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A STUDY ON GROUP DYNAMICS OF THE FORMAL-INFORMAL
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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF A COERCIVE ORGANIZATION

by

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I. Problems and Methods

The basic characteristic of a prison community consists in coerciveness of the group structure in which inmates are participated and kept; of course, not in spontaneousness. At first a prison must be coercive in the way admitting inmates to its community and constituting it, for a criminal orients himself to the prison as a goal having violent minus valences and exerts all possible efforts to keep away from the minus goal-region of prison. But in the end, once he is imprisoned coercively and confronted with overwhelming strength of the state's and the prison's power, he first becomes active in adjusting himself in no conflict to the prison community for the sake of losing no time in passing through it, while the prison community also first can be composed and held by coercively keeping the convicts who want to desert it and also by inversely utilizing his force passing through it.

But prisons may have a few volunteers too. For instance, case A who was told to play his role of an assassinator for which he was cast by his boss of an adult gang group chose spontaneously the way to prison by committing a crime estimated on penalty of short prison term in drunkenness, for fear of being killed by his boss on account of doing no act upon his order from timidity. Case B was willing to accept imprisonment by insisting in court, he himself is the principal and his boss has no connection with the crime, for the sake of keeping away his boss who incurred suspicion from a prison. But in such a case, only by premising coerciveness of imprisonment exerted by state's power it can be understood by us to make possible rationalization of his non-achievement by capture to his boss, or to do his duty of obedience and demand gratitude to his boss. A prison community must be basically coercive in group formation and also to keep convicts within its wall.

Secondly also to maintaining the social order in the wall according to

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formal value a prison community must be coercive to a convict, because it has to keep an absolutely dominant position of the custodian or formal forces to the convict's force, that is, keep basically the authoritarian order-character to inmates, as all of its inmates have criminal readiness. Without it inmates would overrun in prison as racketeers, pickpockets, thieves or gamblers etc., in the end as murderers or arsonists. Finally a prison must be not only disorganized in social system, but its walls would be brought down. Of course the disorganization of prison's social system does not imply immediately the bringdown of the wall. Custodians in the eighteenth century could keep their walls in spite of disorganization of inmate's relations, by the coerciveness on the anti-humanitarian means or treatments—abnormal strengthening of such material equipments as dungeons, chains etc. and decreasing life-energy of inmates by leaving epidemy as it is and by giving them moldy bread, air, water etc. The coercive treatment to convicts in Japanese prison today does not consist in the one by anti-humanitarian means or reduction of inmate's life-energy, but only in the one by setting a goal of the formation of a vivid and firm community system in which the moral routines constitute channels of prisoner's behaviors. But, of course, it is apt to get into difficulty, for criminals can be first vivid with manifesting their criminal ego and readiness. Criminals have naturally the socialized readiness too, but they connect most closely it with criminal readiness. A prison therefore must coerce them into getting into moral routine, for community-order can be conformed only to the socialized readiness. Therefore, a prison community's order can be established only by coercively separating the criminal lifespaces; only both by repressing their anti-moral and illegal readiness and by inducing their socialized readiness.

On the other hand, convicts must defend themselves at least with mask-making behaviors against such a formal and coercive pressure, for by it they are afraid that their ego-nucleus is in danger of being disordered by separating criminal lifespaces. The criminal inmates then must hide from it the nucleus of their ego in their informal relations in the wall. Therefore, a prison with authoritarian characters urgently needs to have also total-group characters of inspecting and supervising all the times and all the lifespaces all day long. Informal life in prison is very different from informal life outside the wall. In the former the informal life-region is not distinctly segregated from the formal one. For instance, informal meeting approved by formal forces exists indeed inside the wall too, but only under the watching of a guard. So, informal relations in the wall mean life-region hidden from the continual presence of guards' or out-group inmates' eyes or tacitly permitted by them.

But this informal lifespace is necessary in the meaning of maintaining his ego-balance and interlocating moral value system into ego-nucleus too.

