have more work related information than non-liaison persons since this approach includes the assumption that supervisors have more knowledge than subordinates. It is proposed here that high information level about the environment is a facet of expertise. If a liaison person seeks the role, he should perceive himself as having such information. Two hypotheses may be stated relative to role positions:

Hypothesis 3

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more task related information (information on treatment goals and objectives, workings of the clinic, job duties, etc.) than non-liaison persons have.

Hypothesis 4

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more task related information (information on treatment goals and objectives, workings of the clinic, job duties, etc.) than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

²²⁰MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

Control over the Message Flow

The possession or perceived possession of information implies power to transmit or not to transmit or to manipulate the communications. MacDonald states "When one considers the control over information that people have in organizations, one must also consider the relationships between such control and the formal authority to control."²²¹ Message control may be seen as the power to modify messages or to initiate new messages. Organizational members who are perceived to have such control ought to be perceived as central to the organizational structure. If the liaison person seeks the role or is aware of it, then two hypotheses can be stated:

Hypothesis 5

Non-liaison persons perceive liaison persons to have more control over the flow of messages than non-liaison persons have.

Hypothesis 6

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more control over message flow than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

Influence in the Organization, Specific Leadership and Secondary Contacts

Since the possession of information implies power in the inmate community, the use of this power should be of interest to the researcher. Power to influence through

²²¹Ibid., p. 39.

message transfer could take two forms: personal influence or organizational influence. Any individual within an organization from a phenomenological viewpoint, could differentiate influence in the organization at least on three levels; (1) the specific dyadic contacts influence over me, (2) my dyadics contacts over his other contacts (diffuse), and (3) the importance of the other (secondary) contacts which my dyadic contact has.²²² Katz observed, "an individual may be influential not only because people within his group look to him for advice, but also because of whom he knows outside of his group."²²³ The implication of these statements for the liaison role is that this strategic position may be related to influence both in terms of power over information relay and the concomitant opportunity to exercise opinion leadership over dyadic contacts. If liaison persons seek this role then four hypotheses can be postulated:

Hypothesis 7

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more influence over personal opinions for their dyadic contacts than non-liaison persons.

²²²Schwartz, op. cit., p. 39.

²²³E. Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communications: An Up-To-Date Report of an Hypothesis," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXI (Spring, 1957), 74-75.

Hypothesis 8

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more important secondary contacts in the organization than non-liaison persons are perceived to have.

Hypothesis 9

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more influence in the organization than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

Hypothesis 10

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more influence in the organization than non-liaison persons are perceived to have.

Openness of the Communications System

MacDonald reported numerous studies that show an individual's informal position in the organization affects his attitudes toward the system's communication program, i.e., toward whether the system is open or closed.²²⁴

Gustrad reported a significant difference in the perceptions of how open a department's communications system was between the deans, who acted as supervisors, and the professors of a given department. The deans reported the system to be more open than did the subordinate professors.²²⁵ Halpin obtained essentially the same

²²⁴MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

²²⁵John Gustrad, "Communication Failures in Higher Education," Journal of Communication, XII (1962), 11-12.

results from his investigation of the organizational climate of public schools. The supervisors perceived the organization's structure as more open to influence than the teachers who perceived the system as closed to personal influence.²²⁶ These findings give rise to Hypothesis 11:

Hypothesis 11

Liaison persons perceive the organization's communication system to be more open than do non-liaison persons.

Satisfaction with the Communications System

The correlates that make up satisfaction with an organization are complex. MacDonald reported that, "some of the same concerns involved in system openness appear also to be related to satisfaction."²²⁷ The present study approaches the concept of satisfaction through postulating a need for timely, accurate, easily-used information. In a sense, the inmates with more access to such information have a great source of potential power in the inmate community. It would seem that, people having this power are more satisfied with the system that grants it to them, than people who are without it.

²²⁶ Andrew Halpin, Theory and Research in Administration (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966).

²²⁷ MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

Hypothesis 12

Liaison persons perceive the communications system as more satisfying than do non-liaison persons.

Deliberate Message Transaction

Schwartz suggests that since liaison persons' contacts are perceived to be more structurally diverse than non-liaison persons; this suggests that there may be physical or psychological difficulties in interacting between liaisons and their dyadic contacts, versus non-liaisons and their contacts.²²⁸ To the extent such differences exist, it might be assumed that initiation of messages requires more effort in liaison-non-liaison dyads than in non-liaison-non-liaison dyads, i.e. message transaction initiation within liaison-non-liaison dyads may be more deliberate or purposeful than non-liaison-non-liaison dyads who would be more likely to just happen to meet in the course of a day.

Hypothesis 13

Liaison-non-liaison dyads more frequently participate in deliberately initiated message transactions than do non-liaison-non-liaison dyads.

Initiation and Direction of Message Transaction

Any set of deliberately initiated message transactions between two people may be further differentiated

²²⁸Schwartz, op. cit., p. 34.

by the directionality of the initiation, i.e. the proportion of times A seeks out B to the times B seeks out A. One person may seek another either to give or to get information and opinions. If we hypothesize that the liaison role is a "magnetic center" (Walton, 1962) who possesses unique attributes in the form of access to information the implication for directionality of message transaction initiation will be proportionately different between liaison-non-liaison dyads and non-liaison-non-liaison dyads, i.e., directionality of interaction will be more equal in the latter dyad than the former, i.e., non-liaisons will meet by chance to a greater degree than will liaisons.

Hypothesis 14

The directionality of deliberate message initiation is more disproportionate in liaison-non-liaison dyads than in non-liaison-non-liaison dyads.

First Source of Information

From the preceding hypotheses it seems logical that the liaison persons will be looked to for information because of their strategic locations in the organizations. Their strategic location implies that the liaison person is in a position to have early access to information that is available in the organization. Although he is peripheral to any given clique group, he is central among at least two clique groups. Studies of network centrality in problem-solving small groups indicate that centrals assume

a position of information relay leadership by virtue of their strategic location.²²⁹ If the liaison role can be assumed to be analogous to centrality in a small group then it might be expected that liaison persons will be more consistently used as first sources of information by their dyadic contacts, than will non-liaisons.

Hypothesis 15

Liaison persons will be perceived by non-liaison persons as first sources of organizational related information to a greater extent than non-liaison persons.

Formal Role Relationship to Informal Role

The final hypothesis will set forth to test Clemmer's observation that the greatest obstacle in becoming an inmate leader is visibility, and that a prison job assignment may provide the needed visibility.²³⁰ As reported in Chapter I, pages 89-93, key inmate clerks and other strategically-placed inmates gain access to information through the performance of their assigned duties.²³¹ This strategic information center fits the definition of the liaison role with its access to organizational information that non-liaisons lack.

²²⁹Bavelas, op. cit., p. 508.

²³⁰Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 144.

²³¹Morris and Morris, op. cit., p. 137.

Hypothesis 16

Liaison persons are more likely to hold high status inmate jobs than are non-liaison persons.

Sociometric Analysis

The basic sociometric data taken from the personal contact checklist will be graphically represented on a matrix. The matrix will have the code numbers of the respondents in the left and top margins of the matrix in alphabetical order.

The questionnaire directed the respondent, the column person on the matrix, to indicate on a five-point scale his frequency of interaction with his named contact person, row person on the matrix. Initially it was planned that a "1" would be entered into the appropriate cell for every communication contact nomination in the several times daily category, a "2" for a nomination in the about once-a-day category, a "3" for a nomination in the 2 or 3 times a week category, a "4" for a nomination in the about once-a-week category, and a "5" for a nomination in the less than once-a-week category. The results of the data made it necessary only to use the one, for all nominations were at the frequency of several times daily.

A second matrix was then constructed requiring the matching nominations to be reciprocated. The appropriate nomination frequency category was entered into the cell. The nominator frequency in the left side of the cell, the nominees in the right side of the cell.

Using these reciprocated contacts, Weiss's procedures were followed to specify group members and liaison persons.

First, the reciprocated matrix was partitioned or divided into groups that included most of the non-zero cells pertaining to their members contacts. Weiss explains:

The same partitioning is applied to both the rows and the columns, so that the principle submatrices (those lying along the diagonal) are square. The set of individuals identified with each principle submatrix is called a segment. The concrete interpretation is that, except for liaison persons, each individual is included in the same segment with the people he contacts, i.e., each segment contains one or more of the conceptual separate groups.²³²

The segments were divided so that members in the segment had a minimum number of contacts outside the segment. Each segment could contain several clusters of contacts around the diagonal. Separation of sub-groups within a segment was accomplished by removing tentatively identified liaison persons from the segment matrix, re-ordering the matrix to maintain clusters around the diagonal, removing tentative liaisons, ordering the matrix, etc. The end goal of this procedure was to identify the separate clique groups within each segment by inspection. Careful attention was paid to the final identification of separate clique groups to be sure that

²³²Weiss, op. cit., p. 91.

the original arbitrary boundary of a segment did not in fact divide one or more clique groups into different segments. The general rule that was used within the segments to identify liaison persons was that if their removal and their contacts removal resulted in separation of the clique groups, that person should be deleted from the matrix and considered a tentative liaison individual.

The tentative liaison individuals who were identified by their removal from segments based on their multiple contacts outside their segments were then tested following the procedures devised by Weiss. The following criteria were set for final identification of liaison persons:

1. A liaison person must have at least two contacts outside his group, not counting other liaison persons. An exception occurs if he has contact with two or more liaison persons outside his group.
2. A liaison individual does not have a majority of contacts in any one group, but has contacts with members of two or more groups. These contacts may be with other liaison persons only where these persons are themselves members of groups.
3. If a person is not a liaison individual by these criteria, but also is not a member of any group, and if such a person has all or nearly all his

contacts with other liaison persons, he should be classified as a liaison individual.

4. A non-liaison group member may have no more than one contact outside his own group, except with liaison persons, and must have a majority of his contacts within his own group.

Hypotheses Testing

The generalizability of the results of a study using a sociometric design for identifying the different roles within the clinic presents some difficulties for the researcher. Jacobson and Seashore, and Weiss who first proposed the method, reported their data as percentages and frequencies. They felt that their data was not much further amendable to further statistical manipulation. Selvin and others argue that since inferential statistics rests on the assumptions of samples that are somehow randomly drawn, this is the one criterion of their use that cannot be violated.²³³

Johnson and other parametric statisticians argue that research is done for the purpose of generalizing to some universe whether the sample is random, nonrandom, or a target population. Johnson argues "given that

²³³Selvin and Hagstrom, "The Empirical Classification of Formal Groups," in College Peer Groups, ed. by Theodore M. Newcomb and Everett K. Wilson (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

generalization of research findings is made either directly or indirectly, these researchers contend that it is better to construct part of a bridge from the sample to a larger universe by inferential statistics, and part by logic, rather than build the entire bridge logically."²³⁴ This is the position that was taken on the analysis of the hypotheses in this research study. If the findings are found to occur beyond chance within the group being studied, then it can be generalized to populations with similar characteristics.

The parametric statistic that will be utilized to test for significance of the hypotheses will be the T-Test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample. Johnson reports that Cohen found a number of studies which have demonstrated that where there were severe departures from the parametric assumptions of normality, equality of variance, etc., the validity of the parametric significance test, "T," was not impaired.²³⁵

²³⁴ Knowlton Johnson, "Police Interaction and Referral Activity with Personnel of Other Social Regulating Agencies: A Multivariate Analysis" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1971), p. 41.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sociometric techniques have previously been used in attempts to reflect the operational structure of the social units being investigated. The works of Jacobson and Seashore and of Donald Schwartz chose to define the role structure of relatively "flat" organizations with strong academic orientations in terms of work contacts, communication interaction between pairs of members concerning work-related matters. MacDonald's study examined the role structure in a hierarchical stable government bureau using general communications contacts between pairs of individuals communications not differentiated by content. This study will use MacDonald's method of general contacts between pairs of individuals rather than the more restrictive work-related contacts as used in the works of Jacobson and Seashore and of Schwartz.

The study population from which the samples was drawn consists of all the inmates of a prison psychiatric unit located in one confined space of two levels above a

large maximum security state prison located in a Midwestern state. Inmates are defined as individuals who have been adjudicated by a court of law, found guilty, sentenced to the custody of the state corrections department and assigned to the psychiatric clinic. The psychiatric clinic has been designed primarily to provide diagnostic and short-term treatment services. Inmates in need of more extensive psychiatric care are transferred to one of the facilities of the department of mental health. The inmate population of interest in this study are the inmates who live in the clinic in the especially designed group treatment orientated therapeutic milieu program. The inmates, approximately 60 in number, live in the clinic where they participate in a form of self-government. Interaction between inmates is encouraged. The members of the clinic before being assigned there, lived in the general prison population. The members of the clinic residential program are composed of three basic groups: the drug offenders, sex offenders, and youthful offenders. The drug offenders are men that have been addicted to opiate drugs and committed various crimes of robbery to support their "habits." The sex offenders are men who have committed various forms of rape or child molesting while the young offenders have mixed criminal careers, but are for the most part under 20 years of age. The drug offenders and the sex offenders live on one tier of prison cells, with each group having its own governmental

structure. The youthful offenders live on a separate tier of cells with its own governmental structure. Interaction between the groups is permitted. The clinic population can be said to be made up of what is considered to be "hard core felons."

The study takes a census, that is, tests all the members of the inmate clinic residential programs, to gain sources of data for the study. Each respondent was asked to complete one questionnaire consisting of primary demographic data and self-perception data, a personal contact questionnaire list and five personal contact questionnaires that were completed for each individual named in the personal contact questionnaire list. All instruments are self-completed questionnaires. The inmates received compensation at the time of the administering of the questionnaire for their participation in the experiment. All inmates who participated did so on a voluntary basis.

The Sample

Although sociometric and questionnaire data is collected from all members of the study population, only those persons with reciprocated contacts with other inmates in the study population are used in the final sample. This is necessary in order to identify members of clique groups, and liaisons and non-liaison role persons. The first step in determining the sample will be to complete a matrix analysis of the sociometric data in order to classify the

population into liaison persons and non-liaison person categories (the isolates that were found were not included in either category). The primary sample of liaison persons include all of the individuals identified in that category. The non-liaison persons are identified who are dyadic contacts of individuals in the liaison primary sample. These non-liaison dyadic contacts, the secondary samples, are used as the source of data to test the hypotheses concerning non-liaisons' perceptions of liaison persons taken from the Personal Contact questionnaires these individuals completed on their reciprocated contacts who are in the liaison sample. Data on self-perceptions is taken from the Self-Perception questionnaire completed by the liaison and non-liaison sample populations who are in frequent reciprocated contact with liaison persons.

Jacobson and Seashore found 35 liaison persons in a population of 196, and Schwartz identified 21 liaisons among 142 organization members. Using roughly the same proportions to predict the incidence of liaison persons in the present study, one would expect to find approximately 13 liaison individuals in this study population. When making this prediction one must not be surprised if it is not true, as Schwartz warns, "Prediction is risky, the number and nature of liaison persons in an organization will depend on, at least, the task coordination demands or the

degree of rigidity in adhering to formal hierarchical lines."²³⁶ One organization may have more liaison persons than another per unit of membership.

All liaison persons identified in the psychiatric clinic among the inmate residence comprise one "sample." Compared with them are a group of non-liaison persons who were in reciprocated contact with liaison persons. Thus, self-perceptions held by liaisons and non-liaisons, and other perceptions held by liaison-non-liaison dyad members, could be examined to determine whether their perceptions of the organization and of communication behavior were similar or dissimilar. It is not expected in this study that a sufficiently large number of individuals will be available to permit random sampling from within two such populations. If an organization much larger than the one in this study were investigated, it might be possible to order the dyadic contacts of all liaison persons as a sampling population, order the dyadic contacts of all non-liaison persons as a sampling population, and then randomly select individuals into two sample categories from these two populations.

Operationalizing Variables

By use of responses that describe the self and other perceptions of respondents, one may compare the

²³⁶Schwartz, op. cit., p. 30.

perceptions each role holds of the other. Sixteen hypotheses are examined in the present study. All but three make use of Likert-type scales to operationalize variables. Two hypotheses were tested by the use of ratios and one by comparison of identified liaison persons with the formal job assignments of the inmates.

Where possible, questions or entire scales were taken from previous research in order to insure useful measurement by utilizing experience reported in the literature. It should be noted that the scales are adapted to the specific conditions of the clinic. The adaptation was done in such a manner as not to affect the original purpose of the question.

Some way had to be devised for deciding whether items contributing to an index do indeed measure the same thing or "go together." The scales used here included at most four items, a fact which limits the techniques available to test scale internal consistencies. Item inter-correlations are used to test for the consistency of the scales.

The items used to operationalize variables are stated in the following presentation. To preclude confusion, it should be noted that some scales are listed in two forms, some have a "this person" version in addition to the "I" version. The total questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix A.

I. Variable One--Number of Communication Contacts

Hypothesis 1

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have a greater number of communication contacts than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have. (Self Perception Questionnaire Scale)

Cues for the items in this scale were abstracted and used by Schwartz from Walton's model testing study of the "Magnetic Centers" of communication in organizations.²³⁷ All items in this scale use the Likert-type responses to form summated scale ratings using "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree nor disagree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree," foils. Response values of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 were assigned to all the respective foils in this study, unless otherwise stated, to allow summation into one mean score for the scale.

Item 1 Scale 1

I communicate with more inmates in the clinic than most other inmates who are assigned here do.

Item 2 Scale 1

I have access to very few clinic personnel and inmates, compared to other inmates around here.

Item 3 Scale 1

In most organizations there are small groups of people who prefer to work or relax together. I have contacts in more of these groups than most other inmates do around here.

²³⁷ Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 47-49; Walton, op. cit., pp. 79-109.

Response values to the second item, above, were inverted, then the numerical values of responses to the three items summed and averaged into one score. The higher the mean score, the more communication contacts the respondent should perceive himself to have.

Hypothesis 2

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have a greater number of communications contacts than non-liaison persons have. (Personal Contact Scale)

Cues for the items to test this hypothesis were abstracted by Schwartz from Walton's work on "Magnetic Center" of communications in organizations.²³⁸ The first item in this scale uses the foils "well above average for the clinic," "above average," "about the same as others on the clinic," "below average," and "well below average for the clinic." The remaining two items use the scale responses of "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree nor disagree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree."

Item 1 Scale 2

About how many clinic staff members would you say this person has contact with in an "average" week compared to the number with whom most other inmates on the clinic have contact?

Item 2 Scale 2

This person has contacts with more inmates on the clinic than do most others on the clinic.

²³⁸Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 48-49; Walton, op. cit., pp. 79-109.

Item 3 Scale 2

This person communicates with very few clinic staff members or inmates on the clinic.

Each respondent is given a mean score based upon the numerical values of the responses to the three items averaged into one score. The items are scored so the higher the mean score, the more contacts the dyadic contact is perceived to have.

II. Variable Two--Task Related Information

Hypothesis 3

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more task related information (information on treatment goals and objectives, workings of the clinic, job duties, etc.) than non-liaison persons have. (Personal Contact Scale)

Cues for the operationalizing of this variable's first hypothesis was developed by MacDonald.²³⁹

MacDonald designed the items to be used "across settings" to test for work related information. The two items that make up this scale use the Likert-type responses, "well above average for the clinic," "above average," "about the same as for other people on the clinic," "below average," and "well below average for the clinic."

²³⁹MacDonald, op. cit., p. 56.

Item 1 Scale 3

Now, instead of thinking about communications contacts, think about how much he knows about clinic programs and duties. Compared to other inmates on the clinic, how do you rate the level of knowledge he has about clinic related activities?

Item 2 Scale 3

How about his knowledge about topics that are not related to clinic programs or duties directly . . . what is going on within the clinic, who gets along with whom, who's having trouble adjusting to the clinic, who is adjusting, who is smart, etc.
Is his level of knowledge:

Each respondent is given a total mean score based upon the numerical values of the responses to the two items on this scale. The items are scored so that the higher the total score the more task information the dyadic contact is perceived to have.

Hypothesis 4

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more task-related information (information on treatment goals and objectives, workings of the clinic, job duties, etc.) than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have. (Self-Perception Scale)

The operationalizing of this hypothesis uses the form of the items in Hypothesis 3. The Likert-type responses and the scoring weights remain the same.

Item 1 Scale 4

Now, instead of thinking about communications contacts, think about how much you know about clinic programs and duties. Compared to other inmates on the clinic, how do you rate the level of knowledge you have about clinic-related activities?