The ground of formal forces consists basically in utilizing the plus or minus

forces of inmates' informal forces. The strength and weakness of formal and controlling forces are dynamically equivalent to forces of informal relations of inmates. But, if formal forces are weak or weakened by inmates' forces, prison officers can not control inmate's informal relations under the moral routine and maintain their prison community, that is, in the end they become involved into riot. The prison officers can maintain vivid and stable community-order first by standing on informal group members locating moral value into their ego-nucleus. For maintaining it, prison officers must take their way, first getting clues to mask-making adjustment of convicts, next gradually controlling informal group and ending by being maintained in core of informal plus groups. Otherwise, a prison would become only a field where the convicts hide deeply their criminal ego from the formal pressure, march past it step by step and are disciplined in criminal resistance-forces against being repressed.

In fine since 1952 by being engaged in researches on these problems we have found why or how custodial corrections, though different in grade and quality of coerciveness by institutions, must be coercive in formal-informal relation structure.

Here we will report a study on the coercive structure and function of the formal-informal relations, especially as to the situation permeating moral and legal standards into each personality. It is a partial report from April 1955 to May 1956 of the researches in which we have been engaged since 1952. Our subject was the convict's community of a maximum security prison M., it was situated in Tohoku (North-East) District of Japan and admitted 2036 adult male convicts in this research period. We then took the focus of our research in prison-factory's situation out of all its community situations, for that situation was given the nuclear status in group dynamics in the wall there. We could grasp this community by classifying it into two parts: the factory's region and the housing regions with many small dormitories. In Japanese prison, housing parts in the rule have not solitude-cells, but only small dormitories with 6 or 10 of inmates, except a few solitary cells used for punishment or medical treatment, for a solitude-confinement is avoided as a rule on account of being apt to get into danger of the mental diseases from the confinement.

Convicts' life in a small dormitory where sleeping is principal function is more homogenous in comparison with factory's life-region and more narrow in width of incentives of action, while in the one in factories there are great differences among them in the quality of convict's action, social role, status and group atmosphere because of differences of the fit action by disparity of occupation types and the organizations required of the inmates, and also in such a wider range of incentives to such actions, as taking meals within their factory and enjoying recreations, dressing, taking a bath within other rooms in a factory

unit. And as a rule convicts are appointed basically also their dormitory by the factory unit to which they belonged. Therefore, in convicts' life in the wall their actions are very differentiated and decided on the basis of factory's life-region. Therefore, we by restricting to factory situation discuss here group dynamics of formal-informal relations in the wall and the mechanism permeating the correction-value to convicts through them. For about one year from 1955 to the next we were engaged in this main research, after surveying as preliminary research the attitudes of all its convicts to all the factories in M prison. Psychologists of M prison mainly engaged in action research in close concert with the guards, other psychologists chiefly interviewed convicts and investigated their personal records. All of us participated in our research-field according to the same theoretical constructs and the common research-plan, and discussed together, then attained some results⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ On the problems and approach-methods : cf. J. Abe; On the Function and Structure of the Criminal Lifespaces — a Theoretical Construct and some Findings on Correctional Institution from the Point of View of Social Psychology (English paper), in *Psychological papers to commemorate the 35th anniversary of Dr. Y. Ohwaki's professorship*, 1960, The Psychological Institute of Tohoku University, Sendai. On the Etiological Types of Crime and the Grade of Criminal Depth: cf. J. Abe; A Social Psychological Study on Function and Structure of the Criminal Lifespaces (English paper), in *Japan Science Review: Humanistic Studies* Vol 11, 1959, The Union of Japanese Association of Humanistic Studies, Tokyo.