Item 2 Scale 4

How about your knowledge about topics that are not related to clinic programs directly . . . what is going on within the clinic, who gets along with whom, who's having trouble adjusting to the clinic, who is adjusting, who is smart, etc.

Is your knowledge:

Each respondent is given a mean score based on his responses to the items in this scale. The items are scored so the higher the score the more task-related information the individual perceives himself to have.

III. Variable Three--Control over the Message Flow

Hypothesis 5

Non-liaison persons perceive liaison persons to have more control over message flow than non-liaison persons have. (Personal Contact Scale)

Cues for the items in this scale were abstracted by MacDonald from James Hickey's work, "The Effects of Informal Control on Perceptions of Centrality," in the spring issue of Journalism Quarterly.²⁴⁰ The two items that make up this scale use the response foils, "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree or disagree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree."

Item 1 Scale 5

When someone needs to get a message to some group or person in the clinic, this person can usually tell him the best way to do it.

²⁴⁰Ibid., p. 57.

Item 2 Scale 5

When he thinks it's best for the group he lives or works with, this person can usually control the amount and kind of information the group gets.

Each respondent is given a total mean score based on his responses to the items according to the mean of the response weight. The items are scored so the higher the total score, the greater the dyadic contacts perceived control over message flow.

Hypothesis 6

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more control over message flow than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

The operationalizing of this hypothesis uses the I form of the items in Hypothesis 5. The Likert-type responses and the scoring weights remain the same.

Item 1 Scale 6

When someone wants to get a message to some group or person in the clinic, I can usually tell him the best way to do it.

Item 2 Scale 6

When I think it's best for the group I live or work with, I can usually control the amount and kind of information the group gets.

Each respondent is given a total mean score based on his responses to the items according to the scale weights. The items are scored so the higher the total score, the greater is the self-perception of control over message flow.

IV. Variable Four--Influence in the Organization, Specific Leadership and Secondary Contacts

Hypothesis 7

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more influence over personal opinions for their dyadic contacts than non-liaison persons have. (Personal Contact Scale)

Cues for the items that make up this scale were abstracted by Schwartz from Rogers and Cartano, and Troidahl and VanDam.²⁴¹ Schwartz modified the scale in his study by asking the respondents to estimate potential specific leadership with a named individual. It is this approach that is used in the items that make up this scale. Specific opinion leadership is defined as the perceived influence a dyadic contact has over the respondent as reflected in information and opinion-giving and seeking behavior. Four items make up this scale with each item having five response sets.

Item 1 Scale 7

Which of the following has usually occurred during discussions you've had with this person in the past week about activities, programs, or people in the clinic? I asked him questions

- _____ much more than he asked me.
- _____ more than he asked me.
- _____ about as often as he asked me.
- _____ less than he asked me.
- _____ much less than he asked me.

²⁴¹Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 51-58; E. Rogers and P. Cartano, "Methods of Measuring Opinion Leadership," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Fall, 1962), 435-41; V. Troidahl and R. VanDam, "A New Scale for Identifying Public Affairs Opinion Leaders," Journalism Quarterly, XLII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1965).

Item 2 Scale 7

Whenever you communicate with this person which one of the following is usually the case?

- _____ almost always he talks and I listen.
 _____ often he talks and I listen.
 _____ we usually talk and listen equally.
 _____ often I talk and he listens.
 _____ almost always I talk and he listens.

Item 3 Scale 7

Considering the relationship you have with this person, who do you think depends on the other more for advice on matters related to the clinic? I depend on him

- _____ much more than he depends on me.
 _____ more than he depends on me.
 _____ about as much as he depends on me.
 _____ less than he depends on me.
 _____ much less than he depends on me.

Item 4 Scale 7

When you and this person discuss activities of the clinic, which of the following happens more often during these talks? He tells me about

- _____ a great many more things than I tell him.
 _____ many more things than I tell him.
 _____ the same number of things I tell him.
 _____ many less things than I tell him.
 _____ a great many less things than I tell him.

Each respondent is given a mean score based on his responses to the items according to the scale response weights. The items are scored so the higher the mean score, the more influence over personal opinions the dyadic contact is perceived to have.

Hypothesis 8

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more important secondary contacts in the organization than non-liaison persons are perceived to have. (Personal Contact Scale)

Cues for the items in this scale come from an abstraction of Walton's work found in Schwartz.²⁴² The importance of the secondary contact is defined in terms of access to individuals in the "power structure" or knowledge of organizational activities. Three items make up this scale with the first and third having the response sets of "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree or disagree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." The second item has the response sets, "well above average for the clinic," "above average," "about the same as others on the clinic," "below average." and "well below average."

Item 1 Scale 8

If there is anything important going on in the clinic, this person has contacts with people who usually know about it.

Item 2 Scale 8

How important are the inmates of the clinic that this person knows most closely?

Item 3 Scale 8

This person has contacts with individuals who are relatively high in the "power structure" of the clinic.

Each respondent is given a total mean score based on his responses to the items. The items are scored so that the higher the mean score, the more important the

²⁴²Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 53-54; Walton, op. cit., pp. 83, 89, 92, 98.

secondary contacts the dyadic contact is perceived to have.

Hypothesis 9

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more influence in the organization than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have. (Self-Perception Scale)

Cues for the items that make up this scale were abstracted by MacDonald and Schwartz from Walton, and from Pelz and Andrews.²⁴³ The three items that make up this scale use the response sets of "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree nor disagree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree."

Item 1 Scale 9

The inmates who have a lot of influence around here generally respect the suggestions that I make.

Item 2 Scale 9

Many of the "official" and "unofficial" influential people in the clinic look to me for opinions and advice.

Item 3 Scale 9

I have a way of getting what I want from the other inmates in the clinic with whom I have contact.

Each respondent is given a total mean score based on his responses to the items in this scale. The items

²⁴³MacDonald, op. cit., p. 58; Schwartz, op. cit., p. 50; Walton, op. cit., pp. 83, 87, 91; Pelz and Andrews, Scientists in Organizations (New York: Wiley, 1966), pp. 17-18.

are scored so the higher the mean score the more influence in the organization the person perceives himself to have.

Hypothesis 10

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more influence in the organization than non-liaison persons are perceived to have. (Personal Contact Scale)

The cues for the items that make up this scale were abstracted by MacDonald and Schwartz from the work of Walton, and from Pelz and Andrews.²⁴⁴ The response sets for the items in this scale are, "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree nor disagree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree."

Item 1 Scale 10

The inmates who have a lot of influence around here generally respect the suggestions that he makes.

Item 2 Scale 10

Many of the "official" and "unofficial" influential people in the clinic look to him for opinions and advice.

Item 3 Scale 10

He has a way of getting what he wants from the other inmates in the clinic with whom he has contact.

Each respondent is given a total mean score based on his responses to the items in this scale. The items

²⁴⁴Ibid.

are scored so the higher the total score the more influence in the organization the dyadic contact is perceived to have.

V. Variable Five--Openness of the Communications System

Hypothesis 11

Liaison persons perceive the organization's communication system to be more open than do non-liaison persons. (Self-Perception Scale)

Cues for the three items that make up this scale were abstracted by MacDonald from the works of Halpin and from Pelz and Andrews.²⁴⁵ The three items all use the five response sets of "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree nor disagree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." The response sets for the first two items have values of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 respectively. The third item is a negatively worded item and the response values are 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 respectively. In scoring the item the last item would be inverted giving a total score when added with first two items indicating the perceived system openness.

Item 1 Scale 11

Inmates around here are really encouraged to take any kind of problems to the clinic staff.

²⁴⁵MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 52-58; Pelz and Andrews, op. cit., pp. 248-49; Halpin, op. cit.



Item 2 Scale 11

There is a free two-way discussion of any problems that occur in the clinic between inmates and staff.

Item 3 Scale 11

When suggestions are made by inmates on the clinic, staff members seldom give the suggestions serious consideration.

Each respondent is given a mean score based on his responses to the items according to the scale response weights. The items are scored so the higher the total score, the more open the communications system is perceived to be.

VI. Variable Six--Satisfaction With the Communications System

Hypothesis 12

Liaison persons perceive the communications system as more satisfying than do non-liaison persons. (Self-Perception Scale)

Cues for the items in this scale were taken from MacDonald's study in communication roles.²⁴⁶

The response sets that make up the three items in this scale use the "strongly agree," "agree," "neither agree nor disagree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree" foils. The first two items have scoring weights of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 respectively with the third having scoring

²⁴⁶MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

weights of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The third item is inverted and added with the first two items to give one summation score for the scale.

Item 1 Scale 12

The information we get from staff members is usually in very useful form . . . easy to understand and complete.

Item 2 Scale 12

Generally speaking, the information we get from the staff members is accurate.

Item 3 Scale 12

One trouble with the information we get from staff members is that it's usually late . . . not here when we need it.

Each respondent is given a mean score based on his responses to the items according to the assigned response weights. The items are scored so the higher the total score the greater satisfaction the individual will have with the communications system.

VII. Variable Seven--Deliberate Message Transaction

Hypothesis 13

Liaison-non-liaison dyads more frequently participate in deliberately initiated message transaction than do non-liaison-non-liaison dyads. (Personal Contact Scale)

The cue for the item that operationalizes this variable comes from the work of Schwartz.²⁴⁷ This variable

²⁴⁷ Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

is operationalized as a direct estimate of the frequency of deliberate message transaction in the dyadic contacts reported by the respondent.

Item 1 Scale 13

Out of 100 times you might have contact with this person, about how many times would:

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| (a) You seek him or initiate the contact
(you go to see him) | _____ |
| (b) He seeks you or initiates the contact
(he comes to you) | _____ |
| (c) None of the above, we just happen to meet
(neither of us goes to the other) | _____ |
| Total Contacts | _____ 100 |

This variable is scored as a direct estimate of the frequency of deliberate message transaction in the dyadic contacts. The frequency of contact reported in response C is taken as the reflex of estimated deliberate initiation, 100 minus C equals frequency of deliberate message transaction based on 100 transactions.

VIII. Variable Eight--Direction of Message Transaction

Hypothesis 14

The directionality of deliberate message initiation is more disproportionate in liaison-non-liaison dyads than in non-liaison-non-liaison dyads. (Personal Contact Scale)

This variable is operationalized by using the responses from scale 13. This variable is scored as a direct estimate of interaction frequency between the respondent and his dyadic contact. Estimated frequency of respondent seeking behavior to contacts seeking behavior (responses

alternatives A and B in scale 13) is taken as a measure of the directional initiation ratio for deliberate message transactions within the dyad. The specific measure is the fraction A over B or B over A with the larger number always in the denominator. The more the fraction deviates from one, the more disproportionate is message transaction initiation in the dyad.

IX. Variable Nine--First Sources of Information

Hypothesis 15

Liaison persons will be perceived by non-liaison persons as first sources of organizational-related information to a greater extent than non-liaison persons. (Personal Contact Scale)

Cues for the items that make up this scale were reported in the work of Schwartz.²⁴⁸ This scale is made up of three items each with five response sets. The first and third items have response sets with values of 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1 with the second having response values of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The second item is inverted and added with the first and the third to give a summation of the item's scores.

²⁴⁸Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 50-52.

Item 1 Scale 15

When you learn some new change or new idea being talked about in the clinic, how likely are you to hear it first from this person.

- extremely likely
 likely
 50-50
 unlikely
 extremely unlikely

Item 2 Scale 15

As new developments happen in the clinic, I usually "get the word" from someone other than this person.

- strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

Item 3 Scale 15

Thinking back over the contacts you've had with this person in the past week, about how often have you learned something new from him about clinic programs, duties, or people?

- almost everytime
 very often
 about half the time
 seldom
 almost never

Each respondent is given a mean score based on his responses to the items according to the assigned score weights. The items are scored so the higher the total score, the greater the likelihood the dyadic contact will serve as the first source for organizational information for the respondent.

X. Variable Ten--Formal Role Relationship to Informal Role

Hypothesis 16

Liaison persons are more likely to hold high status inmate jobs than are non-liaison persons. (Self-Perception Demographic Data)

The data to test for this variable is taken from the demographic questionnaire which asks for the inmate to state his job classification. A high status inmate job will be considered as inmate clerks and typists. The emergent liaison roles are compared to the non-liaison persons to determine if the liaisons occupy a greater percentage of the high status inmate jobs than the non-liaisons.

Contact with Original Research Operationalized,
Self-Perception Scale

As noted in the review of the literature on prisonization, pages 52-54, the work of Wheeler, Schrag, and Garabedian represent the best works done on the degree of prisonization and social roles in the inmate community.²⁴⁹ The three authors have set forth five basic roles in the prison community. They are the politicians, square Johns, outlaws, right guys, and dings. The politicians are the

²⁴⁹ Stanton Wheeler, "Socialization in Correctional Communities"; Clarence Schrag, "A Preliminary Typology"; Peter Garabedian, "Social Roles and Process of Socialization in the Prison Community."

manipulators, the front "office boys" or inmates who manage to get the good inmate jobs. They have the characteristics of what the liaison role is expected to possess. The square Johns are the non-criminal types who find themselves in prison but who do not identify with prison values or criminal ideals. Their orientation remains with conventional society. They would be expected to be isolates in the prison community. The outlaws are the men who reject the norms of the prison community as well as conventional society. They are impulsive and act only in their self interests. They become the guerrillas, toughs, and merchants of the prison system. They also would be expected to be the isolates in the inmate society. The right guy role is the "true" con. He is the inmate who will never violate the inmate code. He has the characteristics similar to those that the non-liaison person is hypothesized to possess. The last role of the ding or outcast role has the characteristics of an isolate in the liaison-non-liaison model being hypothesized. The dings are abnormal people who are rejected by the conventional inmate population. They may be mentally abnormal or participate in actions that are repulsive to the inmate community, female homosexual role. To provide for continuity with past research done on the inmate community, the instrument that is representative of the instruments used to classify the inmate community into the five roles

based upon self-reported attitudes and values, is included in the self-report part of the questionnaire.²⁵⁰ The instrument tests for the five roles by providing three questions concerning attitudes and values that are definitive for a given role. The fifteen items have response sets of "strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." These are weighted with the values of +2, +1, -1, and -2 respectively. The instrument is designed so that a given individual will receive a zero or near zero score on four of the sets of three items that test for roles other than his and six or near six on the scale that tests for the role that he occupies as reflected in his attitudinal responses.

Politician Role Questions

1. You've got to have confidence in yourself if you're going to be successful.
2. There's a little larceny in everyone, if you're really honest about it.
3. Who you know is more important than what you know, and brains are more important than brawn.

Square John Role Questions

1. I generally feel guilty whenever I do wrong.
2. The only criminals I really know are the ones here in the institution.
3. Most people try to be law-abiding and true.

²⁵⁰Peter Garabedian, "Social Roles and Processes of Socialization in the Prison Community," Social Problems (Fall, 1963), 140-52.

Outlaw Role Questions

1. "Might is right" and "every man for himself" are the main rules of living, regardless of what people say.
2. You have to take care of yourself because nobody else is going to take care of you.
3. It makes me sore to have people tell me what to do.

Right Guy Role Questions

1. The biggest criminals are protected by society and rarely get to prison.
2. Inmates can trust me to be honest and loyal in my dealings with them.
3. Police, judges, prosecutors, and politicians are just as crooked as most of the people sent to prison.

Ding Role Questions

1. I worry a lot about unimportant matters.
2. I am very nervous much of the time.
3. Most people are not very friendly towards me.

Operationalizing of the Sociometric Design,
The Personal Contact Checklist

The respondent is asked to name five inmates who are residents of the clinic or who come to the clinic on a regular basis with whom the respondent communicates with most frequently. Communication is defined on the instructions as face-to-face conversation, formal or informal meetings, and letters sent between the respondent and his named contact. The respondent is also asked to

check the frequency of the contact as one of five categories; "several times daily," "about once a day," "2 or 3 times a week," "about once a week," and "less than once a week." The frequency of interaction is used to determine the strength of interactions when defining the matrix. The respondent is asked to fill out a personal contact questionnaire for each of the five named people.

Asking the respondents to limit their responses to five people and to complete contact questionnaires on the five named people is justified in the literature. Donald Clemmer reported that, "The average size of primary groups to which short-term men belonged was 4.4 members . . . the average size of primary groups made up of men of longer residence was 3.2 members per group structure. . . ." ²⁵¹ Donald Schwartz reported that the number of reciprocated contacts in his study was five individuals. ²⁵² Donald MacDonald found the average number of reciprocated contacts to be 4.97. ²⁵³ The practical limitation of time also entered into the decision. The questionnaire is designed to take one-half hour to complete.

²⁵¹Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 120.

²⁵²Schwartz, op. cit., p. 106.

²⁵³MacDonald, op. cit., p. 67.

1

Pretest Procedures

It was decided to pretest the survey instrument to be used in this study to: (1) determine if data collection procedures resulted in sufficient cooperation from the respondents, (2) to evaluate ambiguities in questionnaire instructions and item wording, and (3) to analyze the scales for internal consistency.

To avoid contaminating the study population with the pretest instrument, a correctional facility that emphasized group interaction and counseling was selected as the source for the pretest sample. Within the facility twenty "clients" who were there for penal offenses or opiate drug-related problems were selected from a list of thirty-one clients who were penal offenders or had drug-related problems.

The twenty members of the pretest population were randomly divided up into four groups of five subjects each. The pretest questionnaire was administered to one group of five subjects at a time in the agency's conference room. The subjects were told in the instructions to ask any questions about the wording or meaning of the questionnaire that they could not easily understand. If they did not wish to ask aloud, they were to circle any words in the questionnaire they did not understand clearly. The researcher was in the room to answer the questions that the subjects may have had.

To fit the agency, the questionnaire items were tailored to fit the agency's population. That is, the term "clients" was substituted for "inmates" and "agency" for "clinic" in the questionnaire items. All other wording and questionnaire presentation remained the same. The pretest respondents were asked only to complete one personal contact questionnaire for the first of the five names on their personal contact checklist. One questionnaire from each subject was felt all that was needed to accomplish the goals of the pretest.

All twenty of the selected subjects when approached volunteered to participate in the study. All the subjects were administered the questionnaire on the same day.

No major instruction or item-wording ambiguities were mentioned by any of the respondents during or after the administration of the testing instrument. The researcher asked each group of five subjects after they finished the questionnaire if there were any ambiguities in the questionnaire. The responses from all four groups indicated that there were no difficulties encountered in understanding the questionnaire items. The researcher inspected the pre-test questionnaires and did not find any words circled to indicate ambiguity.

The completion time for the pretest instrument for the four groups had a mean of 16 minutes with a mode

of 15 minutes. From this data it was felt that an "average" respondent could complete the entire questionnaire in 20 to 30 minutes.

Pretest Scale Analysis

To determine the internal consistency of the items in each scale a Pearson's product moment coefficient of correlation matrix was inspected for negatively correlated items. None of the items in any of the scales correlated zero or negatively with any other item in its respective scale.

TABLE 1.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived Number of Contacts. Scale 1, N=20 (Pretest)

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.447	.692
2		x	.602
3			x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 2.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Number of Contacts. Scale 2, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.688	.682
2		x	.801
3			x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 3.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Task-Related Information. Scale 3, N=2 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2
1	x	.854
2		x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 4.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Task-Related Information. Scale 4, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2
1	x	.793
2		x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 5.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Control of Message Flow. Scale 5, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2
1	x	.738
2		x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 6.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived Control of Message Flow. Scale 6, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2
1	x	.815
2		x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 7.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Influence over Personal Opinions. Scale 7, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2	3	4
1	x	.291	.603	.329
2		x	.377	.605
3			x	.506
4				x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 8.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Importance of Secondary Contacts. Scale 8, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.586	.593
2		x	.606
3			x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 9.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Self-Perceived, Influence in the Organization. Scale 9, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.601	.309
2		x	.514
3			x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 10.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Influence in the Organization. Scale 10, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.735	.472
2		x	.507
3			x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 11.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Self-Perceived, Openness of Communication System. Scale 11, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.511	.477
2		x	.415
3			x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 12.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Self-Perceived, Satisfaction with Communications System. Scale 12, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.628	.317
2		x	.335
3			x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

TABLE 13.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, First Source of Information. Scale 15, N=20 (Pretest).

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.761	.653
2		x	.574
3			x

^aRefers to scale items as presented in the section on operationalizing of variables.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Administrative Arrangement

One month was required to make arrangements for the administering of the questionnaire to the prison population of interest to the researcher. The first step was to contact the director of the clinic to explain the proposed research design, ask for permission to do the research and ask for any suggestions he had to improve the research design. The clinic director, who encourages research, gave tentative approval dependent upon approval from the director of research for the department and state director of corrections. The clinic director suggested that compensation be given the inmates who would be asked to participate, on a voluntary basis, for their time. This suggestion was most valuable to the researcher and the one that enhanced cooperation from the inmates. The director explained that since the drug companies' research in prisons and their policy of paying inmates for their participation, any participation on the part of inmates is expected to result in compensation for their time. Also,

departmental policy, which seeks to protect inmates from being exploited, encourages such compensation. There of course is the practical side of paying a man for his time, which also entered into the decision. Since money is not allowed in a maximum security prison and the researcher wanted to provide "payment" immediately to the volunteer subjects it was decided to "pay" the subjects in the prison monetary unit of exchange, cigarettes. To do so required the permission of the director of corrections.

The researcher then approached the director of research with the proposed research design. The director of research was interested in the following points; what were the qualifications of the researcher, why was he doing the research (theory behind the research), what type of instrument was going to be used, what would be done with the data, what was the procedure for gathering the data, what population was the researcher interested in, would the volunteers be compensated, what department staff would be required, and what department facilities would be needed by the researcher. The research director then presented the proposal to the state director with his recommendations. The State Director of Corrections then approved the research. The director of research then sent the proposal for the research to the warden of the prison where the psychiatric clinic is located, for

his approval. After he approved it, the director sent notification to the clinic director that the research had been approved.

The researcher then contacted the clinic director to make the final arrangements for the research in the clinic. The researcher followed the suggestions for prison research techniques presented in Maurice Farber's article on the topic.²⁵⁴ The researcher did not want to disrupt the established prison routine that is necessary in handling a large body of men. The researcher did not want to withdraw a large body of men at one time from their various work gangs or regular counts or meals. The researcher must also create a minimum of disturbance among the inmates themselves.

The director of the clinic and one staff psychologist decided that any night after 5:00 p.m. would create the minimum interference with prison routine. After this hour the job assignments have ended and all the men are counted and fed, and have free time until night lock-up which takes place at approximately 11:00 p.m. The staff psychologists volunteered to inform the men that the researcher would be coming and asking that they participate

²⁵⁴Maurice Farber, "Prison Research: Techniques and Methods," The Journal of Social Psychology, XIV (1941), 295-310.

voluntarily in a research project without telling them what the research would be like, before the researcher's arrival.

Administering the Instrument

It was decided to administer the research instrument to the inmates by the residential programs they were assigned to. That is, the men in the sex offender, drug offender, and youthful offender programs would be administered at separate times that same night. This was done to keep the subjects' numbers to approximately ten per test period so that the researcher could answer any questions the subject might have and to detect any illiterate inmates who might wish to "fake" the responses.

The first group of men tested were the sex offender residential program inmates. They were selected as the first test group solely because they were the first group to have all its members done with their meals and counted. They were asked to come to the nurses' lounge. The nurses' lounge is a room approximately 12 feet by 18 feet with a large table in the center of the room with chairs around it and a couch along one wall. At the time of the research, this program consisted of nine men all convicted of either rape, attempted rape, or indecent liberties with a female minor. All nine men came to the lounge. The staff psychologist then introduced the researcher as a graduate student in criminal justice who

was working on a research project as part of his training from Michigan State University. It was emphasized that this research was in no way connected with the department of corrections and would not effect a man's status in it.

The researcher then addressed the men, once more stating who he was, and that the research was part of his education and not research done for the corrections department. The researcher told the inmates that any information about a given inmate would be held in strict confidence, but that the generalized results would be presented to the corrections department. To insure the confidence of the inmates, an envelope was provided for the instrument to be placed in and sealed when they completed the instrument. These sealed instruments would not be opened while the researcher was inside the prison, and once opened would be read only by him and then destroyed. The researcher informed the subjects that he had obtained the permission of the Director of Corrections, the warden, and the director of the clinic to conduct the research and compensate them for their time with payment of two packs of cigarettes. Participation would be strictly voluntary. The last point was emphasized strongly. The researcher stated that the purpose of the research was to find out about the communication structure of the clinic. That is, who talks to who. This would require the inmates to name the men they talked

to. The researcher emphasized that names would be turned into numbers before any inmate or member of the corrections department ever saw the generalized results. The researcher then explained that the instrument would require them also to put their name on it and answer questions about themselves and five men who they talked to in the clinic. It was explained that these questions pertained to their communication behavior and nothing else. There was no hidden psychological test within the questionnaire.

The researcher then asked the inmates if they had any questions about the research. The researcher was challenged by one of the inmates. He was asked if the payment of cigarettes was insulting to the rest of the inmates. The researcher responded that the payment of money, in this case cigarettes, was a fact of life for compensating a man for his time whether on a job or in any other endeavor in the "real world." But, if the man would feel his integrity was challenged, the researcher would be glad to make arrangements for the man's payment to be donated to the fund for indigenous inmates. At this point the man quickly backed down among the laughter of his peers. The man did not appear insulted and joked with his peers about his integrity. A jovial atmosphere existed at the end of the confrontation.

At this point, the researcher stated that the instrument was designed to take approximately one-half hour to complete. The researcher then asked who would like to volunteer to take the instrument, reminding them that they would be required to name not only themselves but five other inmates on the instruments. These named men were to be inmates in the clinic and that they were to spell the first and last names as well as they could.

All nine men volunteered to take the instrument. The general comment was that a "con" would do anything for two packs of cigarettes.* The researcher stated that he would answer any questions the men might have while taking the instrument. The only question that was asked was if men in the general population could be included as persons contacted or if staff members could be named.

The researcher was surprised to find that the earliest the instrument was completed was 45 minutes, with the average time taken as one hour and five minutes with one inmate taking an hour and a half. The inmates seemed to be working very hard on each response, thinking them out. The researcher did not feel this time was due to reading or comprehension difficulties. This impression

*The cigarettes' brand name used was Pall Malls. This impressed the inmates, for Pall Malls are the accepted unit of exchange throughout the prison. They could not understand how the researcher knew this; he obtained the information by asking an older inmate when visiting the institution.

was obtained from talking to five of the nine inmates about various individual items. The inmates had a good knowledge of the content and meaning of the individual items. They stated that they had to think hard when answering the questions, for they were never asked them before. Also, the internal consistencies of the instrument seems to provide indirect evidence of the thoroughness of the inmates' efforts. These results will be presented later in the paper.

Upon completion of the sex offender population, the drug offender population consisting of nine men were assembled in the prison clinic library. It was decided to assemble these men in the library rather than the nurses' lounge so that the nurses could regain the use of their lounge. The library is a room of similar dimensions to the lounge with a large table in the center of the room.

The researcher was introduced to the assembled inmates in the same manner he was introduced to the sex offender population. The researcher knew some of the drug offender inmates from his contacts with them in the past and had about ten minutes of social conversation with them. He then presented his research to the group in the same manner as it was presented to the sex offender population. The researcher added that although the instrument was designed to take one-half hour, it took the sex offender's group one hour to complete. All nine men

initially agreed to take part in the research. Fifteen minutes into the research one inmate stated, "Fuck it, it's too God damn long," placed his cigarettes back into the packet along with the instrument and returned them and left. The other inmates resumed their task seemingly uneffected by their colleague's actions.

The first questionnaire was returned in forty minutes, the last in one hour and thirty-five minutes. The only question asked during the instrument-taking was whether or not the man had to name five inmates if he talked to less than that number. When told he did not have to list five, but only list the men he talked to, the man was satisfied and completed the instrument. It is interesting to note that all inmates listed five contacts in the drug offender group, except the man who asked the question, when listing less than five would have made the completion of the instrument much faster and easier.

Before the instrument could be administered to the youthful offender's population, the researcher had to wait one hour for that group's night yard time to be over. The nurses and psychologists offered to keep the men in from yard time for those who wished to take part in the experiment if the researcher did not wish to wait for the completion of the yard time. The researcher chose to wait for the expiration of yard to gain further cooperation from the inmates.

When the youthful offenders returned from the yard, the researcher went to the cell block that housed the youthful offender group. The head nurse introduced the researcher to the men who were assembled in the day room. The population numbered thirty-four in number. The researcher presented himself and his research in the same manner as he had to the other inmate groups. One inmate refused to take part in the research project.

The thirty-three men were taken to the clinic library in three groups to participate in the research project. The first ten men, picked by the head nurse, were administered the questionnaire. During the administering of the questionnaire, no one in the test group asked any questions about the research or the questionnaire. The span of time taken by this group ranged from fifty minutes to one and a half hours with a mean time of sixty-five minutes. When all members finished the items the head nurse escorted them back to their cell block and sent up the next group.

This group also consisted of ten men. They were given the same instructions as the other test groups. In this group was one man who was illiterate. Upon his request the researcher read the items to him. This was done so as not to embarrass him in front of his peers. The researcher allowed him to earn his payment of cigarettes. The researcher discarded the questionnaire as its

validity was in question. The man did not seem to understand the questionnaire items. The other nine inmates asked no questions during the testing period. The span of time taken by this group ranged from fifty-five minutes to ninety-five minutes with an average of seventy-five minutes. When everyone in the group had finished, the head nurse escorted them back to their cell block and allowed the remaining group of thirteen men to come to the clinic library for testing.

The researcher once more explained his research instrument to the test population in the same manner he had to the other test groups. When asked for questions a spokesman for the group said that the first group was discussing the research and were arguing about its purpose. At this point the researcher presented to them the general theory of group leadership without naming any specific traits. This general description satisfied the men that the instrument was not a hidden psychiatric examination. There was no further discussion or questioning. The general comments were, "O.K., we were just wondering about it." To assure them, the researcher stated that if they felt there was any other meaning to a given item they could ignore it and not respond to it. It is interesting to note that no man chose to take this option. The researcher feels that this one statement gained the confidence of the men and arrested any doubts

they had about the nature of the instrument. The researcher also had established his identity with two men in the group from previous exposure to the clinic, who supported the researcher.

The researcher detected two men who were illiterate in this group. They asked the researcher to assist them in responding to the instrument. The researcher assisted them and then discarded their questionnaires, for they did not seem to understand the questionnaire items. The range of time taken by this last group ranged from 75 minutes to 105 minutes with the average being 95 minutes.

The administering of the research instrument is reported in summary form in Table 14.

TABLE 14.--Administration of Research Instrument.

Number Subjects	Range of time to complete instrument (in minutes)	Mean time to complete instrument (in minutes)	Unusable questionnaires or refusals
9	45-90	65	
9	40-95	71	1 refusal
11	50-90	65	1 refusal
10	55-95	75	1 illiterate
13	75-105	95	2 illiterate

From a total study population of 52 individuals, 50 individuals or 96.1 per cent volunteered to participate in the research project resulting in 90.4 per cent of the population providing usable test scales, after rejection of the three scales completed by the illiterate inmates. Of the scales that were retained, all had completed both part one, personal data questionnaires, and part two, contact checklists and contact scales for all the named individuals. Of the two men who refused to take or finish the test instrument, both were determined to be isolates in the sociometric analysis. The three illiterate respondents' responses as to who they contacted were included in the sociometric analysis. The 50 test instruments that were retained for analysis of personal contact scales resulted in 229 reported contacts, with a 100 per cent response rate in completing the personal contact questionnaires.

Scale Analysis

Of the 229 completed Personal Contact questionnaires there were no items or responses to questions that were not responded to in the instruments. In the Personal Data questionnaires there was once more 100 per cent completion of all items. This made missing data evaluation unnecessary.

The raw data from the individual research instruments of the usable subjects were analyzed according to the score weights assigned to them as specified in Chapter III, page 125. This data was then entered into the 101 Olivetti Underwood Programma Calculator so that all inter-item correlations could be determined to detect any zero-order correlation coefficients or negatively correlated items. All of the obtained Pearson Product Moment Correlations were significantly different from zero at the 0.001 level, two-alternative tests, $N=229$ (critical value of $4=.228$) for Contact questionnaires and $N=47$ (critical value of $r=.270$) for Self Perception scales.

The obtained inter-item correlations for the self-perception scales and Personal Contact scales are as follows. (The designations of each item will be presented as scales were presented in Chapter III, pages 125-152. It should be noted that the items were randomly placed in the research instrument and were not numbered).*

*Research instrument as used presented in Appendix A.

TABLE 15.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived,
Number of Contacts. Scale 1, N=47.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.6799	.6885
2		x	.7079
3			x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 132-133.

TABLE 16.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived,
Task-Related Information. Scale 4, N=47.

Item Number ^a	1	2
1	x	.8061
2		x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 135-136.

TABLE 17.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived,
Control of Message Flow. Scale 6, N=47.

Item Number ^a	1	2
1	x	.6757
2		x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, page 137.

TABLE 18.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Influence in the Organization. Scale 9, N=47.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.6233	.5138
2		x	.5143
3			x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 141-142.

TABLE 19.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Openness of Communications System. Scale 11, N=47.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.6799	.7311
2		x	.6671
3			x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, page 143.

TABLE 20.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Self-Perceived, Satisfaction with Communications System. Scale 12, N=47.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.5604	.7952
2		x	.4721
3			x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 144-145.

TABLE 21.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Number of Communications Contacts. Scale 2, N=229.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.9062	.8466
2		x	.7906
3			x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 133-134.

TABLE 22.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Task-Related Information. Scale 3, N=229.

Item Number ^a	1	2
1	x	.7247
2		x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 134-135.

TABLE 23.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Control of Message Flow. Scale 5, N=229.

Item Number ^a	1	2
1	x	.6618
2		x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 136-137.

TABLE 24.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Influence Over Personal Opinions. Scale 7, N=229.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3	4
1	x	.6798	.5952	.5523
2		x	.6054	.6622
3			x	.7523
4				x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 138-139.

TABLE 25.--Inter-Item Correlation Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Importance of Secondary Contacts. Scale 8, N=229.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.7764	.8707
2		x	.7707
3			x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, page 140.

TABLE 26.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, Influence in the Organization. Scale 10, N=229.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.5601	.5423
2		x	.6201
3			x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 142-143.

TABLE 27.--Inter-Item Correlational Matrix for Personal Contact Perceived, First Source of Information. Scale 15, N=229.

Item Number ^a	1	2	3
1	x	.6324	.7111
2		x	.6133
3			x

^aAs presented in Chapter III, pages 147-148.

All inter-item correlations of the Self-Perception and Personal Contact Scales are adequately significant at the 0.001 level to warrant their retention in the analysis of the hypothesis.

Sociometric Analysis

The source of data for sociometric mapping of the communication structure of the inmate informal organization was the Personal Contact Checklist of the research instrument. A total of 229 contacts were listed by the 50 research instruments that included the personal contact checklist, 47 usable instruments plus the three illiterates. Of these 229 contacts listed, 100 per cent reported the frequency of contact as several times daily. This finding is not surprising considering the confines of a maximum security prison.

Completion of the sociometric analysis to identify the necessary topological properties of the communication

structure required determining reciprocation of contact from the contacts reported in the checklist. Since this topological analysis was accomplished in matrix form, the most efficient method of determining reciprocation was to begin with construction of the 52 by 52 matrix. It was decided to include the two refusals to determine the number of individuals who named them as contacts, and to find their relative position in the inmate organization. The first step of the matrix analysis consisted of first making a preliminary matrix where the respondents were originally listed sequentially in alphabetical order according to the residential treatment program, drug, sexual offender, or youthful offender, they belonged to on each axes of the matrix. Groupings of individuals in the final matrix was accomplished by inspecting the locations of tentatively identified reciprocated choices, rows and columns agree they contact each other, in the preliminary matrix and relisting individuals out of alphabetical order and residential grouping within the second matrix in order to bring each into adjacency with a majority of the other individuals with whom he had contact. The purpose of the reordering was to create clusters of reciprocated contacts around the diagonal as required for matrix analysis.

The final matrix was plotted on 11 inch square section of 1/8 inch square graph paper. Respondents'

identification numbers were listed down the left-hand edge of the sheet (for rows) and across the top of the sheet (for columns) in identical sequence beginning in the upper left-hand corner, bringing into adjacency those individuals who named each other as contacts.

The data contained in the Personal Contact Checklists was then transferred to the matrix by placing a mark in the matrix intersect cell of the respondent and his reported contact. This first transfer was made using the identification numbers along the side of the matrix (rows) for the respondent (the person making choices), and the identification numbers along the top of the matrix (columns) for the contacts listed (the persons chosen). At the completion of this step the matrix entries consisted of 229 cells, representing the total contacts listed in the Personal Contact Checklists.

Next, to make entries in the matrix symmetric and to determine reciprocation in such a way as to have a record of a reciprocated dyad, the axes of the matrix were rotated counterclockwise one-quarter turn and the data from the checklists again transferred to the matrix. Now, however, the identification numbers for the contacts listed (persons chosen) were along the bottom of the matrix; i.e. rows in step 1 became columns in step 2.

At the completion of these two steps, those cells of the matrix which contained two entries represented

reciprocated contacts. At this point there were a total of 124 cells with double entries indicating 124 reciprocated one-way communication linkages, or 62 two-way pairs of individuals.

A reproduction of the final working matrix is presented in Figure 3. The shaded cells represent reciprocated contacts, the x cells are unreciprocated contacts. The dashed lines represent the six segments used in analyzing the clique groups.

Using only the reciprocated contacts in the final matrix, the topological analysis was accomplished following the procedures specified by Weiss as presented in Chapter III, pages 102-106.²⁵⁵

The first step was to partition the larger matrix into smaller segments by inspection. The segments were selected so members within the segment had a minimum of contacts outside the segment. By this procedure the large matrix was divided into six smaller square matrices. Segment A contained ten individuals, Segment B contained seven, Segment C had five individuals, Segment D contained seven people within it, Segment E contained eleven individuals within and Segment F contained nine (Figure 3). The segments were copied on separate sheets of graph paper and each analyzed individually in order to isolate separate clique groups.

²⁵⁵Weiss, op. cit., pp. 88-108.

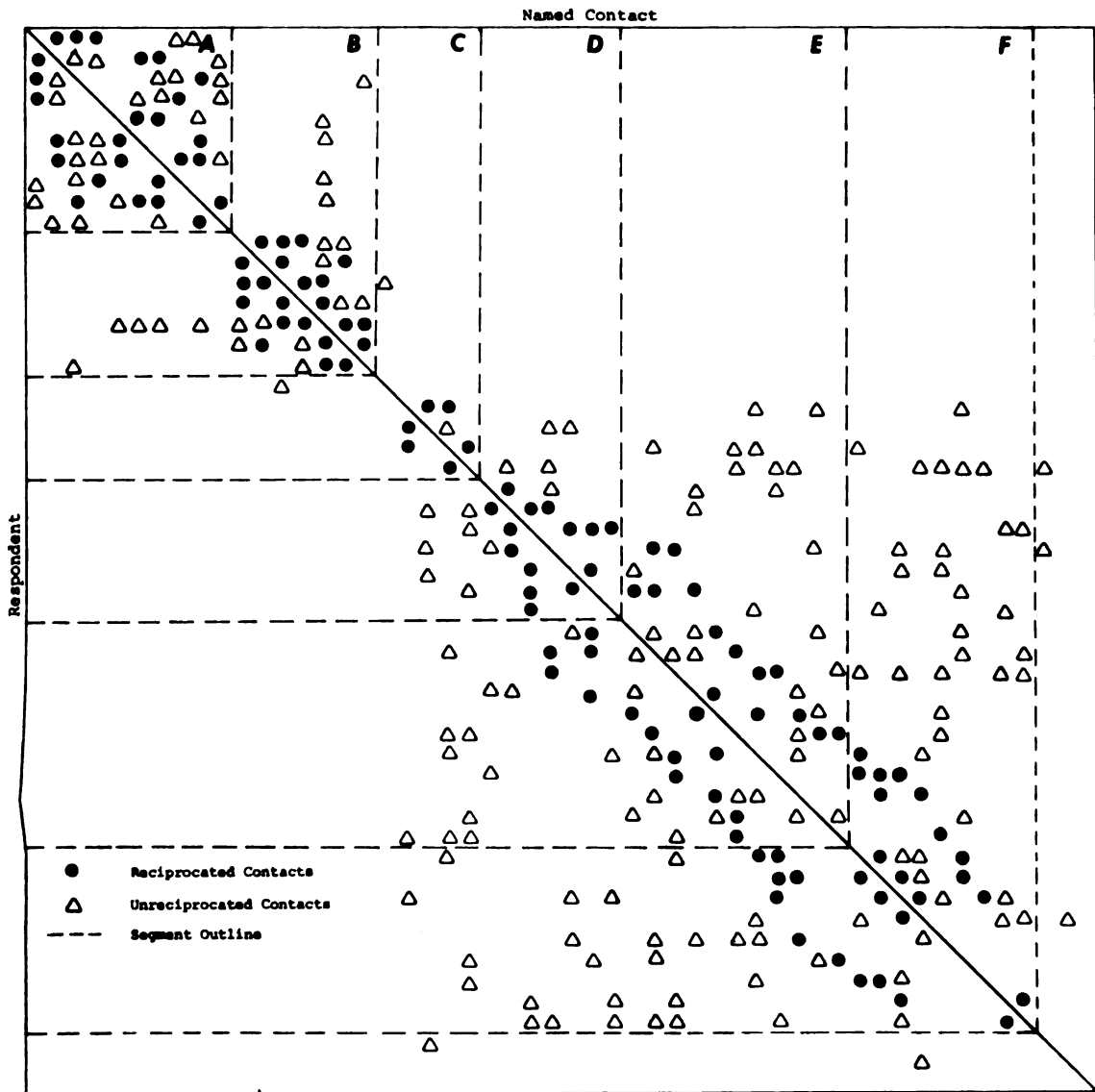


Figure 3.--Matrix of Reported Communications Contacts.