II. General Characteristic of the Structure and Function of Factory Situations in M Prison

M prison had 28 factory units and 34 types of occupations at the above mentioned period. Now, from the measurement of the attitude to these factories of all the convicts in M prison, we could find directions of the value stream in these convicts generally as follows :

(1) indoor sedentary work → indoor standing work → outdoor work in the wall → outdoor work outside of the wall. (2) occupation type which is considered to be of small income and not so useful for the livelihood after the release (for example, paper work) → occupation type which is considered to be of higher income and useful for the livelihood after the release. (3) occupation type of low "food-grade" for light labors → occupation type of high "food-grade" for heavy labors. (4) factory in uncomfortable atmosphere → factory in comfortable atmosphere. Therefore, we in the convict's community could find value situation streamed from the low free-grade, low food-grade, unwilling group atmosphere, unuseful job after release toward the high free-grade, high food-grade, agreeable

atmosphere, useful job after release. The formal control system to convicts in each factory, except such prison workers outside the wall as farm workers, building and repairing workers, porters needed to strengthen watch-forces of guards, consisted, as a general rule, of managing of only one full time guard in charge of watching; if there were less than 150 convicts, regardless of the number of convicts, only one guard was watching. Moreover, besides a guard a few technical experts were allotted to any factory, and if any trouble occurs, many guards in non-charge were mobilized to the factory, then the formal coercive forces in it were much strengthened. The number of convict's members distributed in a factory in the wall was 26 in median and spread in width of 4 to 185. Therefore there was a difference in quantity of forces of formal control-pressure and in quality of formal-informal relations among the factories, namely for instance, between the factory in which one guard was posted to 150 convicts and the factory in which one was posted to 4 convicts.

We, as nuclear subjects of our research, selected out of them N factory having 185 convicts (the greatest quantity of inmates in the prison's factory) and containing the dual occupation types (paper work and knit good work), for the factory overtly manifesting it was most suitable as the subject for distinctly grasping the complexity of formal-informal relation in M prison community, as there were the minimum of formal coercive pressure to inmates and also the maximum of width of objective potentiality of informal relations' complexity by having the dual occupation types with different value grades together. This factory N having members over 150 convicts, must cover the weakness of the formal coercive control, so that it was necessary to form a few sub-groups in it and to appoint a few prisoners as sub-leaders to assist two guards as formal leaders. To use these assistant leaders called by convicts "Tachiyaku" (player of standing role) and to substitute a few parts of formal control with these convicts, it was not only easiest to prison officers to use the most influential informal leader, but also, if informal forces of the convicts were so powerful as to keep balance with the formal, the sufficient formal control was impossible without utilizing such an informal power. And on the other hand, the informal leaders could make stable most effectively their informal status against competing informal groups by having formal coercive force as their background. And yet, in N factory having distinct differences lying around the incentive such as seen between the sedentary and (in future) unuseful work (paper work) and the standing and more useful work (knit good work), we could find clear value stream and moving attitude flowing from paper work to knit good work within the same factory. Tachiyaku could influence a guard as gate keeper of factory life in such a way as to move only the job of the clique to which he belonged according to their value stream by his assistant uttering and through the assistant and direct manipulating of convict's life. Tachiyaku hid

his clique from guard's eyes and so enlarged illegally their free-spaces. Therefore, Tachiyaku became the focus of the conflict among informal cliques in order to make a monopoly of it for each other and also through it the guard's formal force controled the informal. And so the stratum of the convict's community was constructed around Tachiyaku and differentiated the core, the intermediating and the peripheral there, while convict's individual also actively or passively must orient himself in its action in a given situation of formal-informal relation in each stratum according to the formal or informal value.