The basic procedure of the segment analysis is to remove tentatively identified liaison persons from the segments until separate clique groups can be identified by inspection. The only permissible contacts outside a group cluster (i.e., with individuals in other clusters) are single contacts between two individuals in two separate groups. These are bridge contacts in graph theory terminology.

The result of this procedure was a list of the membership of twenty separate clique groups and a list of fifteen tentative liaison persons (those who had been removed from the segments or who were originally listed as tentative liaisons because they had two or more contacts outside of their segment, not counting contacts with individuals already tentatively identified as liaisons). The problem was then to construct a sociogram of the total population and attempt to replace the tentatively identified liaisons to determine if they met the criteria of the liaison role definition. Based on the information presented by Weiss as reported and used by Schwartz, and the conceptual meaning of an articulation point in graph theory, the following criteria were utilized for the final identification of liaison persons.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶Schwartz, op. cit., pp. 99-101.

1. To be considered a member of a separate group, a liaison must have a majority of his contacts within the group, not counting contacts he has with other liaison persons. These are liaison group members.
2. Not counting contacts he has with already identified liaison persons, a liaison who has membership in a separate group must have a minimum of one contact outside his group.
3. A liaison individual is one who does not have membership in a separate group, but has contacts with persons in a minimum of two separate groups. These contacts may be with other liaisons only if these liaisons have membership within their respective groups (in this case, the liaison set may be treated as a separate group).
4. There will probably be a group of liaisons who cannot be characterized as having membership in any separate group, but who have all or nearly all their contacts with other liaisons, at least two of whom must be members of two separate groups. These are members of the liaison set.
5. A non-liaison group member may have no more than one contact outside his own group (except with

liaisons) and must have a majority of his contacts within the group.

The final sociogram of the communication structure of the clinic should be such that if all the liaisons are removed from the sociogram, the work groups will separate into individual clusters except for bridge contacts between groups. The final test of a liaison person's identification should be as follows: ignoring bridge contacts between groups to which a liaison is connected and ignoring other liaison contacts among these groups and treating the liaison set as a separate group, if the liaison is removed from the sociogram the groups in question should separate. If the liaison has membership in a separate group, when he and only he is removed his group should separate from the other groups to which he is connected leaving no connections among the groups in question (exceptions noted above). If either one of two connected persons could be removed to separate any two groups, then this is an improper solution, this is a bridge contact.

The sociogram of the communications structure of the study population is reproduced in Figure 4. The end result of the topological analysis was the identification of eleven liaison persons (21.15 per cent of the study population) and forty-one persons as non-liaison persons (78.85 per cent). Of these forty-one non-liaisons, two

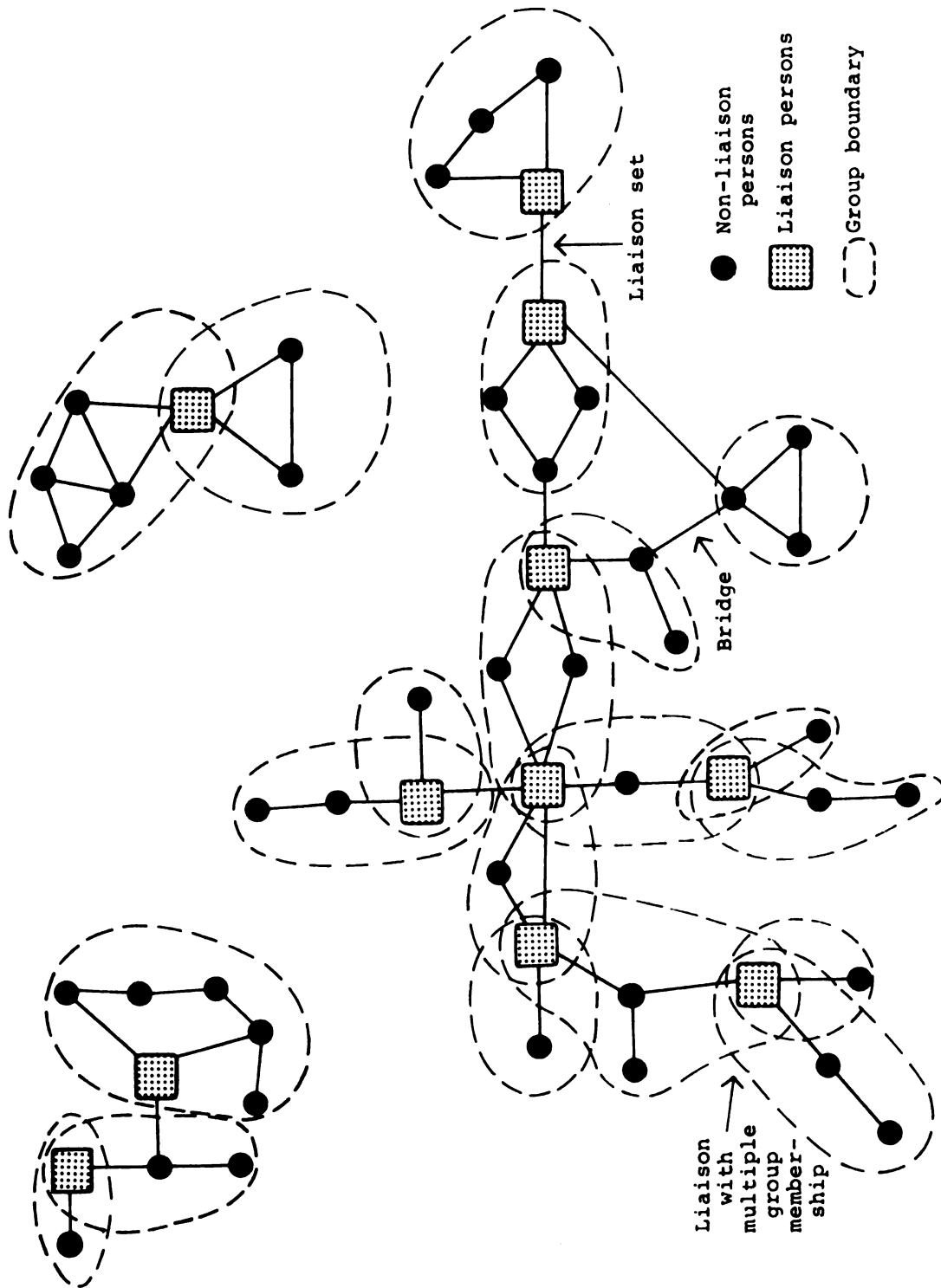


Figure 4.--Sociogram of the Communication Structure of the Inmate Informal Organization Lines Connecting Individuals Represent Reciprocated Contacts.

were refusals and three were illiterates giving a usable N of thirty-six non-liaison persons, all of whom were members of clique groups. Of the eleven identified liaison individuals, all were members of clique groups, with eight liaisons having multiple group membership and four liaisons making up two liaison sets.

The range in group size (including liaison group members in their respective groups) was from two to six members.

Group size	2	3	4	5	6	
Number of groups	5	9	4	1	1	N=20

Characteristics of the Respondents

Sociometric data on communication Personal Contact and Self-Perception items as well as demographic information obtained from the general information page of the research instrument can be utilized to characterize the liaisons and non-liaison members of the inmate informal organization. This data is presented as descriptive parameters of the study population, whose value is in describing certain characteristics of the population and for later use as comparative statistics for other empirical case studies conducted in similar, or dissimilar organizations.

Sociometric Description of the Study Population

The number of reciprocated contacts of liaisons and non-liaisons is charted in Figure 5. Isolates are not included in Figure 5, but do appear in other sociometric and demographic tables, because the operational definition of an isolate is the absence of reciprocated contacts. The study found three such individuals.

The test of the span of reciprocated contacts differed significantly for the liaison and non-liaison samples a "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample was used. The findings are as follows:

	Span of Reciprocated Contacts		
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Score	3.2727	2.5000	2.0490
Sample Standard Deviation	1.0523	1.0469	
Obtained Range of Scores	2-5	2-5	

The obtained difference between sample means is significant beyond the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=43, critical value of "T"=2.01 using Table III of Fisher and Yates Text, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research).²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Sidney Armore, Introduction to Statistical Analysis and Inferences for Psychology and Education (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 501.

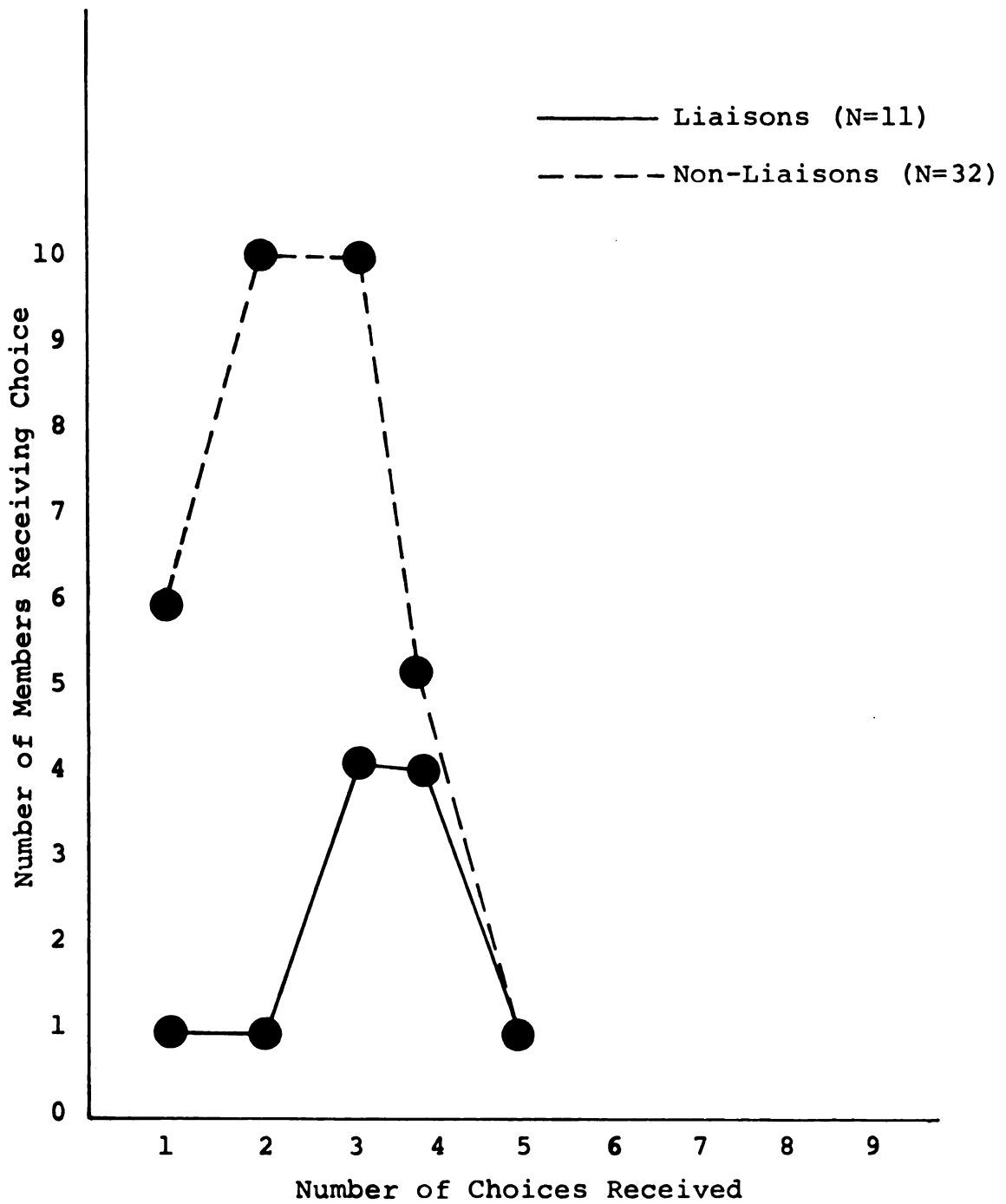


Figure 5.--Frequency Polygon for the Reciprocated Choices Received by Liaisons and Non-Liaisons.

Demographic Characteristics of
the Study Population

In the review of the literature in Chapter I it was suggested that one function of "prisonization" is taking on the culture of the prison to make the "pains of imprisonment" less severe. It was also suggested that inmates take on various roles that are reflections of the degree they adapt to the prison culture, these roles being in Clarence Schrag's terminology, politicians, square Johns, right guys, dings, and outlaws. Since "pains of imprisonment" and length of sentence are thought to be related by most writers in the field whether linearly or curvilinearly, it was decided to compare the liaisons and non-liaisons who agree they are in reciprocated contact with each other to see if they differed on various aspects of sentence length and the role played in the inmate culture using the roles of Clarence Schrag and the instrument that was used to test for these various roles.

Aspects of Sentence and Parole

A summary of the reported crimes for which the liaison and non-liaisons who are in reciprocated contact are currently under sentence for is presented in Table 28.

In both the liaison and non-liaison samples, crimes of violence make up approximately half of the crime categories, 54.54 per cent for liaison individuals and 49.5 per cent of the non-liaison individuals, compared

TABLE 28.--Self-Reported Crimes Currently Serving Sentence for by Study Population Type.

Crime	Liaisons	Liaisons %	Non-Liaisons	Non-Liaisons %
Armed robbery	2	18.18	7	29.16
Armed robbery and kidnapping			1	4.08
Assault with intent to rape	4	36.36		
Attempted breaking and entering			1	4.08
Attempted forgery	1	9.09		
Attempted larceny	1	9.09		
Attempted rape			2	8.1
Breaking and entering	1	9.09	4	16.67
Car theft			2	8.1
Felonious assault			1	4.08
Indecent liberties with minor			2	8.1
Immigration violation			1	4.08
Entering without breaking			1	4.08
Manslaughter			1	4.08
Parole violation	1	9.09		
Possession of narcotics			1	4.08
Sodomy	1	9.09		
	N=11		N=24	

with 24.32 per cent of the general prison population in Michigan penal institutions.²⁵⁸ The largest single category of liaison offenders is assault with intent to rape accounting for 36.36 per cent of the liaison group with armed robbery accounting for 29.16 per cent of the non-liaison sample making it the largest single offense category for non-liaison individuals.

Closely related to crime presently serving sentence for is the length of sentence placed upon the individual and the number of times he has seen the parole board. Tables 29 and 30 summarize this information taken from the general information sheet of the research instrument.

Since in Michigan a man is usually given a maximum and minimum sentence to serve, it is impossible by studying the sentence alone to determine how long a man may be expected to serve in prison. What can be done is to find out if there are any general differences between the liaison and non-liaisons in the study population on the three aspects of an indeterminate sentence. These are length of maximum, minimum sentence and the span between the maximum and minimum sentence.

To test if the minimum sentence to be served differed significantly for the liaison and non-liaison

²⁵⁸Criminal Statistics, State of Michigan, Department of Corrections, 1971 (Lansing, Mich.: Department of Corrections, 1971).

TABLE 29.--Self-Reported Length of Sentence and Have Seen Parole Board, Liaison Individuals.

Sentence in Years		Span of Sentence	Seen Parole Board	
Minimum	Maximum	Maximum - Minimum	Yes	No
1.5	5.0	3.5		x
1.5	5.0	3.5		x
1.92	2.0	.083	x	
2.0	4.0	2.0	x	
3.0	10.0	7.0		x
3.5	5.0	1.5		x
5.0	15.0	10.0		x
5.0	15.0	10.0		x
7.5	15.0	7.5	x	
10.0	20.0	10.0		x
10.0	20.0	10.0	x	
\bar{X} = 4.6290	\bar{X} =10.5454	\bar{X} = 5.9166		

TABLE 30.--Self-Reported Length of Sentence and Have Seen the Parole Board, Non-Liaison Individuals.

Sentence in Years		Span of Sentence	Seen Parole Board	
Minimum	Maximum	Maximum - Minimum	Yes	No
1.0	2.0	1.0	x	
1.5	5.0	3.5	x	
1.5	5.0	3.5	x	
2.0	4.0	2.0	x	
2.0	5.0	3.0	x	
2.5	5.0	2.5		x
2.5	10.0	7.5		x
2.5	15.0	12.5		x
3.0	4.0	1.0	x	
3.0	10.0	7.0		x
3.0	15.0	12.0	x	
3.0	30.0	27.0		x
3.5	15.0	11.5		x
4.0	5.0	1.0	x	
4.0	10.0	6.0	x	
4.5	10.0	5.5	x	
5.0	10.0	5.0		x
5.0	10.0	5.0		x
5.0	15.0	10.0		x
6.5	10.0	3.5		x
7.5	10.0	2.5	x	
7.5	15.0	7.5		x
7.5	15.0	7.5	x	
10.0	20.0	10.0		x
15.0	20.0	5.0		x
$\bar{X}= 4.5$	$\bar{X}=11.0$	$\bar{X}= 6.5$		

samples who reported reciprocated contacts a "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample was used. The findings are as follows:

	Minimum Length of Sentence		"T" Value
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	
Mean Score	4.6290 yrs.	4.5000 yrs.	.115766
Sample Standard Deviation	3.0744 yrs.	3.0822 yrs.	
Obtained Range of Scores	1.5-10 yrs.	1-15 yrs.	

The obtained difference between sample means for minimum sentence is not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests d.f.=34, critical value of "T"= 2.042).

Testing of the maximum sentence to be served by the two samples in the population using a "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample to determine if they differ significantly obtained the following results:

	Maximum Length of Sentence		"T" Value
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	
Mean Score	10.5454 yrs.	11.000 yrs.	-.199206
Sample Standard Deviation	6.3727 yrs.	6.2801 yrs.	
Obtained Range of Scores	20-2 yrs.	30-2 yrs.	

The obtained difference between sample means was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=34, critical value of "T"=2.042).

As well as the maximum and minimum sentences to be served by the two groups the span between these two extremes was also tested for any statistical significance using the "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample. The obtained results are as follows:

	Difference Maximum-Minimum Sentence		
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Score	5.9166 yrs.	6.5000 yrs.	-.324889
Sample Standard Deviation	3.7042 yrs.	5.4018 yrs.	
Obtained Range of Scores	.083-10.0 yrs.	1-27 yrs.	

The obtained differences between the liaison sample and the non-liaison sample was once more not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=34, critical value of "T"=2.042).

Since no aspect of the indeterminate sentence was significant, perhaps there would be a difference in the two samples in whether or not they had ever gone before the parole board. The number of parole "flops" may serve to distinguish the two samples in question. To test for significance between the two samples a value of one was

given to each respondent who had gone before the parole board and a value of 0 was assigned to those who had not. Then a "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample was used to test for any significant difference between the two samples. The results are as follows:

	Seen Parole Board		"T" Value
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	
Mean Score	.3636	.52	-.874695
Sample Standard Deviation	.4810	.4995	

The obtained differences between the liaison sample and the non-liaison sample was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=34, critical value of "T" $=2.042$).

Since the fact that the two samples did not differ significantly on whether or not they had ever seen the parole board and suffered the mental anguish that accompanies a "flop," perhaps the two groups would differ in traits associated with the length of time left to be served before one becomes eligible to see the parole board and secure possible release from imprisonment. This data is summarized in Table 31.

The "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample was used to test for any

TABLE 31.--Time Left in Sentence in Months Before Sample Groups are Eligible to Come Before Parole Board.

Liaison Individuals	Non-Liaison Individuals
2.0	0.00
6.0	1.0
6.0	1.0
7.0	1.0
10.0	2.0
12.0	2.0
13.0	4.0
14.0	6.0
25.0	8.0
60.0	8.0
74.0	10.0
	12.0
$\bar{X} = 20.8181$	12.0
	12.0
	16.0
	18.0
	21.0
	22.0
	24.0
	24.0
	30.0
	31.0
	108.0
	$\bar{X} = 16.2173$

significant difference between the two samples on time remaining before the groups appear before the parole board. The results are as follows:

	Time Remaining Before See see Parole Board		
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Score	20.8181 mos.	16.2173 mos.	1.56892
Sample Standard Deviation	22.6988 mos.	21.7254 mos.	
Obtained Range of Scores	2-74 mos.	0-108 mos.	

The obtained difference between the liaison sample and the non-liaison sample was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=32, critical value of "T"=2.046).

Prison Roles

As reported in Chapter III it was decided to use the same instrument to test for the various traditional roles that have been used in the major research on prison informal organization by Wheeler, Schrag, and Garabedian. The five traditional roles are politicians, square Johns, outlaws, right guys, and dings. Briefly reviewing the descriptions of the five roles; the square John would be the inmate who holds norms and values of conventional society, the outlaw rejects both the inmate community norms and conventional society's norms, right guys are

"true cons," individuals who are fully "prisonized," dings are the mental defectives or female homosexuals, and the politicians are the men who manipulate the system for self gain. The politician role fits closely with the traits hypothesized to accompany the liaison role and the right guy role closely resembles the traits of the non-liaison persons' hypothesized traits. Using the scale weights and scoring procedures presented in Chapter III, pages 149-152, a "T" test independent sample means with unequal members in each sample was used to test for any significant difference between the two samples in the five traditional roles.

The results by scale score weight are presented in summary form in Tables 32a, b, c, d, and e. Positive numbers denote acceptance of role and negative numbers denote rejection of role and 0 numbers denote neutrality of role.

The results of the "T" test for the five roles are as follows:

	Politician Role		
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Score	2.8181	3.4000	-.850549
Sample Standard Deviation	2.1666	1.7663	
Obtained Range of Scores	+5.0- -1	+6-0	

TABLE 32a.--Politician Role Scale Score of Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals. Range possible, +6- -6.

Liaison Individuals	Non-Liaison Individuals
0	0
+1	0
+1	0
+2	+1
+4	+1
+4	+2
+5	+2
+5	+3
+5	+3
+5	+4
-1	+4
	+4
$\bar{X} = 2.8181$	+4
	+4
	+4
	+4
	+4
	+4
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+6
	$\bar{X} = 3.4000$

TABLE 32b.--Square John Role Scale Score of Liaison and
Non-Liaison Individuals. Range possible,
+6- -6.

Liaison Individuals	Non-Liaison Individuals
0	0
+1	0
+1	0
+2	+1
-1	+1
-1	+1
-1	+1
-1	+1
-1	+1
-2	+2
-3	+2
<u>X̄ = -.5454</u>	+3
	+3
	+3
	-1
	-1
	-1
	-1
	-2
	-2
	-2
	-2
	-3
	-3
	-3
	-5
	<u>X̄ = - .2000</u>

TABLE 32c.--Outlaw Role Scale Score of Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals. Range possible, +6- -6.

Liaison Individuals	Non-Liaison Individuals
0	+1
0	+1
+2	+1
+2	+1
+3	+2
+5	+2
-1	+2
-1	+3
-1	+3
-3	+4
-3	+5
	+6
$\bar{X} = .2727$	-1
	-1
	-1
	-1
	-1
	-1
	-1
	-1
	-2
	-2
	-2
	-2
	-2
	-2
	-3
	$\bar{X} = .4400$

TABLE 32d.--Right Guy Role Scale Score of Liaison and
Non-Liaison Individuals. Range possible
+6- -6.

Liaison Individuals	Non-Liaison Individuals
0	0
+1	0
+1	0
+1	0
+3	+1
+3	+1
+3	+1
+4	+2
+4	+2
+6	+3
-1	+3
	+3
	+3
	+4
	+4
	+4
	+4
	+4
	+4
	+5
	+5
	+5
	+6
	+6
	-1
	-1
$\bar{X} = 2.2727$	$\bar{X} = 2.5600$

Square John Role

	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Score	-.5454	-.2000	-.50289
Sample Standard Deviation	1.3726	2.0784	
Obtained Range of Scores	+2- -3	+3- -5	

Outlaw Role

	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Score	.2727	.4400	-.194081
Sample Standard Deviation	2.3775	2.3846	
Obtained Range of Scores	+5- -3	+6- -3	

Right Guy Role

	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Score	2.2727	2.5600	-.382529
Sample Standard Deviation	1.9581	2.1181	
Obtained Range of Scores	+6- -1	+6- -1	

Ding Role

	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Score	-1.1818	-2.0000	-1.01956
Sample Standard Deviation	2.4052	2.1354	
Obtained Range of Scores	+3- 05	+2- -6	

None of the five roles reached significance at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=34, critical value of $T=2.042$).

Data Sources for Hypotheses Tests

The data from the Communications Research Questionnaire, Self-Perceptions and Personal Contact questionnaires were both used as sources on self-perception and other perception of liaison and non-liaison respondents.

A Personal Contact Questionnaire was used only where it represented a report on a reciprocated contact, i.e., the two people agreed that they communicated with each other. The Personal Contact Questionnaires completed by the eleven liaison individuals and the twenty-six non-liaison individuals in reciprocated contact with one or more of the eleven liaisons, became one source of data, and the Self-Perception scale of the two groups became the other source of the data.

Tests of Hypotheses

Findings dealing with the tests of hypotheses are presented under each major variable category. In each case the method of evaluating the hypothesis was to compute the "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample.

I. Variable One--Number of Communication Contacts

Two hypotheses were postulated regarding self-perceptions by the respondent of his number of communication contacts and how his reciprocated non-liaison contact perceives the number of contacts he has with non-liaison persons he is in contact with.

Hypothesis 1

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have a greater number of communications contacts than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

The data source for this hypothesis was obtained from the three-item scale (see pages 132-133), with a potential average summed range from one to five, on the Self-Perception Questionnaires completed by the eleven liaison role individuals and the twenty-six non-liaison individuals, who were in reciprocated contact with a liaison individual. A summary of the average summed range for the individuals in the two samples is presented in Table 33. The higher the summed value the greater the number of perceived communications contacts the person perceives himself to have.

The results of the "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample are as follows:

TABLE 33.--Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perception for Hypothesis 1. Range 1-5.

Liaisons' Self-Perceptions	Non-Liaisons' Self-Perceptions
2.0	1.66
2.0	2.0
2.33	2.0
2.66	2.33
3.0	2.66
3.33	2.66
3.66	2.66
4.0	3.0
4.0	3.0
4.33	3.0
4.66	3.0
<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	3.0
$\bar{X} = 3.2700$	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.66
	3.66
	3.66
	4.0
	4.66
	4.66
	5.0
	5.0
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>
	$\bar{X} = 3.2789$

	<u>Hypothesis 1</u>		<u>"T" Value</u>
	<u>Liaison Sample</u>	<u>Non-Liaison Sample</u>	
Mean Scale Score	3.2700	3.2789	-.028529
Sample Standard Deviation	.8959	.8556	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.0-4.66	1.66-5.0	

The obtained difference between the sample means is not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=35, critical value of "T" $=2.040$), the hypothesis is not supported.

Hypothesis 2

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have a greater number of communication contacts than non-liaison persons have.

The data source used to test this hypothesis was gathered from the three-item scale (see pages 133-134), with a potential summed average range of 1 to 5, on the Personal Contact Questionnaire completed by the twenty-six non-liaisons about their perceptions of the eleven liaisons and thirty non-liaison contacts who they have reciprocated contacts. A summary of the average summed range is presented in Table 34. The larger the mean value on the scale, the greater the number of communication contacts the respondent perceives his contact to possess.

TABLE 34.--Summary of the Average Summed Values From Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads, and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads to Test Hypothesis 2. Possible range 1-5.

Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Liaisons	Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Non-Liaisons
2.0	2.33
2.0	2.33
2.0	2.33
2.0	2.50
2.0	2.66
2.0	2.66
2.33	2.66
2.33	2.66
2.66	3.0
2.66	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.66
3.33	3.66
3.33	3.66
3.33	4.0
3.33	4.0
3.33	4.0
3.33	4.0
3.33	4.0
3.33	4.33
3.33	4.33
3.66	4.33
3.66	5.0
3.66	5.0
3.66	
3.66	$\bar{X} = 3.4030$
4.33	
4.33	
5.0	
$\bar{X} = 3.0814$	

The results of the "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers to test for significant differences between the two sample means are as follows:

Hypothesis 2			
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	3.0814	3.4030	-1.766741
Sample Standard Deviation	.7106	.7555	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.0-5.0	2.33-5.0	

The obtained differences between the sample means is not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=63, critical value of "T"=1.999), the hypothesis is not supported.

II. Variable Two--Task-Related Information

Two hypotheses were postulated regarding self-perceptions by the respondent of his possession of task-related information and how his reciprocated non-liaison contact perceives his knowledge of task-related information.

Hypothesis 3

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more task-related information (information on treatment goals and objectives, workings of the clinic, job duties, etc.) than non-liaisons have.

The data source used to test this hypothesis was gathered from the two-item scale (see pages 134-135), with a potential average summed range of one to five, on the Personal Contact Questionnaires completed by the twenty-six non-liaisons about their thirty-five reciprocated contacts with the eleven liaison persons and their twenty-nine Personal Contact Questionnaires about the perceptions of the non-liaison individuals in the sample. A summary of the average summed value for the perceptions of the two samples by the twenty-six non-liaison individuals is presented in Table 35. The larger the mean value on the scale, the more task-related information the respondent perceives his contact to possess.

The results of the "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers to test for significance in the differences in the two sample's means are as follows:

Hypothesis 3			
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	3.4285	3.4710	-.223899
Sample Standard Deviation	.7666	.7427	
Obtained Range of Scores	2-5	2-5	

The obtained differences between the sample means is not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative

TABLE 35.--Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads, to Test Hypothesis 3. Possible range 1-5.

Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Liaisons	Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Non-Liaisons
2.0	2.0
2.5	2.0
2.5	2.5
2.5	2.5
3.0	2.5
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.66
3.0	4.0
3.5	4.0
3.5	4.0
3.5	4.0
3.5	4.0
4.0	4.0
4.0	4.0
4.0	4.5
4.0	4.5
4.0	4.5
4.0	5.0
4.5	
5.0	$\bar{X} = 3.4710$
5.0	
5.0	
5.0	
$\bar{X} = 3.4285$	

tests, d.f.=63, critical value of "T"=1.999), the hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 4

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more task-related information (information on treatment goals and objectives, workings of the clinic, job duties, etc.) than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

The data to test this hypothesis was obtained from the two-item scale (see pages 135-136) with a potential summed average of one to five on the Self-Perception Questionnaires. These questionnaires were completed by the eleven liaison individuals and the twenty-six non-liaison individuals who reported a reciprocated contact with a liaison individual, about themselves. A summary of the average summed range for the individuals in the two samples is presented in Table 36. The higher the summed value the greater the self-perceived possession of production-related information.

The results of the "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers to test for significance in the differences between the sample means are as follows:

Hypothesis 4			
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	4.0454	3.4742	1.619359
Sample Standard Deviation	.8906	1.0144	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.0-5.0	1.0-5.0	

TABLE 36.--Summary of the Average Summed Values from Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions, for Hypothesis 4. Range 1-5.

Liaisons' Self-Perceptions	Non-Liaisons' Self-Perceptions
2.0	1.0
3.0	1.5
3.5	2.0
4.0	2.0
4.0	3.0
4.0	3.0
4.5	3.0
4.5	3.0
5.0	3.0
5.0	3.33
5.0	3.5
$\bar{X} = 4.454$	3.5
	3.5
	3.5
	3.5
	3.5
	3.5
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.5
	4.5
	4.5
	5.0
	5.0
	5.0
	$\bar{X} = 3.4742$

The obtained difference between the sample means is not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=35, critical value of "T"=2.040), the hypothesis is not supported.

III. Variable Three--Control over Message Flow

Two hypotheses were postulated regarding self-perceptions of the respondent on his control over message flow and how his non-liaison contact perceives this control.

Hypothesis 5

Non-liaison persons perceive liaison persons to have more control over message flow than non-liaison persons have.

The data to test this hypothesis was gathered from the two-item scale (see pages 136-137), with a possible range in value from one to five, found on the Personal Contact scales of the non-liaison individuals who had reciprocated contacts with a liaison individual. The source of data for the two samples comes from the thirty-five Personal Contact Questionnaires completed by the twenty-six non-liaison persons about their perceptions of the eleven liaison individuals and the twenty-nine Personal Contact Questionnaires the same twenty-six non-liaisons, who reported reciprocated contacts with liaisons, completed about non-liaisons they were in contact with. A summary of the average summed value for

the perceptions of the two samples by the twenty-six non-liaison individuals is presented in Table 37. The larger the mean value on the scale, the more control over message flow the sample is perceived to have.

The results of the "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers to test for significance in the differences in the sample means are presented as follows:

Hypothesis 5			
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	3.4142	3.3965	.081483
Sample Standard Deviation	.7698	.9682	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.0-4.5	1.5-5.0	

The significant differences between the sample means is not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=63, critical value of "T"=1.999), the hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 6

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more control over message flow than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

Data to test this hypothesis comes from the Self-Perception questionnaire of the eleven liaison persons and the twenty-six non-liaisons who reported reciprocated

TABLE 37.--Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads, to Test Hypothesis 5. Possible range 1-5.

Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Liaisons	Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Non-Liaisons
2.0	1.5
2.0	1.5
2.0	1.5
2.0	2.0
2.0	2.0
2.5	2.5
3.0	2.5
3.0	2.5
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.5
3.0	3.5
3.5	3.5
3.5	3.5
3.5	3.5
3.5	3.5
3.5	3.5
3.5	4.0
3.5	4.0
3.5	4.0
3.5	4.0
3.5	4.0
4.0	4.0
4.0	4.0
4.0	4.0
4.0	4.0
4.0	4.0
4.0	4.5
4.0	4.5
4.0	5.0
4.0	5.0
4.5	
4.5	$\bar{X} = 3.3965$
4.5	
4.5	
4.5	
$\bar{X} = 3.4142$	

contacts with one or more of the eleven liaison persons. The scale that tests this hypothesis is made up of two items (see page 137) providing a possible mean score of one to five. The average scale scores for each person is summarized in Table 38. The higher the value, the more control over message flow the person perceives himself to have.

The results of the "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers to test for significance of the differences between the mean values of the two samples are as follows:

	Hypothesis 6		
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	3.2272	3.4807	-.950791
Sample Standard Deviation	.8356	.7000	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.0-5.0	2.0-5.0	

The obtained differences between the sample means is not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=35, critical value of "T"=2.040), the hypothesis was not supported.

IV. Variable Four--Influence in the Organization

Four hypotheses are postulated regarding liaisons and non-liaisons who are in reciprocated contact with

TABLE 38.--Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions for Hypothesis 6. Range 1-5.

Liaisons' Self-Perceptions	Non-Liaisons' Self-Perceptions
2.0	2.0
2.0	2.5
2.5	2.5
3.0	2.5
3.0	3.0
3.5	3.0
3.5	3.0
3.5	3.0
3.5	3.0
4.0	3.0
5.0	3.5
$\bar{X} = 3.2272$	3.5
	3.5
	3.5
	3.5
	3.5
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.5
	4.5
	5.0
	$\bar{X} = 3.4807$

them, self-perceptions of their general influence in the organization, and the non-liaisons perceived influence of liaisons and non-liaisons they are in contact with. As well as general leadership, specific opinion leadership as perceived by non-liaisons and the importance of their secondary contacts was also tested.

Hypothesis 7

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more influence over personal opinions for their dyadic contacts than non-liaison persons have.

Data to test this hypothesis came from the twenty-six non-liaison persons who are in reciprocated contact with the liaison persons. The twenty-six non-liaisons completed a total of thirty-five Personal Contact Questionnaires on their perceptions of the liaison persons and thirty Personal Contact Questionnaires on their perceptions of non-liaison persons. The scale in the Personal Contact Questionnaire that was used to test this hypothesis was made up of five items (see pages 138-139). The scores on these five items were averaged to give each individual a possible score of one to five. The larger the score, the more influence over personal opinions the person was perceived to have. Table 39 summarizes the findings of this scale.

TABLE 39.--Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaisons-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads to Test Hypothesis 7. Possible range 1-5.

Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Liaisons	Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Non-Liaisons
2.25	1.25
2.25	2.0
2.25	2.25
2.50	2.25
2.75	2.25
2.75	2.50
3.0	2.50
3.0	2.75
3.0	2.75
3.0	2.75
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.25	3.0
3.25	3.0
3.25	3.0
3.25	3.0
3.25	3.0
3.25	3.0
3.25	3.25
3.25	3.25
3.50	3.25
3.75	3.5
3.75	3.5
3.75	3.5
3.75	3.75
3.75	4.25
4.0	4.33
4.0	4.5
4.0	
4.0	$\bar{X} = 3.0110$
4.25	
4.25	
4.25	
$\bar{X} = 3.3142$	

The results of the "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers to test for significance of the differences between the mean values of the two samples are as follows:

	Hypothesis 7		"T" Value
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	
Mean Scale Score	3.3142	3.0110	2.014296
Sample Standard Deviation	.5422	.6711	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.25-4.25	1.25-4.5	

The obtained differences between the sample means was significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=63, critical value of "T"=1.999), the hypothesis was supported.

Hypothesis 8

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more important secondary contacts in the organization than non-liaison persons are perceived to have.

The source of the information to test this hypothesis came from the perceptions of the twenty-six non-liaison persons who were in reciprocated contact with the liaison persons. They reported their perceptions in the Personal Contact Questionnaires. They completed

thirty-six scale items about their perceptions of liaison persons and thirty Personal Contact Questionnaires about non-liaison persons. The scale on the Personal Contact Questionnaires that tested this hypothesis was made up of three items (see page 140). The score weights on these three items were averaged to get a summed score for each person the non-liaison was in contact with. This data is summarized in Table 40. The higher the summed average score, the more important is the contact's perceived secondary contacts.

The results of the "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers, to test for significance of the differences between the mean values of the two samples are as follows:

Hypothesis 8			
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	3.3302	3.3735	-.253226
Sample Standard Deviation	.7449	.6387	
Obtained Range of Scores	1.66-5.0	2.33-5.0	

The obtained differences between the sample means was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=63, critical value of "T"=1.999), the hypothesis was not supported.

TABLE 40.--Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads to Test Hypothesis 8. Possible range 1-5.

Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Liaisons	Non-Liaisons' Contact Perceptions of Non-Liaisons
1.66	2.33
2.0	2.33
2.33	2.66
2.33	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.33	3.33
3.33	3.33
3.33	3.66
3.33	3.66
3.33	3.66
3.66	4.0
3.66	4.0
3.66	4.0
3.66	4.0
3.66	4.0
4.0	4.0
4.0	4.33
4.0	4.33
4.33	5.0
4.66	
4.66	
4.66	
5.0	
$\bar{X} = 3.3302$	$\bar{X} = 3.3735$

Hypothesis 9

Liaison persons perceive themselves to have more influence in the organization than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have.

Data for this hypothesis was obtained from the Self-Perception questionnaires that were completed by the eleven liaison persons and the twenty-six non-liaison persons, who were in reciprocated contact with a liaison person or persons. The scale that is on the Self-Perception Questionnaire that tested for this hypothesis was made up of three items (see pages 141-142). The items were scored so that the higher the score, the more influence in the organization the respondent perceives himself to possess. The individual item's scores were averaged to give one average summed score for the entire scale. The higher the mean score, the more influence in the organization the respondent perceives himself to have. This data is summarized in Table 41.

To test for significance of the differences in the mean values of the two sample populations, a "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers was run on the data. The results are as follows:

TABLE 41.--Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions for Hypothesis 9. Range 1-5.