III. Historical Dynamics of Formal-Informal Relations in N Factory — Especially about Objective Aspects —

Only by grasping the historical situation, that is, only by referring to the dynamics between the present situation and the related one before and after that situation, it first become possible to us to understand the factory N as to what concrete situation, in a certain time and a given factory, the above mentioned structure and function of a prison community showed. We about one year endeavored to follow up the developing of N factory's situations and understand a prison through it concretely. At first here we would touch upon its concrete development of the objective aspect and frame of the formal-informal relations coercively influencing each inmate's action. We could differentiate it into 3 periods as follows: (1) August to November in 1955: the informal clique relation was under the dominance of Kansai-clique (informal relations were formed inside the wall on account of committing a crime in the criminal place of Kansai, Western District of Japan) and other cliques were yet weaker and the minorities. Kansai-clique occupied Tachiyaku and semi-Tachiyaku in the factory and almost all of the valuable jobs were occupied by it. Then the convicts of the other cliques in the marginal and peripheral status of the community must be checked by it violently even in a scanty of their free-region permitted by formal forces and controled by means of violence hidden from guard's eyes. In such a situation a guard's formal control must remain passive, while it must keep the group order by utilizing stable control-forces of Kansai-clique, also aiming at a chance for the sake of strengthening informal groups opposing to Kansai-clique. But these control situation, not only to the informal situation, owed also to the such control planning of prison officer's upper stratum as first concentrating formal forces to check the informal boss illegally influencing all the M prison's community beyond a factory's convicts, for, until it ended, abruptly checking the small boss only affecting within a factory would rather serve to weaken formal stable force by being distributed and disturbing its concentration. (2) November in 1955 to May in 1956: it was the period in which Kansai-clique's monopoly of free lifespace

and the defect of formal counterplan to his controlling to other inmates by means of violence resulted in the fact that the convicts were overstrained and guards were urged to reorganizing this factory's human relations. The main factors which introduced and realized these tendencies, were such situation, in which the entrance of nucleus person A, a leading member of racketeer group in Sendai city, made it possible to increase and gather the member of Sendai-city clique around him.

Other main factors were the serving out of his sentence of the chief leader of Kansai-clique and the gradual decrease of its clique members in the factory. And besides, this period was such one, in which guards realized roughly the general control-plan of checking first class of informal minus boss and changed it into repressing the small minus boss of each factory unit. Therefore, the new guard in charge of factory N, in November 1955 succeeded to the predecessor, grasped skillfully its new situation and controlled it actively. Under this situation Kansai-clique must take a compromising and pacifying attitude. So Sendai-clique, by utilizing Kansai-clique's disunion after the release of the former informal leader and by being maintained by formal forces, promoted gradually his influence-forces, in the end gained controlling status (Tachiyaku) by moving out all the informal leaders of Kansai-clique into other factories and by taking a drastic step of telling guards about the violation of official control law done by Kansai-clique, although Sendai-clique dragged the former into it. (3) June in 1956 to October in 1956: in this period, almost all factory members came to consist of convicts from Tohoku District, therefore, they showed the tendencies of homogenizing, and then of reduction of overstraining themselves or controlling by resorting to violence. Without any danger of strengthening the force of informal groups standing against them, even if informal leaders of Sendai-clique was checked, the new guards in charge succeeded to the predecessor in June gradually could check the perquisite-like utterings and behaviors of Tachiyaku and in the end could reduce their intense gradient of the incentive to Tachiyaku and the wide difference of freedom's grade. So factory N could stand in front of an entrance to a situation which will make possible educational treatment.

IV. The Subjective and Personal Aspect Adjusting Oneself to the Objective Situation

While the above-mentioned change in the general and objective situations had a particular effect on each individual's action or subjective situation according to his subjective readiness and his group status or role, conversely each individual also had a general influence upon the objective situations according to his subjective lifespaces and his social status or role. In the next place these relations will

be described, especially focalized in the permeation of the control-value or correction-value to the aspects of subjective attitude.

At first we will touch upon such attitudes of convicts in fulfilling the central function in the formal-informal relations within the prison. Among them we found 3 types in given periods.

Now here we must illustrate our notation used on describing and analyzing our cases as follows; *A* stands for a type fixed in the present stratum, *B* does for a type unstably put among different strata, *C* does for a type ascending or descending from the present stratum; further in *a* it is indicated to be *active* to fix in the present stratum or to ascend and descend from it, in *p* it is indicated to be *passive*; and in (*C*) we show to be in the central stratum of a group structure, in (*I*) we do to be in the intermediate stratum, in (*P*) we do to be in the peripheral stratum. So we indicate in *Aa(C)*, for instance, a type actively being fixed in the central stratum.

(1) Type *Aa(C)*: Type *Aa(C)* was the one maintaining the high status and role both in the convict's community and in the criminal underworld of the out-wall; criminals of Type *Aa(C)* gained both the informal leadership and the role of the formal assistant and did not change his attitude for such racketeer's values as "influence (Kao)" or "a street knight (Otokodate)". For instance, case A played a nuclear role in the crystallization of Sendai-clique during the second period and then the role of Tachiyaku representing Sendai faction during the second and third periods on account of the high level in his criminal readiness (4th grade of criminal depth—the professional level) and his high status in the criminal underworld of Sendai city. The informal relation inside the wall had really to him an isomorphic meaning outside the wall; he was supported really by his near gang in the wall and therefore his daily life in the wall had to be prudent also to maintaining his status in the out-wall underworld. In the third period, as his utterance gradually became checked by the guards, the evaluation by his informal group was apt to become lower and he also came to feel a "difficulty". However, the "difficulty" did not mean changing of criminal value in his personality, but conversely was only an expression of the anxiety, lest he should adjust himself to both the sides of the criminal society and the convict's community, fast holding the personal value hitherto.

(2) Type *B(C)*: it was such a type, as while it occupied the central status within convict's community either only in the formal relation or only in the informal, in its other relations it stayed at the middle or peripheral status. This type functioned unstably in this convict's community; to stabilize its status and role both in the formal and in the informal, such movements, as the formal force strongly would back up its informal low status or the informal strong force would cover its formal low status, had to occur there. It was found as the result of having

checked informal forces by stronger formal forces or checked the formal by the informal in reverse with this and also as the resulting of the strong backing-up of the one force only. And the stability of $B(C)$ type was decided especially by the grade of the group force supporting it. Case B was made to rise gradually up to the central status by the strong informal backing of Kansai-clique after the release of the informal preleader and because of the lack of fit nuclear person. But he was made to fall from the informal core-status with the weakening of his informal group itself, while he has been kept Tachiyaku by the formal on account of the "good convict" character (Kangokutaro, prisoner's mask-making type keeping criminal readiness in nuclear ego distinctly differentiated from peripheral ego enough to adjust himself to the prison routine) and because of the know-how in the prison life. He could not have at his back such strong supporters who ventured to uphold him once he was checked by guards and antagonistic informal groups, on account of his low criminal readiness being lower (3rd depth—the semi-professional level) and of his low status in the outwall criminal society. His troubles in the falling period consisted in the anxiety about the maskmaking adjustment to control-value system and about weak maintaining of the informal value and it was not effective to permeate correction-value to the nucleus of his ego.

(3) Type $Ap(C)$: it was such a type that checked the criminal readiness, passively keeping his central status in the formal-informal relation. Case C had central status in a racketeer's group of Jōban region (a locality in Tohoku District), but was driven by necessity to escape to normal occupation after having fallen into such real straits as either to be killed by the clique or be required of vast money, because of murdering his "brother" in racketeer's relation. Such out-wall real situation and his insight into it checked his action based on illegal value, passively maintaining his informal and formal high status. But Sendai city clique made such a condition under which the guard was compelled to transferring him to the other factory; it induced him successfully to violate the prison routine by picking a quarrel with him, because the nuclear person having plus value to formal value standard was an impediment to the minus informal group to it⁽²⁾.

Now in the same periods as the above-mentioned we could find three types localized at peripheral status in N factory.

(1) Type $Aa(P)$: it was such a type as would make active effort to fix in the peripheral stratum. For instance, case D, in spite of coming from Kansai District, kept a distance from Kansai-clique and also this clique didn't actively induce him in the first period; but there he was not so violently repressed as peripheral inmates from the other districts than Kansai. This situation didn't change consistently

⁽²⁾ We here could not find Type C, but it in other research-cases. Type $C(C)$ is the one it orients himself to descend from nuclear structure to peripheral.

until the third period. Since he showed good work result and was a senior too, the guards in charge recommended him to transfer to the position having a higher value to general convicts and then meaning higher status to them in 2nd and 3rd periods, but he continued positively to reject it. Such an attitude was formed for the reasons as follows, by the repelling to the racketeer's value system dominant in the nuclear stratum of community of factory N, from the value system as thief in his readiness and by such a calculative insight (IQ 135, VQ 76), that if his status is raised, he might be involved in the conflict among the informal groups and then bring upon himself such a disadvantage as to delay his release on parole. Not only he abided the influence from the informal central group by staying in the peripheral stratum, but also abided the permeating of the formal value to personal core by selecting the peripheral stratum where he could easily make mask-making adjustment.