Liaisons' Self-Perceptions	Non-Liaisons' Self-Perceptions
3.0	1.5
3.0	2.0
3.33	2.0
3.33	2.33
3.33	2.33
3.33	2.33
3.66	2.33
3.66	2.66
4.0	2.66
4.0	3.0
4.0	3.0
$\bar{X} = 3.5127$	3.0
	3.0
	3.0
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.66
	3.66
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.33
	4.66
	$\bar{X} = 3.0807$

Hypothesis 9			
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	3.5127	3.0807	1.790309
Sample Standard Deviation	.3586	.7606	
Obtained Range of Scores	3.0-4.0	1.5-4.66	

The obtained differences between the sample means was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=35, critical value of "T" $=2.04$), the hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 10

Liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison to have more influence in the organization than non-liaison persons are perceived to have.

Data to test this hypothesis comes from the Personal Contact Questionnaires completed by the twenty-six non-liaisons who had reciprocated contacts with one or more liaison individuals. A total of thirty-five Personal Contact Questionnaires were completed about the perceptions of the eleven liaisons and thirty Personal Contact Questionnaires were completed about non-liaisons whom they were in contact with. The scale to test this hypothesis was made up of three items (see pages 142-143), which gave an average total score such that the higher the score, the

more influence in the organization the individual is perceived to have. This data is summarized in Table 42.

To test for significance of the mean differences in the values of the two samples a "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers was run on the data. The results are as follows:

	Hypothesis 10		"T" Value
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	
Mean Scale Score	3.2722	3.2283	.273133
Sample Standard Deviation	.6305	.6638	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.0-5.0	2.0-4.33	

The obtained differences between the sample means was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=63, critical value of "T"=1.999), the hypothesis was not supported.

V. Variable Five--Openness of Communication System

One hypothesis was postulated under this general variable to test for the respondents' perceptions of the organization's communications system.

Hypothesis 11

Liaison persons perceive the organization's communications system to be more open than do non-liaison persons.

TABLE 42.--Summary of the Average Summed Values from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads to Test Hypothesis 10. Possible range 1-5.

Non-Liaisons Contacts Perceptions of Liaisons	Non-Liaisons Contacts Perceptions of Non-Liaisons
2.0	2.0
2.66	2.0
2.66	2.33
2.66	2.33
2.66	2.33
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	3.0
2.66	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.33	3.33
3.33	3.33
3.33	3.33
3.33	3.33
3.33	3.66
3.33	3.66
3.33	3.66
3.33	3.66
3.33	4.0
3.33	4.0
3.66	4.0
3.66	4.0
3.66	4.0
3.66	4.33
4.0	4.33
4.0	
4.0	
4.33	
4.66	
5.0	
<hr/>	<hr/>
$\bar{X} = 3.2722$	$\bar{X} = 3.2283$

Data to test this hypothesis was gathered from the Self-Perception scales completed by the eleven liaisons and twenty-six non-liaisons who reported reciprocated contacts with one or more liaison persons. The scale that tested for this hypothesis was made up of three items (see page 143) that were scored so the higher the mean value for the three items, the more open the respondents' perceptions of the organization's communications system. The data is summarized in Table 43. The larger the summed mean score, the more open the respondent perceives the communications system to be.

To test for any significant differences between the mean values of the two samples a "T" test for independent samples with unequal numbers was used. The results are as follows:

	Hypothesis 11		
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	3.1800	3.2407	-.218074
Sample Standard Deviation	.5569	.8452	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.0-4.0	1.33-5.0	

The obtained differences between the sample means was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative

TABLE 43.--Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals Self-Perceptions for Hypothesis 11. Range 1-5.

Liaison Self-Perceptions	Non-Liaison Self-Perceptions
2.0	1.33
2.66	2.0
3.0	2.0
3.0	2.33
3.0	2.33
3.0	2.66
3.33	2.66
3.33	2.66
3.66	3.0
4.0	3.0
4.0	3.0
<hr/>	3.33
$\bar{X} = 3.1800$	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.66
	3.66
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.0
	4.33
	4.66
	5.0
	<hr/>
	$\bar{X} = 3.2407$

tests, d.f.=35, critical value of "T"=2.040), the hypothesis was not supported.

VI. Variable Six--Satisfaction with the Communications System

One hypothesis was postulated to test for the respondents' self-perceptions on how satisfying the organization's communication system is.

Hypothesis 12

Liaison persons perceive the communications system as more satisfying than do non-liaison persons.

Data to test this hypothesis was obtained from the Self-Perception Questionnaires completed by the eleven liaison persons and the twenty-six non-liaisons who were in reciprocated contact with one or more liaison persons. The scale that tested for this hypothesis was made up of three items (see pages 144-145) that were scored in such a manner that the larger their average numerical score, the more satisfying the respondent perceives the communications system to be. The data is summarized in Table 44. The larger the summed mean score, the more satisfying the respondent perceives the communications system to be.

To test for significance of the mean difference in the two samples a "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers was run on the data. The following are the results:

TABLE 44.--Summary of the Average Summed Value for Liaison and Non-Liaison Individuals' Self-Perceptions for Hypothesis 12. Range 1-5.

Liaison Self-Perceptions	Non-Liaison Self-Perceptions
2.50	2.0
2.66	2.33
2.66	2.33
3.0	2.33
3.0	3.0
3.0	3.0
3.33	3.0
3.33	3.0
3.66	3.0
4.0	3.0
4.33	3.0
<hr/>	3.33
$\bar{X} = 3.2190$	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.33
	3.66
	3.66
	3.66
	3.66
	3.66
	4.0
	4.0
	4.33
	4.33
	4.33
	<hr/>
	$\bar{X} = 3.3050$

	Hypothesis 12		
	<u>Liaison Sample</u>	<u>Non-Liaison Sample</u>	<u>"T" Value</u>
Mean Scale Score	3.2190	3.3050	-.397235
Sample Standard Deviation	.5575	.6187	
Obtained Range of Scores	2.5-4.33	2.0-4.33	

The obtained differences between the sample means was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=35, critical value of "T"=2.04), the hypothesis was not supported.

VII. Variable Seven--Deliberate Message Transaction

One hypothesis was postulated about the initiation of the communications between members of the liaison and non-liaison roles.

Hypothesis 13

Liaison-Non-Liaison dyads more frequently participate in deliberately initiated message transaction than do non-liaison-non-liaison dyads.

Data to test this hypothesis was gathered from the Personal Contact Questionnaires completed by the twenty-six non-liaisons who were in reciprocated contact with one or more liaison individuals. The non-liaisons completed thirty-four Personal Contact Questionnaires about the eleven liaisons and thirty Personal Contact Questionnaires

about non-liaison persons that included the test scale. The scale was made up of one item (see page 145) that was scored as a direct frequency estimate of out of 100 contacts the number of times contact was made by chance, i.e., "we just happen to meet." The larger the number, the greater the dyads participated in interaction by chance. Table 45 summarizes the data. Possible range of scores is 0-100.

To test for the significance between the mean values of the two samples a "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers was run on the data. The results are as follows:

Hypothesis 13			
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	21.6176	7.0000	2.126346
Sample Standard Deviation	32.5106	20.1907	
Obtained Range of Scores	0-100	0-100	

The obtained differences between the sample means were in the opposite direction than predicted and significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=63, critical value of "T"=1.999), the hypothesis was not supported.

TABLE 45.--Summarizes out of 100 Contacts, the Number of Contacts of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads that were on a Chance Basis, as Perceived by Non-Liaison Individuals, Test for Hypothesis 13. Range 0-100.

Non-Liaisons Contacts Perceptions of Liaisons Chance Contact	Non-Liaisons Contacts Perceptions of Non-Liaisons Chance Contact
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
0	0
10	0
15	0
20	0
30	0
40	10
40	20
40	40
40	40
50	100
70	
80	
100	
100	
100	
$\bar{X} = 21.6176$	$\bar{X} = 7.0$

VIII. Variable Eight--Direction of Message Transaction

One hypothesis was postulated concerning the perceived direction of message flow in the organization between the two roles.

Hypothesis 14

The directionality of deliberate message initiation is more disproportionate in liaison-non-liaison dyads than in non-liaison-non-liaison dyads.

The data to test this hypothesis comes from the Personal Contact Questionnaires scale that was used in Hypothesis 13 (see page 146). Estimated frequency of respondent seeking behavior, you seek him, to contacts seeking behavior, he seeks you, (responses alternatives A and B) was taken as a measure of the directional initiation ratio for deliberate message transaction within the dyad. The specific measure is the ratio A over B or B over A with the larger number always in the denominator. The more the ratio deviates from one, the more disproportionate is message transaction. The data is summarized in Table 46.

To test for the significance between the mean values of the two samples a "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers was compiled on the data. The results are as follows:

TABLE 46.--Summarizes out of 100 Contacts, the Frequency of Times the Contacts in the Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads were not on a Chance Basis, Test for Hypothesis 14. Range 1-0.

Non-Liaisons Contacts Perceptions of Liaisons Deliberate Contact	Non-Liaisons Contacts Perceptions of Non-Liaisons Deliberate Contact
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
1.000	1.000
.875	1.000
.818	.800
.800	.667
.750	.667
.714	.667
.667	.500
.667	.333
.667	.333
.577	.266
.429	.250
.333	.250
.333	.200
.200	.010
.020	.010
.010	.010
.010	.010
.010	.010
.010	0.000
.010	
.010	
.010	
.010	
0.000	
0.000	
$\bar{X} = .5782$	$\bar{X} = .6637$

IX. Variable Nine--First Sources of Information

One hypothesis was postulated that set forth the non-liaisons perceptions concerning from where they receive their information about organizational changes or news.

Hypothesis 15

Liaison persons will be perceived by non-liaison persons as first sources of organizational related information to a greater extent than non-liaison persons.

The data to test this hypothesis will be gathered from the Personal Contact Questionnaires completed by the twenty-six non-liaison persons in reciprocated contact with one or more liaison persons. The twenty-six non-liaison persons completed thirty-five Personal Contact Questionnaires about the eleven liaisons and thirty Personal Contact Questionnaires about non-liaisons that contained the scale that was used to measure perceived source of information. The scale was made up of three items (see page 148). The scores from these three items were averaged, giving a score for the entire scale. The higher the value, the greater the extent that the respondent sees the named person as the first source of information. Table 47 gives a summary of these values.

To test for the significance between the mean values of the two samples a "T" test for independent means

TABLE 47.--Summary of the Average Summed Value from Personal Contact Questionnaires of Non-Liaison-Non-Liaison Dyads and Non-Liaison-Liaison Dyads, to Test Hypothesis 15. Possible range 1-5.

Non-Liaisons Contacts Perceptions of Liaisons	Non-Liaisons Contacts Perceptions of Non-Liaisons
1.66	1.33
2.0	2.0
2.0	2.0
2.0	2.0
2.0	2.0
2.0	2.33
2.0	2.33
2.33	2.33
2.33	2.33
2.33	2.33
2.33	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	2.66
2.66	3.0
2.66	3.0
2.66	3.0
2.66	3.0
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.33
3.0	3.66
3.0	3.66
3.33	3.66
3.33	4.0
3.33	4.0
3.33	4.33
3.33	4.33
3.33	
3.33	$\bar{X} = 2.9300$
3.66	
3.66	
4.0	
$\bar{X} = 2.7871$	

with unequal numbers was run on the data. The results are as follows:

Hypothesis 15			
	Liaison Sample	Non-Liaison Sample	"T" Value
Mean Scale Score	2.7871	2.9300	-.899217
Sample Standard Deviation	.5523	.7270	
Obtained Range of Scores	1.66-4.0	1.33-4.33	

The obtained differences between the sample means was not significant at the 0.05 level (two alternative tests, d.f.=63, critical value of "T"=1.999), the hypothesis was not supported.

X. Variable Ten--Formal Role Relationship to Informal Role

One hypothesis was postulated that set forth the relationship between the informal relationship and the formal structure.

Hypothesis 16

Liaison persons are more likely to hold high status inmate jobs than are non-liaison persons.

The data to test this hypothesis was taken from the demographic questionnaire filled out by the eleven liaisons and twenty-six non-liaisons who were in reciprocated contact with a liaison individual. Of the eleven

liaisons, eleven filled out their job classification instrument and twenty-five of the twenty-six non-liaisons completed this instrument. The data is summarized in Table 48.

Comparing the two groups of inmates of interest in this study by inspection does not show the hypothesized pattern that was expected. According to the findings of Richard Cloward and F. E. Haynes, as reported in Chapter I, the jobs of office clerk and typist should provide an individual with access to the centers of the prison communications system, and place them in the role of a liaison person. No such clear-cut relationship emerges in this study. The formal job of office clerk was held by one liaison member while the position of typist was held by two non-liaison persons.

It was then reasoned that perhaps the liaison persons would manipulate themselves into formal positions that would allow them access to information and power that was not observable to the researcher. To test this possibility a comparison was made comparing the manner in which the liaison and non-liaison groups secured their present job classification. There are three ways an inmate may get a position in the formal organization. He may be assigned to it routinely by the prison classification committee, he may request the position, or a staff member may ask for a given individual to be placed on a

TABLE 48.--Formal Job Classification of the Liaison and Non-Liaison Persons.

Job Classification	Liaison Persons		Non-Liaison Persons	
College Assignment	2.0	18.18%	0	0%
Factory Assignment	1.0	9.09%	0	0%
Hall Boy	0	0%	3	12%
Janitor	1	9.09%	2	8%
Kitchen Help	5	45.45%	5	20%
Occupational Therapy	0	0	2	8%
Office Clerk	1	9.09%	0	0%
School, Elementary	0	0%	3	12%
Teacher's Aid	0	0%	1	4%
Typist	0	0%	2	8%
No Assignment	1	9.09%	7	28%

given job. The three manners were assigned values of 3, 2, and 1 respectively. Each respondent was then given a score corresponding to the manner in which he secured his job classification. The scores for the members of the two sample populations were then compared to determine the percentage of each sample that secured their job assignments by the various methods. Table 49 summarizes this data.

It was observed that the percentages of the liaison sample who were requested to take a job assignment, 40 per cent, was nearly twice the percentage, 22.2 per cent, of the non-liaison sample that was requested to take a job assignment. The other two methods did not seem to differ in the percentage of the liaison and non-liaison who were routinely selected or asked for a given job assignment. By inspection it appears that the liaison persons are requested by staff members to be assigned to various jobs in the formal prison system nearly twice as often than are non-liaison persons. It appears that the liaison persons are individuals who have skills that are in demand by staff members in the prison organization.

TABLE 49.--Score Weights of Job Assignment, by Sample Population, Routine Selection=3, Request=2, and Asked For=1.

Liaison Persons	% of Sample	Non-Liaison Persons	% of Sample	
1	40	1	22.2	
1		1		
1		1		
1		1		
2	20	2	33.3	
2		2		
3	40	2		44.4
3		2		
3		2		
3		2		
3		3		
		3		
		3		
		3		
		3		
		3		
		3		
		3		
$\bar{X} = 2.0$	100	$\bar{X} = 2.222$	99.9 ^a	

^aRounding error.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The basic objectives of the present work were (1) to develop a conceptual and methodological framework for the study of the interactive or communications system in a prison inmate informal organization, and (2) to apply this framework to an empirical examination of phenomenological attributes associated with certain topological features of the communications structure.

The present chapter contains a summary and discussion of the findings of the study concluding with suggestions for future research.

Summary

Previous research that has been done on the informal inmate organization has focused on the roles associated with various violations of what has been called the prison code. These roles are said to exist in a superior-subordinate relationship to each other. The intent of this study was to suggest that a system of cooperation between various roles is the norm, rather

than a superior-subordinate relationship. This system revolves around the supplying of goods and services to the majority of the inmates. This system replaces individual force with one of cooperation. The heart of the system would be the communications system that supplies the inmate community with knowledge and support to carry forth these goals. It is through face-to-face communication that a given member of the inmate community forms a "social reality" of prison life. The intent of this study was to map the extent functional communications structures exist in the inmate informal organization and then, to differentiate this sociometric map into two structural types based on topological concepts of graph theory, and finally, to describe differences in specified variables between the two structural types. An assumption undergirding this approach is that the most definitive understanding of the inmate informal organization may be arrived at by the study of generic communications patterns and events as opposed to partial analysis based on elements of only the formally-described structure, or in assumed to exist violations of the prison culture.

The primary structural type examined was the liaison communication role. Individuals who function in liaison roles have interlinking communications contacts with two or more separate sociometric defined clique groups in the inmate informal organization. Essentially,

when liaison role persons are removed from the sociogram of communication contacts, clique groups to which they are connected separate into isolated entities with the exception of single communication contacts (bridges) between two members of different groups. Thus, the liaison role, which is a conceptual analogue to the articulation point in graph theory, is a critical location in the structure of the inmate informal organization.

The prison organization selected for this study was a residential treatment program located above a maximum security institution in a Midwestern state. The programming is under the control of the director of the program with security being under the control of the warden of the institution.

In preparation for differentiating the communication structure of the inmate organization into topological types, information from the Personal Contact Checklist was utilized to determine reciprocation of contact among the members of the inmate organization. The topological and empirical analysis was based upon reciprocated contacts. From a population of 52 members with a potential of 1,352 reciprocated pairs, 124 reciprocated one-way communication linkages were found making up 62 two-way pairs. The reciprocated contacts were cast into a sociometric matrix and, using procedures described by Weiss, analyzed to yield the identification of eleven liaison

role persons and thirty-six non-liaison persons who were in reciprocated contact with one or more liaisons that belonged to twenty separate clique groups of varying size.²⁵⁹ Of the eleven liaison persons all were members of a clique group with eight liaison persons having multiple group membership and four liaison persons making up two liaison pairs. The range of clique groups, liaison and non-liaison, ranged from two to six members in size.

For the tests of the hypotheses on individuals' self-perceptions, the data was taken from their respective Self-Perception Questionnaires. The data to test the hypotheses that postulated differences in perceptions of the liaison and non-liaison roles by the non-liaison persons were gathered from the Personal Contact Questionnaires completed on the respective role.

The liaison and non-liaison persons were evaluated on several demographic items. The liaison role persons differed significantly from the non-liaisons at the 0.05 level (using a "T" test for independent means with forty-three degrees of freedom, critical value of "T"= 2.01), in the number of reciprocated contacts that each group had with liaisons reporting a higher mean value than the non-liaisons. Both the liaison and non-liaison groups were made up of men who were convicted of crimes

²⁵⁹Weiss, op. cit., pp. 88-108.

of violence, double the rate that is found in the general prison population. The liaison role persons had 54.5 per cent of its members in this category with 49.5 per cent of the non-liaisons being convicted of crimes of violence. Aspects of the sentence, length or span, minimum and maximum time to be served by the two samples did not reach significance at the 0.05 level using a "T" test for independent sample means with unequal numbers in each sample. The two samples also were compared on whether or not they differed significantly on the fact that they had or had not gone before the parole board. The two sample's mean differences were not significant at the 0.05 level using a "T" test for independent means with unequal numbers in each sample. The samples also failed to reach significant difference on the time left before they could see the parole board once more or for the first time.

In addition to examining aspects of crimes for which sentenced, sentence traits and parole board differences, demographic data was also collected on whether or not the two samples differed in the position of the values of one of the five traditional prison roles using the original research instrument to test for these roles. The mean differences were tested with the use of "T" tests for independent means with unequal numbers in each sample. Of the five roles: politicians, square Johns, outlaws, right guys, and dings, no significant

differences were found at the 0.05 level of significance between the two sample means. It was concluded that the liaison and non-liaison samples are similar on the tested demographic traits.

Sixteen primary hypotheses were postulated in this study to examine the differences in functioning between the liaison and non-liaison samples as perceived by their reciprocated non-liaison contacts and self-perceived traits. Fifteen of the hypotheses were evaluated with the use of the "T" test for independent sample means with unequal members in each sample with degrees of freedom equal to thirty-five on the self-perceived scales and sixty-three on the non-liaison perceived scales of the functioning of the liaison and other non-liaisons (two alternative tests).