(2) Type $C(P)$: it was such a type as would positively aim at a chance of raising his status to the nuclear stratum. For instance, it was only two weeks since case E from Sendai city had been committed to prison M, so his perspective had not yet been established. Moreover in this 3rd period, the Sendai city clique maintained the stable hegemony. And also there was no need to concentrate many of the convicts into the useful informal group as strongly and extensively as in 1st and 2nd periods. Therefore, in spite of his high status as racketeer, he was not absorbed rapidly by the informal clique. Especially since case E and A belonged to antagonistic factions in Sendai city. And his behaviors inside the wall directly reflected out-wall situation, then his entry into the nuclear stratum was a "Hanamichi (a flower way, a stage on which passage through the audience)" to show his influence. Therefore, he behaved with prudence in the peripheral stratum where he waiting for his time. Such prudence meant in itself the estrangement from the correction-value.

(3) Type $Ap(P)$: it was such a type as formally or informally had no potentiality of raising his status and role under a given situation. Of course, the degree of stabilities and the situation type of peripheral stratum became different by the objective situation of the convict community. But under such conditions controled by the minus boss to formal value standard as seen in the 1st period, the peripheral stratum excepting type $Aa(P)$ and $C(P)$ was always victims of the nuclear stratum. For instance, case F (inmate weak constitution, IQ 75, 2nd criminal depth-grade—the semi-amateur level) was a sneak thief by a incitation of the professional thieves and his value system and his perspective to the criminal underworld was not yet differentiated. Also in the factory N he was non-differentiated around himself and played a scapegoat-like role, so that he depended on the backing-up of formal forces and strained at adjusting to the value required by the formal routine. But being put in a boiled-down informal relation, he became bursting and

was apt to violate the controlling formal value. And also being put in a stable situation inducing the minus behaviors, he was apt to fall into a crime incited. Therefore, the permeation of the formal value was uncertain.

Now in the next place, we shall treat an intermediate stratum in the convict community. We then could classify three types in the same periods as the above-mentioned.

(1) Type $Aa(I)$: it was such a type that was actively fix in the intermediating stratum. For instance, case G, through five times of the early experiences in correctional institution, once learned and fixed how to make it possible easily to enlarge his free-region in the coercive society and to raise up his weak status from the oppressed peripheral stratum by becoming sodomite of informal minus-boss, only repeated it here by becoming A's sodomite. In 2nd and 3rd periods, he was here too stable to be interested in release by parole. And also he hadn't interest to formal value, because his sodomy had been so deeply fixed and he hadn't any active perspective out of the wall but professional sodomite's life.

(2) Type $Ca(I)$: it was such a type as had a tendency actively putting down or resing up his status from intermediating stratum. For example, case J, in the first period, raised his status to the intermediate stratum by being regarded as sodomite of Kansai-clique's leader, enlarged his free-space illegally in this factory. But in 2nd period the Kansai clique's leader B intending compromisely to check the rising of Sendai clique gave him as sodomite to its leader. But thereafter in the 3rd period, J rejected the sodomy-relation with A and would move his status to the peripheral by cutting the background person as promoter of his status, because of A's cooling to him and of J's jealousy to a new sodomite of A.

(3) Type $Ap(I)$: it was such a type as was passively fix in intermediate stratum, though it showed to rise. For instance, case H exerted all the efforts to raise formally and informally the status of case A as central person in Sendai-clique in expectation of rising of himself. But, while in spite of his efforts he was estimated by A only so low as to be looked upon as useless except mediating objects of his sodomy, also his hope toward Tachiyaku was repressed by guards. Thus he, lost his perspetive for rising and his zeal to mask-making adjustment to formal value, showed the tendency of deserting Sendai-clique by rejecting to mediate informal leader A to his homosexual object; as he was not so radical as Case D, he held his hitherto criminal readiness in the intermediating stratum by keeping distance suitably from both the formal and informal forces. But in this situation his belief toward both the formal life and the informal was not formed but checked. In short his putting-down meant not permeation of formal value to his nuclear ego but selfprotection to formal and informal relations.

In the end we could grasp three personal dynamics conforming to each stratum; through each stratum there were first Type A, orienting himself to fix

actively or passively in each present stratum, secondly Type *C*, to ascend or descend, actively or passively, from each present stratum and thirdly Type *B* which is unstable by being put among different stratum, formally or informally. While these personal and subjective dynamics, with personal readiness, evitable must take place in the dynamics of the objective and dominant social situation with value stream within present group, simultaneously the personal aspect must influence the formation of the objective and general situation on account of his status, centrally or peripherally. And the dominant situation of the formal-informal structure in convict's community functioned basically to each convict as to forming his plus or minus attitude system to legal value standards and as to the real or non real insight or non-insight to real society of out-wall and so as to his correctional or non-correctional direction.

V. Summary and Discussion

In the above mentioning, we could touch upon a part of the research on the prison M in 1955. Through this research, we could find some results as follows.

The group situation in correction-institutions which coercively committed inmates as prisons was determined basically in the variable equivalents among the forces having antagonistic value-orientations within a dual structure of formal-informal relation. The more objective structure weakening formal control forces existed, the more the informal free-space of nuclear stratum was illegally enlarged, while the one of peripheral stratum, in reverse with it, became illegally narrower and then the difference of free-spaces existing between the nuclear stratum in convict's community and the peripheral was more distinctly increased. On the other hand, the more antagonistic minus powers among convict's cliques became equivalent, the more easily became the formal control force to grasp a chance of holding the formal order. And the degree of personal force actively adjusting oneself to the formal control-standard was basically determined by proportion between both the one of the need of each person hoping to be released from prison and the one of strength of the objective formal-informal structure, through which the convicts' needs were channelized or according to which it was checked. And then the degree of effect of forces permeating correction-value to each convict depended upon rigidity and distinctiveness of the perspective within the wall to adjusting oneself to legal or illegal society outside the wall. Especially while the real domination of racketeer's value system to the informal group in the wall disturbed the formal value permeating the convicts having adjustment-readiness there, also doing the ones having no adjustment-readiness because of being concentrated his force only to adjusting himself to the present minus group situation in the wall and having not his energy toward the outside of the wall. We have to classify and

distribute the convicts not only by such abstract traits of solitude person as psychological personality traits, character, intelligence or not only by such formalistic condition as long or short prison term, repeated or first record, but by the concrete units showing social-psychological potentiality in a certain prison factory planned in fit numbers of inmate and fit group structure. Otherwise, a prison community would become only a life-region in which the criminals hiding from formal coercive pressure deeply their criminal ego march past it step by step and are disciplined reversely in their resistance force against the legal standards for being coercive or the criminals having only the weak criminal readiness make desperate efforts, regardless of the active permeating of moral value, only to defend themselves from violent oppression. (Junkichi Abe)

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Résumé

Depuis 1950, les auteurs faisaient des recherches sur des criminels et sur l'établissement de correction comme un des problèmes les plus importants et les plus concrets pour la psychologie sociale. Les résultats que les auteurs ont rapportés ici s'étaient basés sur une étude dans laquelle ils poursuivaient, pendant environ une année à partir du mois d'avril 1955, la transition des situations dans la fabrique N (180 criminels, l'ouvrage manuel du papier, le tricotage et l'industrie textile). Les data de leurs enquêtes ont donné la conclusion suivante :