Number of Communications Contacts

Two hypotheses were set forth to postulate the awareness of actual structural attributes of liaisons' and non-liaisons' roles. By definition, the liaison role has a greater structural diversity of contacts among the sociometrically defined groups than do non-liaison role persons. Since these roles are determined only through the analysis of sociometric data and may not be concretely visible to members of the inmate informal organization, the question was whether or not individuals

who had contact with liaisons and non-liaisons are aware of their actual pattern of contacts and whether the liaison role person was aware of the diversity of his contacts. Hypothesis 1 stated that liaison role persons would perceive themselves to have a greater number of contacts in the organization than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have. Hypothesis 2 stated that liaison role persons would be perceived by non-liaisons to have a greater number of communications contacts than non-liaison persons. The mean differences between the two samples were in the opposite direction than was hypothesized with neither of the differences significant at the 0.05 level.

Task-Related Information

Two hypotheses were postulated regarding the self-perceptions of the liaison role persons and the perceptions of the non-liaison reciprocated contact concerning the amount of task-related information possessed by the liaison role person. Hypothesis 3 postulated that liaison persons would be perceived by non-liaison persons to have more task-related information than non-liaison persons would be perceived to have. The mean differences between the samples was in the opposite direction than postulated but not significant at the 0.05 level of significance.

Hypothesis 4 postulated that the liaison role persons would perceive themselves to have more task-related information than non-liaison role persons perceive themselves to have. The obtained differences in the means were in the direction postulated but did not reach the 0.05 level of significance.

Control over Message Flow

Two hypotheses were postulated regarding the self-perceptions of the liaison role and the perceptions of the non-liaison reciprocated contacts about the extent the liaison persons can control the flow of messages to the clique groups. The control of such information is by definition the function of the liaison role person.

Hypothesis 5 postulated that non-liaison persons will perceive liaison persons to have more control over the flow of messages in the informal organization than non-liaison persons have. The mean differences found between the two samples were not significant at the 0.05 level, but were in the predicted direction.

Hypothesis 6 postulated that liaison persons perceive themselves to have more control over the flow of messages in the informal organization than non-liaison persons perceive themselves to have. The differences in the means between the two samples was in the opposite direction than postulated, but did not reach significance at the 0.05 level.

Influence in the Organization

Four hypotheses were made concerning the self-perceptions and the perceived influence over others in the informal inmate organization the two roles have in the clinic.

Hypothesis 7 postulated that liaison role persons are perceived by non-liaisons to have more influence over personal opinions than non-liaisons have over other inmates in the informal organization. The obtained differences in the means were in the postulated direction and significant at the 0.05 level.

As well as having influence over personal opinions of others, the role of liaisons would result in contacts with individuals of influence in the formal organization as well as in the informal organization. Hypothesis 8 postulates that liaison persons are perceived by non-liaison persons to have more important secondary contacts in the organization than non-liaison persons. The mean differences were slightly in the opposite direction than was postulated, and not significant at the 0.05 level.

It was reasoned that if the liaison role persons had influence over others, personal opinions, and had important secondary contacts, that they would perceive themselves to have more general influence in the organization than non-liaisons would perceive themselves to have. These same non-liaison persons would also perceive the liaison

role person to have more general influence than non-liaisons possess. Hypotheses 9 and 10 state these relationships respectively. The mean differences for Hypothesis 9 were in the postulated direction but not significant at the 0.05 level. The mean differences in the samples in Hypothesis 10 were also in the hypothesized direction but not significant at the 0.05 level.

Openness of Communications System

Hypothesis 11 postulated that the liaison role persons would perceive the clinic's communications system to be more open than do the non-liaison role persons. The mean differences between the two samples were slightly in the opposite direction than postulated and not significant at the 0.05 level.

Satisfaction with the Communications System

It was thought that because of the hypothesized traits of the liaison role, they would be more satisfied with the communications system than non-liaison persons. Hypothesis 12 postulated that liaison persons would perceive the communications system as more satisfying than do non-liaison persons. The differences in the mean differences between the two samples were in the opposite direction than hypothesized and not significant at the 0.05 level.

Deliberate Message Transaction
and Direction

Two hypotheses set forth differences between liaison-non-liaison dyads and non-liaison-non-liaison dyads in terms of the frequency and directional ratio of deliberate message transaction initiation. In this case, dyadic communication behavior as perceived by one member of the dyad was the unit of analysis.

The expectation stated in Hypothesis 13 was that out of 100 hypothetical situations liaison-non-liaison dyad members have more frequently sought one another deliberately (as opposed to chance meeting) than has been the case between members of non-liaison-non-liaison dyads. The obtained mean differences in the samples were found to be opposite than was postulated and significant at the 0.05 level. The obtained means of 21.6176 and 7.0000 indicated that non-liaisons feel they have chance meetings with liaisons approximately one out of five contacts and have one out of fourteen contacts on a chance basis with non-liaison persons. The general tendency in both samples was for contacts not to occur on basis of chance, but be deliberately initiated.

Hypothesis 14 suggested that, of the deliberately initiated message transaction occasions, the directional ratio of initiation in liaison-non-liaison dyads would be more disproportionate than in non-liaison-non-liaison

dyads, i.e., the frequency of each member of the dyad seeking the other would be more nearly 50-50 in non-liaison-non-liaison dyads. The obtained direction ratios differences between the two samples were opposite from the direction postulated, but the differences were not significant at the 0.05 level.

First Sources of Information

Hypothesis 15 postulated that liaison persons would be perceived by non-liaison persons as first sources of clinic related information as compared to other non-liaison persons. The differences in the mean differences between the two samples were in the opposite direction than was postulated, but were not significant at the 0.05 level.

Formal Role Relationship to Informal Role

One hypothesis was set forth that stated that liaison persons were more likely to hold high status inmate jobs than would non-liaison persons. This was set forth in Hypothesis 16. It seemed logical that because of the definition of the liaison role function to serve as a communicator to clique groups, they would hold positions in the formal structure that would allow them to carry out this function. Such jobs would be typist or clerk positions where access to records and influential

officials of the clinic are available. Upon inspection of the formal jobs held by the two sample populations no distinguishable pattern could be detected and the hypothesis was not supported.

The manner in which the two sample populations secured their positions was then examined to detect any manipulation into positions by the inmates of the two samples. It was postulated that the liaison role persons would manipulate themselves into formal positions in the clinic that enhanced their personal access to information and influence. By inspection the percentage of the liaison samples, who were requested to be assigned to a job by a staff member, was nearly twice that of the non-liaison sample. Tables 50 and 51 summarize the results of the demographic data and the tests of the hypotheses for the two sample populations.

Discussion

Inspection of the sociometric, Figure 2, shows an interesting phenomena. Three clique groupings emerge very clearly with very little overlap between the members of the three general groupings. Upon investigation it became evident that the general group represented in Segment A represents the sex offender group, Segment B the drug offenders' group and Segments C, D, E, and F the youthful offender grouping of inmates in the residential

TABLE 50.--Summary of the Results of the Demographic Data, Between the Liaison and Non-Liaison Samples.

Demographic Data	Result of Mean Values	Significant Level .05
Span of reciprocated contacts	Liaisons have greater span than non-liaisons	Yes
Crimes of violence	Approximately 50% of both groups	
Minimum sentence	Liaisons have slightly longer minimum sentence than non-liaisons	No
Maximum sentence	Non-liaisons have slightly longer maximum sentence than liaisons	No
Span of Sentence	Non-liaisons have slightly longer span than liaisons	No
Seen parole board	Non-liaisons seen board to greater degree than liaisons	No
Time left to see board	Liaisons have longer time before can see board than non-liaisons	No
Politicians	Both groups have traits of role with non-liaisons having a greater tendency than liaisons	No
Square John	Both groups reject role, close to neutral, liaisons reject slightly more than non-liaisons	No
Outlaw	Both groups close to neutral on role, non-liaisons accept role slightly more than liaisons do.	No
Right Guy	Both groups accept role. Non-liaisons to greater extent than liaisons	No
Ding	Both groups reject role. Non-liaisons reject role to greater degree than liaisons.	No

TABLE 51.--Summary of Results of Tests of Hypotheses Between Mean Value Differences of the Liaison and Non-Liaison Roles.

Hypotheses	Supported .05 Level
Liaisons perceive self to have a greater number of contacts than non-liaisons perceive self.	No
Liaisons are perceived to have greater number of contacts than non-liaisons.	No
Liaisons are perceived to have more task information than non-liaisons.	No
Liaisons perceive self to have more task information than non-liaisons perceive self.	No
Liaisons are perceived to have more control over message flow than non-liaisons.	No
Liaisons perceive self to have more control over message flow than non-liaisons perceive self.	No
Liaisons are perceived to have more influence over personal opinions than non-liaisons.	Yes
Liaisons are perceived to have more important secondary contacts than non-liaison persons.	No
Liaisons perceive self to have more influence in organization than non-liaison persons perceive self.	No
Liaisons are perceived to have more influence in the organization than non-liaison persons have.	No
Liaison persons perceive the organization communications system as more open than do non-liaison persons.	No
Liaison persons perceive the organizational communications system to be more satisfying than do non-liaisons.	No
Liaison-non-liaison dyads more frequently participate in deliberate message transaction than do non-liaison-non-liaison dyads.	No

TABLE 51.--Continued.

Hypotheses	Supported .05 Level
Liaison-non-liaison dyads amount of deliberate message transaction is more disproportionate in direction than in non-liaison-non-liaison dyads.	No
Liaisons are perceived to be first sources of organizational-related information.	No
Liaisons are more likely to hold high status inmate jobs than are non-liaison persons.	No Pattern
Subhypotheses	
Liaisons are more likely to manipulate self into jobs than are non-liaisons.	Liaisons found to be assigned to a job, by a staff member, nearly twice as frequent as non-liaisons.

programs in the clinic. It seems that in a residential program that emphasizes interaction between members, the three groups form very strong identifications with their respective residential program. When investigating this phenomena it was learned from the program director, that the program had as one of its goals the separation of the sex and drug offender populations from the youthful offender population. This was done in order to avoid the exploitation of the young offenders by the older inmates. It should be mentioned that this is a temporary stage in the development of a total therapeutic community. The eventual goal of the program will allow the intermixing of the various offender categories.

Another explanation of this phenomena could have its basis in the programming design itself. The program design encourages group interaction within offender categories to provide group support and help for a given individual from men with similar problems. This has the effect of restricting interactions with other groups where communication patterns have not yet been established.²⁶⁰

A theoretical explanation for the grouping of the three residential groups could also be found in the works of Clemmer, of Festinger, Schachter and Back, and of

²⁶⁰Selznick, op. cit., p. 522.

Goffman.²⁶¹ These researchers found that individuals who live in close proximity to each other are more likely to form stable interactions patterns with each other than with people who do not live near them. The various members of the three residential programs live apart from each other. The youthful offenders living on a separate tier from the sex and drug offenders, and the sex and drug offenders living at opposite ends of the same tier.

The sociometric design showed out of fifty-two members of the residential program, three individuals appeared as social isolates or approximately 6 per cent of the population. Donald Clemmer found in his works approximately 2 per cent of the population to be isolates.²⁶² Upon inspection of the three isolates a very interesting phenomena appeared. Of the three men identified as isolates, one was named as the "wife" of a non-liaison member and the second through conversation with the researcher informed him of his status as a "she" and the wife of a non-liaison person. This individual also had the observable ornaments of a prison "she," i.e., earrings, necklace, female rings, long fingernails, and eye liner. With this knowledge it became clear to the researcher why the other

²⁶¹Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 100; Festinger, Schachter and Back, op. cit., p. 8; and Goffman, op. cit., p. 56.

²⁶²Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 100.

members of the study population did not name these two individuals as contacts. To contact another man's "wife" is an offense men can be killed over in the prison culture. The "husbands" of the two "wives" stated to the researcher that they did not name their wives as contacts for they were "women" and not worthy of being named. This left one man or approximately 2 per cent of the population as true isolates which is in agreement with Clemmer's findings.

Upon examination of the liaison role persons an interesting fact emerged. The man who challenged the researcher in the original administration of the research instrument to the sex offender group appeared as a liaison role person. The researcher informally asked the man if he felt truly insulted by the payment of the cigarettes as he would have the researcher believe. He responded by saying that he was just filling a role expected of him by the "community." It seems that he has a reputation as the "devil's advocate" on matters related to the clinic. The reactions of his peers at the time of the confrontation also gave the researcher this impression. A hostile atmosphere never developed, comments like, "there he goes again, what's your bitch this time" were muttered by the other members of the sex offender group during the confrontation.

It was very significant that the mean differences between the sample means on the span of reciprocated

contacts was significant at the 0.05 level and in the direction of the theoretical definition of the liaison role. The liaison role has, by its very definition, a greater span of contact than the non-liaison role persons. This phenomena pointed out that even men selected through topological analysis of the sociometric were true liaisons as defined by graph theory.

The finding that the liaison and non-liaison groups are made up of approximately 50 per cent violent offenders is of no surprise if one looks at the intent of the residential treatment program. It is designed to treat "hard" core felons who have committed crimes of a sexual nature or drug-related offense as well as treating the young men in the maximum security prison. To be committed to a maximum security institution at a young age usually requires an extensive record and a crime of violence. This by definition to be admitted to the community residential program an offender would more than likely be convicted of a crime of violence or one that is usually associated with violence.

Much research in the prison literature represented by such researchers as Garabedian, Wheeler, Schrag, and Clemmer, as reported in Chapter I, pages 60-64) point out that the degree of involvement in the inmate community is related to one's length of sentence.²⁶³ The researchers

²⁶³Schrag, 1954, op. cit., pp. 37-42.

postulate that the longer a man is in the inmate community the greater are his tendencies to become prisonized or accept the inmate culture. To lessen the pains of imprisonment these men will seek ways to make their stay at the institution as comfortable as possible. The researcher felt that the definition of the liaison role person's function assisted in this task. That is, by definition they serve as sources of information about prison life that could be used to lessen the pains of imprisonment. In exchange for this information, respect and leadership could be bestowed upon them.²⁶⁴ They would thus appear to have become prisonized to a very high degree. Since in Michigan a man is not sentenced to a fixed length of time, the relationship between sentence length and degree of involvement in the inmate community, was tested for differences in the three aspects of their sentence; minimum, maximum, and span of time between the maximum and minimum sentences of the two sample groups. It was expected that the liaisons would have longer sentences, maximum, minimum, and span, than would the non-liaison role persons. The results of the analysis did not show any significant differences between the mean samples of the two groups. Both groups were very closely matched on all three aspects of the sentence. This could be a reflection of the selection criterion of the residential program. The typical sentence

²⁶⁴Cloward, op. cit., p. 21.

for a man in the residential program would be 4.5 to 11 years. This is comparable to the average time spent in the institutions by the general prison population of 2.5 years.²⁶⁵

It was deduced that perhaps the degree of prisonization or activity in the inmate culture may also be related to the fact that the man had been turned down for parole, resulting in the realization that he had much more time to be served before he could be released. If a man had never been turned down for parole, he may wish to stay "clean" to secure an early parole. Using this logic it was expected that the liaison persons, who are very active in the inmate culture, would have been turned down for parole to a greater extent than non-liaisons who are less active in the inmate community. The results were found to be in the opposite direction than hypothesized, but not significant at the 0.05 level. Perhaps the explanation for this can be found in the work of Donald Clemmer.²⁶⁶ Clemmer found that active members of the community are less likely to get into difficulties than are the less active members of the inmate community. Perhaps the liaison persons who are more active in the inmate community than non-liaisons, by definition, do so

²⁶⁵Private conversation with members of the Michigan Parole Board, Summer of 1971.

²⁶⁶Clemmer, 1940, op. cit., p. 145.

because they have suffered the pains of a parole "flop," to a lesser degree than the non-liaisons. The liaisons are active in the inmate community striving for a parole release. It must be pointed out that the clinic encourages group interaction, which is evaluation quite highly. Men who are active in the program are looked upon as men striving to overcome the problems that led to their imprisonment.

In examining the roles' values on the items of the questionnaire used by Peter Garabedian to identify the traditional prison roles of politician, square John, outlaw, right guy, and dings, it seemed to the researcher that the values proposed to be held by the politician's role closely fit the values of the liaison role person. The values of the square John role closely fit the researcher's conceptions of the values that would be held by the non-liaison role persons. It was expected that both the liaisons and non-liaisons would reject or be neutral on the values held by the outlaw, square John, and ding roles. The results of the "T" test for independent sample means in two samples with unequal numbers did not find any significant differences at the 0.05 level between the two sample's means on any of the five roles. It is interesting to note, however, that both the non-liaison and liaison roles accepted the politician role to a greater degree than they accepted the values of any other role.

Upon examination of the questions that make up the politician role value score, the researcher felt that the emphasis of the clinic program in developing confidence and interpersonal skills may have accounted for this high mean score for both groups. That is, questions, "You've got to have confidence in yourself if you're going to be successful," "There's a little larceny in everyone, if you're really honest about it," and "Who you know is more important than what you know," and "Brains are more important than brawn," reflect self-honesty and self-inspection. It should be noted that six inmates commented that the third question was contradictory, but they agreed with the last part strongly enough to evaluate the entire question highly.

Both samples rejected or were neutral on the values that were summed to give a score on the square John, outlaw, and ding role. The items emphasize self-doubt, lack of dependence on others, and emphasis on physical strength which are opposite to the goals of the residential program. The rejection scores on these values seem to provide indirect evidence that the values, at least as measured by this instrument, that are held by what has been called hard "core felons" in the clinic, do not fit the traditional definitions of values held by inmates in maximum security institutions who are outcasts from even

the inmate community. The values held by the men in the "bug" clinic are not abnormal in this study.

The right guy role was evaluated in a positive light by both samples. The right guy role is said to be made up of attitudes and values held by the true "con." These values stress, "be true to your own kind, the other inmates," and "hold the criminal justice system in contempt." The results of this scale are not surprising. The value that emphasizes loyalty to one's own group is also the manner of treatment in these early stages of the residential program, that is based on a group support model. Explaining the contempt for the criminal justice process required some interviews with the inmates. The researcher found in talking to the inmates that they feel the corrections system is unfair to them as individuals. If they strive hard to become "rehabilitated" and truly change their "outlook" on life, they may still be rejected for parole. They concluded that they must not only be rehabilitated but they must also pay retribution for their deeds. This is a very frustrating situation to be in. They don't feel it is correct to have one authority responsible for rehabilitation and another for their release from imprisonment. They have found too often that the two groups hold differing definitions of the purpose of imprisonment.

Before discussing the findings of the hypotheses it is appropriate to review the limitations which must be placed upon the generalizability of the conclusions from which this data was collected.

1. The study population from which the data was collected was not randomly selected. The study design is essentially that of an empirical case study utilizing saturation sampling.

It should be noted that the study population is a sub-unit of a larger parent organization and does not include contacts outside of the sub-unit boundary or with staff personnel. The study population is limited to the individuals formally prescribed to the residential treatment program.

It should be further noted that the study population includes a greater percentage of sex offenders, hard core drug offenders, and young offenders than would be found in a general prison population. In the general population of the Michigan penal system approximately 7 per cent make up drug offenders and 4.3 per cent sex offenders.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷Criminal Statistics, State of Michigan, Department of Corrections, 1971.

2. A second limitation stems from the phenomenological nature of the data, especially in regard to estimates of dyadic and self-perceived behavior. The assumed congruence of actual dyadic behavior with behavior perceived and reported by one member of the dyad or self-perceptions must be tempered with the recognition of the possibility of perceptual distortion on the part of the perceiver. Interviews with these various persons may also suffer the same limitations.
3. A third limitation of the generalizability of the findings of this study is due to the fact that this study restricted itself to topological concepts identifiable only on the basis of reciprocated contacts. Contacts that were not reciprocated were not included in the analysis of this study.
4. A final limitation relates to the nature of the sampling model used to define sources of data for the tests of hypotheses. The sampling unit was liaisons and non-liaison role persons, self-perceptions and the perceptions of non-liaisons who are in direct reciprocated contact with liaison role person or persons. The perceptions

of others in the organization who are not in direct contact with them were not included in the analysis.

The sampling model also did not provide for random selection of the liaison or non-liaison in reciprocated contact with a liaison role person. This limitation was a practical necessity based on the small number of individuals in each sample group. The result is that the application of statistical tests based on random selection criterion can only be assumed to approximate the potential parameters.

Unsupported Hypotheses

Of the sixteen hypotheses only one was supported as postulated. Fourteen were unsupported and one was found to be significant but in the opposite direction than was postulated. Following are some of the methodological and theoretical factors which may be related to these outcomes.