En générale, dans une fabrique où la pression coercitive est forte, s'il y a, pour les criminels, quelques sortes d'ouvrages de valeurs différentes et si la contrainte formelle est faible à contrôler les membres, l'action des groupes en relation informelle sont renforcée sous la direction de gansters et la formation des strates se développe de plus en plus. En même temps, la différence du degré de la liberté illégale entre le strate centrale et le strate périphérique s'augmente et le conflit clandestin se renforce aussi pour occuper la position de dirgence entre des groupes. L'intensité d'ajustment au standard formel du comportement est en proportion de la grandeur du besoin de s'évader de la prison, quand la force-formelle surpasse la force-informelle négative. Le degré de l'infiltration effective de la valeur corrective dans le centre du moi de chaque forçat est en proportion du degré de la dominance effective de la valeur négative sur les relations informelles dans la fabrique. De ce fait, les membres de la strate centrale deviennent s'ajuster au standard formel sous le masque. Au contraire, les membres de la strate périphérique sont obligés à concentrer leurs efforts pour s'ajuster à la pression illégale (et informelle) et alors, il en résulte que leur apprentissage de la valeur positive devient difficile. Les forçats reçoivent des changements correctionnels selon leur perspective sur la vie en dehors des murs, soit en se fixant aux strates qu'ils occupent, soit en montant ou en descendant de leur présente position, soit en se trouvant devant la contradiction entre la statut formel et le statut informel. Pour comprendre scientifiquement les forçats et leur correction il faut qu'on comprenne exactement le mécanisme qui pousse un forçat à s'adapter à la relation à la fois formelle et

informelle. Mais la seule compréhension des traits abstraits de personnalité ou de la condition social n'est pas la compréhension scientifique du comportement à l'intérieur des murs.

Zusammenfassung

Wir haben hier einige Resultate der Untersuchung mitgeteilt, zu deren Hauptgegenstände die Fabrik N (Papierarbeit und Gewerbe) im in dem Nordöstlichen Distrikte Japans gelegenen Zuchthause M gemacht wurde. Dabei sind die formal-informalen Beziehungen der Sträflingsgemeinschaft und der Mechanismus der zwingenden Durchdringung der formalen Werte in jeden Einzelsträfling im Verlauf von fast einem Jahr seit April 1955 erforscht worden.

Die der formalen Kontroll-Norm anpassende Intensität des Verhaltens der Sträflinge hängt von der Stärke der integrierten Kräfte ab, die zwischen der Kraft der objektiven und formalen Gemeinschaft-Struktur, die sie kontrollieren, und der Kraft der Sträflinge, die sobald als möglich austreten wollen, bestehen. Je schwächer der formale Kontroll-Druck wird, so weit er aber mächtiger ist als der informale, desto mehr nimmt der Unterschied in Qualität und Quantität der unrechtlichen Freiheit zwischen der zentralen Schicht, die in den informalen, Minus-Wert gegen den formalen Wert habenden Beziehungen steht, und der peripherischen Schicht zu, und desto intensiver wird unter den gegensätzlichen informalen Gruppen der Kampf um dominierende Macht in der zentralen Schicht.

Die Stärke der Durchdringung der formalen Werte in jeden Einzelsträfling hängt von der Stärke der Differenzierungen seiner Einsicht gegen die Minus-oder Plus-Werte habende Aussenseitengemeinschaft im Zuchthause und von der Stärke der in der Innenseite des Zuchthauses dasehenden Realität der die Minus-oder Plus-Werte habenden Aussenseite-Beziehungen ab.

Den Sträfling und seine Besserungsbedingungen in dem Zuchthause können wir erst dadurch genau erfassen, sie in formal-informale Beziehung der Zuchthausgemeinschaft einzustellen. Beschränken wir dabei noch darauf, nur die abstrakte oder rein psychologische Persönlichkeit des Einzelsträflings oder nur die abstrakte Institution des Zuchthauses zu erfassen, so werden wir sie nicht wissenschaftlich erfassen können.