Theoretical Reasons

The researcher feels that the lack of significance in the unsupported hypotheses may be the result of the success of the goals of the residential treatment program. Traditionally the prison environment has been an isolated society with communications between inmates

and inmates and staff kept to a minimum for reasons of security and custodial order. The residential treatment program, in contrast to this model, emphasizes an open communications system. The data sources for the tests of the study were designed so that a score value over three represented agreement with the item, while a value below three represented disagreement and three represented the neutral zone of opinion. The hypotheses that dealt with the amount of contacts with other inmates in the inmate informal organization, Hypotheses 1 and 2; the amount of information on the goals of the program, Hypotheses 3 and 4; control over message flow to other inmates, Hypotheses 5 and 6; access to clinic personnel or secondary contacts, Hypothesis 8; amount of influence inmates have in the organization, Hypotheses 9 and 10; and the openness of the organizational communications between staff and inmates and inmates' satisfaction with it, Hypotheses 11 and 12, all have mean values greater than three indicating satisfaction with the communications system by both samples in the clinic. The clinic members view the clinic as a very open system. Perhaps their frame of reference, the prison below, accents this comparison.

Hypothesis 15 that postulated one group of inmates could control information or had differential access to it received mean values below three indicating

rejection of this hypothesis by both groups in the clinic. This finding is congruent with the other hypothesis that the clinic is viewed by its residents as a very open communications system for all inmates. The small difference between the mean values of directionality of information exchange between the two samples in Hypothesis 14, .5782 and .6637 for the liaison and non-liaison samples respectively (where the greater the deviation from one the more disproportionate is message transaction), also is congruent with the perceptions of the respondents, that no person or persons has a monopoly on the communications within the clinic.

Methodological Problems

The significant difference found in Hypothesis 13, which was in the opposite direction than postulated, could be a reflection of a methodological problem. The variances of estimates of message initiation frequencies were relatively large. It may be that a measurement error occurred here as a result of asking respondents to provide a single estimate of initiation frequency based on 100 hypothetical contact situations. Such estimates may be extremely difficult to make and the resulting unreliability may have contributed to the inflated variance.

Another major methodological problem that may have contributed to type two error, could be that the

sample sizes were not adequate. Two of the unsupported hypotheses, 2 and 9, approached significance in the postulated directions, and were significant at the .10 level (two alternative tests). A third hypothesis, Hypothesis 4, reached significance at the .20 level (two alternative tests).

Supported Hypotheses

Hypothesis 7, which postulated that liaison persons will be perceived by their non-liaison contacts to have more influence over personal opinions for their dyadic contacts than do non-liaisons was found to be significant in the postulated direction at the 0.05 level. The result indicates that liaison contacts are aware of the fact that the liaison persons affect personal opinion and serve a function in the inmate informal organization that is different from that of the non-liaison roles. This function is as the socio-emotional leader. It is possible that the liaison role person's ability to influence opinions may be the result of some personal ability in face-to-face communications rather than a social role function. That is, the ability may be a personal attribute of the individual rather than given him by the nature of the job he does in the formal structure. Two items from the demographic data analysis seem to lend support to this interpretation.

The lack of differences between formal job classifications as presented in Hypothesis 16, lends support to the idea that one's position in the formal prison organization has no effect on one's role as a liaison person in the informal structure. This lends support to the personal role theory of the liaison role, which is contradictory to the relationship between leadership in a prison environment and leadership found in Cloward's and Hayne's findings.²⁶⁸ It is also significant that the percentage of liaison role persons who were requested to be placed on a job assignment, was nearly twice that of the non-liaison sample lending support to the personal role theory. It is also significant to note that the liaison role persons have a significantly greater span of reciprocated contacts with other members of the clinic than do non-liaison persons. This is, of course, the very definition of the liaison role. This could be a reflection of the personal ability of the liaisons to communicate more efficiently with other inmates in the clinic. No matter for what reason they accomplish the task, the significant fact stands that the sociometric-defined role is also found to have the larger number of reciprocated contacts as compared

²⁶⁸ Cloward, op. cit., p. 97; Haynes, op. cit., p. 437.

with the other sociometric defined role. The liaison role is fulfilling its hypothesized function.

Contributions of the Study

The primary contributions of the present study have been to provide evidence that the liaison communication role does exist in a penal environment as a socio-emotional leader. This role has some meaning, at least in the sense of awareness by those in contact with it, and the role has influence over the personal opinions of the non-liaisons in the environment. One aspect of the liaison role that differentiated it from the non-liaison role was its tendency to have significantly greater numbers of communications contacts than did the non-liaisons persons. The consequence of this preliminary study indicates that even in a prison environment that emphasizes inter-inmate communications, there are a select group of inmates who influence opinion to a greater extent than do other inmates in the organization. The liaison role seems to occupy an important position in the informal organization in that he controls the personal opinions of other inmates. This places him in a position where he could facilitate or hinder the smooth operation of the institution through the use of this influence.

The present study was exploratory in nature. What has been demonstrated is a conceptual and methodological framework for analysis of the inmate social system without relying on assumed values the population is hypothesized to possess with deviations from it determining an individual's functioning in the informal inmate community.

This methodological schema has the advantage when applied to the examination of informal inmate systems of objectively determining roles based on graph theory concepts. These concepts provide discreet categories that can be used for the classification of roles as a prelude to descriptive or functional analysis of the inmate informal social system. These categories are discreet in the same sense as the traditional classification system but adds the advantage of including the informal communications system into the frame of analysis. The categories are objectively defined as opposed to arbitrary defined constructs based upon assumed criteria, i.e., inmate code.

The study provided indirect evidence that the goals of the program in the clinic are being achieved. This insight was gained based on the extent communications existed between individuals in the program. The finding that the liaison persons serve as opinion leaders, without using some artificially determined

criterion for opinion leadership, could provide a valuable source of data for the administration of the clinic program. This method of analysis could point out potential bottlenecks or short-cuts in getting the wanted opinions to a major segment of the clinic population through the utilization of these opinion leaders. Perhaps the opinion leaders could be used as co-therapist in the inmate group sessions or as self-government leaders. The liaison role individuals may also be useful in getting the members of the various residential programs to communicate with each other through the use of their influence.

Another possibility for the use of this research technique could be to build a bridge between small group research and research in penology that may help explain how inmates form clique groups and the interrelationships between these groups. The topological definition of the informal group could be utilized as a preliminary step toward identification of various configurations in natural small groups within the prison culture.

The present study also pointed out that the assumptions that aspects of an individual's sentence or crime, are related to the leadership opinion influency function in the inmate community, was not found to be significant. The study also failed to find all of the traditional roles that are said to exist in a prison environment.

The study also pointed out the cooperation that can be secured from the inmate population of a prison if approached honestly and with proper sponsorship that is held to be legitimate by the study population. The study also tested a research instrument that could be used with minor rewording in other maximum security institutions.

Suggestions for Future Research

It would be of great interest to test for the existence of the liaison role in other inmate social systems to test both the self-perceptions of the liaison role persons and the perceptions of those in contact with them. These results could be compared to the findings presented in this study. In this manner the universality of the role and its function could be tested along with all the hypothesized traits the role is assumed to possess.

It would also be of interest to see if the custodial staff forms similar clique groups united by the liaison role individual. If these roles are found to exist, it would be of interest to test the traits or functions they serve in the custodial organization, and to compare these traits with those of the liaison role in the inmate community.

A research project could also be done to test both the inmates and the custodial staff of a maximum security institution. If the liaison role is found to

function as originally hypothesized in this study in both the custodial staff and inmate community of a maximum security institution, perhaps a uniting of the liaison roles would increase communications between the two strata. This could result in a lowering of tensions, stereotypes, rumors, and other traits associated with a caste system.

A comparison could be made between prisons that are low in tensions and one that is high in tensions, to test for the overlap of the inmate and custodial strata of a prison. Perhaps institutions with high tensions suffer from a lack of communications between the liaison functions of the two stratas whereas, an institution with lower tensions could be found to possess a greater degree of communications between the two groups of liaison role persons. This contact could enhance communications between the two strata and result in reduced tensions.

The present study only examined the liaison role from the perceptions of liaisons and non-liaisons who were in reciprocated contact with liaison role persons. Organizational members who occupy other roles may evaluate the functioning of the liaison role differently, or add additional information and insight into the functioning of these roles.

Other studies could examine other topological properties of the communications structure. An exploration of the functioning of the bridge person role could be undertaken. Such a study could define and compare the role of the bridge person with that of a liaison person. Perhaps the bridge role person serves as the primary group or clique group leader while the liaison role serves as his contact with the official prison organization, the guards.

The study of the personality dynamics of the liaison role person might be of great value in determining if it is a social or personal role. A comparison across similar institutions might also investigate whether or not the liaison role differs in purpose and function from institution to institution or remains the same across all maximum security institutions.

The topological analysis could also be utilized in other institutional settings with varying degrees of security and population make up to determine the stability and function, task or socio-emotional, of the role across settings with differentiated populations. Research should determine under what conditions the liaison role functions as a socio-emotional leader, as found in this study and under what conditions the liaison role functions as a task leader, as in MacDonald's work.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹MacDonald, op. cit., p. 57.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE PACKET (Cover Letter,
Personal Data Questionnaire,
Contact Checklist, Personal
Contact Questionnaire)

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE PACKET

Cover Letter

Communication Questionnaire College of Social Science
Michigan State University

No one in the clinic staff or any member of the Department of Corrections will ever see any of the completed questionnaires nor will anyone be identified by name with his answers. We need your full and frank answers; we promise you only the Michigan State Research team will see the individual questionnaires. Your participation in this research is voluntary. The questionnaire will take approximately one-half hour to complete for which you will be compensated.

We do ask for your name because we are charting the communication "map" of the clinic; however names will be transferred to numbers immediately. Your response to this questionnaire will in no way effect your status with the Michigan Department of Corrections.

Communications include: face-to-face conversation, formal or informal meetings and letters.

Upon completion of the questionnaire, place it in the provided envelope and seal it and return it to the researcher.

Please mark an X beside just one of the possible responses to each questionnaire item.

Example: The season of the year is

Spring
 Fall
 Winter
 Summer

Personal Data Questionnaire

General Information

My name is _____.
 only the M.S.U. research staff will read this

I was convicted of _____.

The length of my original sentence was _____.

I have ____ time left before I see the parole board.

Have you ever seen the board before? Yes ____ No ____

Where do you lock? _____.

What is your present job classification? _____.

How did you get your present job classification?

____ classification committee

____ requested the job assignment

____ was asked if I would like the assignment by a staff member.

____ Other Explain _____

Now let's turn to the first of the communication questions.

Generally speaking, the information we get from the staff members is accurate.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

There is a free two-way discussion of any problems that occur in the clinic between inmates and staff.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

One trouble with the information we get from the staff members is that it's usually late . . . not here when we need it.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

In most organizations there are small groups of people who prefer to work or relax together. I have contacts in more of these groups than most other inmates do around here.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

When someone wants to get a message to some group or person in the clinic, I can usually tell him the best way to do it.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

I communicate with more inmates in the clinic than most other inmates who are assigned here do.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

The inmates who have a lot of influence around here generally respect the suggestions that I make.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

The information we get from staff members is usually in very useful form . . . easy to understand and complete.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

I have access to very few clinic personnel and inmates compared to other inmates around here.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

Inmates around here are really encouraged to take any kind of problems to the clinic staff.

strongly agree
 agree
 neither agree or disagree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

When suggestions are made by inmates on the clinic, staff members seldom give the suggestions serious consideration.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Many of the "official" and "unofficial" influential people in the clinic look to me for opinions and advice.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

I have a way of getting what I want from the other inmates in the clinic with whom I have contact.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

When I think it's best for the group I live or work with, I can usually control the amount and kind of information the group gets.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Now, instead of thinking about communications contacts, think about how much you know about clinic programs and duties. Compared to other inmates on the clinic, how do you rate the level of knowledge you have about clinic-related activities?

- well above average for the clinic
- above average
- about the same as for other people in the clinic
- below average
- well below average for the clinic

How about your knowledge about topics that are not related to clinic programs or duties directly . . . what is going on within the clinic, who gets along with whom, who's having trouble adjusting to the clinic, who is adjusting, who is smart, etc. Is your knowledge

- well above average for the clinic
 above average
 about the same as others on the clinic
 below average
 well below average for the clinic

Now we would like to ask you a few questions on your feelings. These will assist us in the communication mapping.

You've got to have confidence in yourself if you're going to be successful.

- strongly agree
 agree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

I generally feel guilty whenever I do wrong.

- strongly agree
 agree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

"Might is right" and "every man for himself" are the main rules of living, regardless of what people say.

- strongly agree
 agree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

The biggest criminals are protected by society and rarely get to prison.

- strongly agree
 agree
 disagree
 strongly disagree

I worry a lot about unimportant matters.

_____ strongly agree
 _____ agree
 _____ disagree
 _____ strongly disagree

There's a little larceny in everyone, if you're really honest about it.

_____ strongly agree
 _____ agree
 _____ disagree
 _____ strongly disagree

The only criminals I really know are the ones here in the institution.

_____ strongly agree
 _____ agree
 _____ disagree
 _____ strongly disagree

You have to take care of yourself because nobody else is going to take care of you.

_____ strongly agree
 _____ agree
 _____ disagree
 _____ strongly disagree

Inmates can trust me to be honest and loyal in my dealings with them.

_____ strongly agree
 _____ agree
 _____ disagree
 _____ strongly disagree

I am very nervous much of the time.

_____ strongly agree
 _____ agree
 _____ disagree
 _____ strongly disagree

Who do you know is more important than what you know, and
brains are more important than brawn.

_____strongly agree
 _____agree
 _____disagree
 _____strongly disagree

Most people try to be law abiding and true.

_____strongly agree
 _____agree
 _____disagree
 _____strongly disagree

It makes me sore to have people tell me what to do.

_____strongly agree
 _____agree
 _____disagree
 _____strongly disagree

Police, judges, prosecutors, and politicians are just as
crooked as most of the people sent to prison.

_____strongly agree
 _____agree
 _____disagree
 _____strongly disagree

Most people are not very friendly towards me.

_____strongly agree
 _____agree
 _____disagree
 _____strongly disagree

Personal Contact Checklist

On this page are spaces about your communications with other members on the clinic. You are asked to name the five inmates with whom you have most frequent communications contact with and how frequent the contacts are.

The names are needed to complete the "mapping" of the communications system. However, no one other than the research team will see any of the names you use. The names will be changed into numbers by the research team.

Please print or write clearly so the coder can read it. Spell the names as best you can.

Consider only the inmates on the clinic or who come to the clinic on a regular basis.

Communicate includes: face-to-face conversation, formal or informal meetings and letters.

Personal Contact Checklist

List the name of each person in the clinic with whom you communicate with regularly. For each person listed, check the frequency of contact

<u>Name</u>	<u>Frequency</u>				
	<u>several times daily</u>	<u>about once a day</u>	<u>2 or 3 times a week</u>	<u>about once a week</u>	<u>less than once a week</u>
1. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Now for each person you named please complete a personal contact questionnaire. Keep only that person in mind when answering the questions. (For person one you named fill out personal contact questionnaire one, for person two personal questionnaire two, for person three questionnaire three, etc.)

Personal Contact Questionnaire One: About Named Person
Number One*

Out of 100 times you might have contact with this person,
 about how many times would:

- | | |
|--|-------|
| (a) You seek him or initiate the contact
(you go to see him) | _____ |
| (b) He seeks you or initiates the contact
(he comes to you) | _____ |
| (c) None of the above, we just happen to meet
(neither of us goes to the other) | _____ |
| Total contacts | 100 |

Which of the following has usually occurred during dis-
 cussions you've had with this person in the past week or
 so about activities, programs, or people in the clinic?
 I asked him questions

- _____ much more than he asked me
- _____ more than he asked me
- _____ about as often as he asked me
- _____ less than he asked me
- _____ much less than he asked me

When he thinks it's best for the group he lives or works
 with, this person can usually control the amount and
 kind of information the group gets.

- _____ strongly agree
- _____ agree
- _____ neither agree or disagree
- _____ disagree
- _____ strongly disagree

This person communicates with very few clinic staff
 members or inmates on the clinic.

- _____ strongly agree
- _____ agree
- _____ neither agree or disagree
- _____ disagree
- _____ strongly disagree

*The research instrument as used in the research
 project had a personal contact questionnaire for each of
 the five named persons, to avoid redundancy they will
 not be repeated here.

Thinking back over the contacts you've had with this person in the past week, about how often have you learned something new from him about clinic programs, duties, or people?

- almost every time
- very often
- about half the time
- seldom
- almost never

When someone needs to get a message to some group or person in the clinic, this person can usually tell him the best way to do it.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

When you learn some new change or new idea being talked about in the clinic, how likely are you to hear it first from this person?

- extremely likely
- likely
- 50-50
- unlikely
- extremely unlikely

The inmates who have a lot of influence around here generally respect the suggestions that he makes.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Many of the "official" and "unofficial" influential people in the clinic look to him for opinions and advice.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

About how many clinic staff members would you say this person has contact with in an "average" week compared to the number with whom most other inmates on the clinic have contact.

- well above average for the clinic
- above average
- about the same as others on the clinic
- below average
- well below average

This person has contacts with more inmates on the clinic than do most others on the clinic.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

How about his knowledge about topics that are not related to clinic programs or duties directly--what is going on within the clinic, who is adjusting, who is smart, who gets along with whom, who's having trouble adjusting to the clinic, etc. Is his level of knowledge

- well above average for the clinic
- above average
- about the same as others on the clinic
- below average
- well below average for the clinic

This person has contacts with individuals who are relatively high in the "power structure" of the clinic.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

He has a way of getting what he wants from the other inmates in the clinic with whom he has contact.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

How important are the inmates of the clinic that this person knows most closely?

- well above average for the clinic
- above average
- about the same as others on the clinic
- below average
- well below average for the clinic

If there is anything important going on in the clinic, this person has contacts with the people who usually know about it.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

When you and this person discuss activities of the clinic, which of the following happens more often during these talks? He tells me about

- a great many more things than I tell him
- many more things than I tell him
- the same number of things I tell him
- many less things than I tell him
- a great many less things than I tell him

Considering the relationship you have with this person, who do you think depends on the other more for advice on matters related to the clinic? I depend on him

- much more than he depends on me
- more than he depends on me
- about as much as he depends on me
- less than he depends on me
- much less than he depends on me

As new developments happen in the clinic, I usually "get the word" from someone other than this person.

- strongly agree
- agree
- neither agree or disagree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Whenever you communicate with this person which one of the following usually is the case?

- almost always he talks and I listen
- often he talks and I listen
- we usually talk and I listen equally
- often I talk and he listens
- almost always I talk and he listens

Now, instead of thinking about communication contacts, think about how much he knows about clinic programs and duties. Compared to other inmates on the clinic, how do you rate the level of knowledge he has about clinic-related activities?

- well above average for the clinic
- above average
- about the same as for other people in the clinic
- below average
- well below average for the clinic

APPENDIX B

ADMINISTRATIVE AGREEMENT LETTER

APPENDIX B

1105F University Village
East Lansing, Michigan
March 21, 1972

Mr. William Kime
Michigan Department of Corrections
Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Kime:

As I relayed in our conversation, I am presently pursuing my doctoral degree in criminal justice at Michigan State University under the direction of Dr. John McNamara. I would like to secure permission from your department to do my doctoral dissertation at the psychiatric clinic located in the State Prison of Southern Michigan. I have previously discussed the proposed project with Dr. Pesetsky who granted me tentative approval, dependent on departmental approval, to do the research at the clinic.

The proposed research will test the inmate informal communications structure, the roles involved and its relationship to leadership in the inmate social structure. The inmate population within the clinic of interest is the men in the drug and sex offender programs, approximately 70 in number. The men involved will be asked to voluntarily participate in filling out the experimental questionnaire which will take approximately one-half hour. I would like departmental permission to compensate these men by payment of two packages of cigarettes at the time of the research. The questionnaire is designed to require only the researcher for administration, which will make no direct demands upon staff time.

The experiment, if approved, will be administered at the convenience of Dr. Pesetsky, but is designed so that it can be administered after inmate work assignment hours in their residential units or group therapy room. The researcher spent three months this past summer getting acquainted with the institutional procedures and will strive, if granted permission, not to interfere with the operations of the clinic. The data collected will be treated with strict and ethical confidence and no one inmate will be identified by name, nor will the Michigan Department of Corrections be identified without its permission. A copy of the project will be provided to the department at the end of the research. I am including a copy of the research instrument and will be happy to provide any other needed information.

Sincerely,

John Prelesnik

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