# JOURNAL OF SECURITY AND SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES ISSN 2029-7017 print/ISSN 2029-7025 online 2021 Volume 11 https://doi.org/10.47459/jssi.2021.11.4

### CHANGES IN THE POLISH PRISON SUBCULTURE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SECURITY IN PENITENTIARY SYSTEM

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Received 15 November 2020; accepted 18 February 2021; published 30 March 2021

**Abstract.** The security in penitentiary system depends a lot on prison subculture. This subculture consists in adopting values, norms and principles that facilitate to fulfil one's own needs in conditions of imprisonment. However, very often informal groups base their activities on patterns derived from the criminal subculture. The prison subculture often depreciates human dignity, being one of the most important factors disturbing the process of institutional rehabilitation. At the same time, there is a lack of scientific researches that can help to develop the field of behavioural studies in informal structures culture which have a significant influence on the state security due to the efficiency of penitentiary system and its rehabilitation function. To mitigate the gap in current investigations in this field, this research deals with prison subculture in Polish penitentiary system based on survey of penitentiary service officers. Our findings allow to conclude the significant changes in prison subculture during last decade. The most important are: increase of authority among inmates with a better material situation (23%), a greater degree of implementation of rehabilitation programmes by inmates (18.8%), as well as blurring the differences between prisoners mainly due to their joint participation in group activities (17%). To strengthen the further positive effect of penitentiary system on social norms and behaviour of prisoners it is advisable to eliminate potential sources and possibilities for obtaining, accumulating and transferring illegal income by convicted persons. This action defined as main tool to mitigate the subculture phenomenon and its impact of the rehabilitation process in penitentiary institutions.

Keywords: criminal subculture, penitentiary system, security, penitentiary service officers

**Reference** to this paper should be made as follows: Mieciński, J. 2021. Changes in the polish prison subculture and its impact on the security in penitentiary system. *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues*, 11, 71-82. https://doi.org/10.47459/jssi.2021.11.4.

JEL Classifications: I31, I38

Additional disciplines: security science; sociology; education

#### 1. Introduction

There is a separate strand of literature devoted to organizational culture and impact of its peculiarities on organizational performance (Mullakhmetov et al., 2019; Gierszewski, Pieczywok, 2020; Domańska-Szaruga, 2020; Laužikas, Miliūtė, 2020; Hac et al., 2021).

The phenomenon of prison subculture has a very significant impact on the functioning of persons deprived of their liberty. They form so-called informal "social structures" with a disintegrated system of values, mainly standing in opposition to the prison administration. Being a member of such a structure means at the same time total submission to the deviant subculture. Simultaneously, the prison community acting in such a way creates negative attitudes and patterns of behaviour that are contrary to the commonly accepted system of norms and values. Prison subculture includes all behaviour of convicted persons that is secret, contrary to the applicable legal norms and rules of social coexistence. However, the currently observed phenomenon of the "second life"

is a result of development, and concurrently, it is subject to certain transformations.

The phenomenon of prison subculture discussed in the publication is an undiagnosed issue. Most of the available literature in this area signals a rather fragmentary and not necessarily current image of "grypsera". Given the complexity and dynamics of the phenomenon, the information in this area should be updated, taking into account new, just emerging elements of informal structures. Therefore, there is a need to present the most recent and unconventional issues concerning the phenomenon of the prison subculture.

The following publication aims at characterising the phenomenon of subculture with particular emphasis on the changes occurring in prison subculture over the last decade. It also aims at presenting the impact of the phenomenon on security in prisons and detention facilities.

The paper will also present the dependencies and conditions leading to the fact that the so-called "second life" continues to find supporters among inmates in prisons.

The content of the present study will consist of the empirical plane resulting from the experience of the author of the paper, along with surveys conducted among the Prison Service officers.

## 2. Basic terms related to the topic of the paper

Prison or detention facility – the place where isolation measures are carried out – regardless of their type or kind and level of protection, represent a special social environment. Such institutions belong to a class of social organisations called total institutions, namely organisations creating a sort of separate world for people connected (Kalisz et al., 2013) with them, governed by their own laws and isolated from the rest of society by more or less tight barriers. The subculture of specific individuals or groups implementing their model of criminal social functioning means norms, values, and patterns specific solely to such people. Often it can cause a large-scale shift in well-being of people, for instance, due to shadow economy influence (Mishchuk et al., 2020; Shkolnyk et al., 2020) with a negative consequence in form of migration (Bilan et al., 2019) etc. A specific feature of criminal subculture lies in the fact that its impact is not limited only to direct participants of the criminal activities, but broader social systems are also included in the orbit of its impact. Thus, one can assume that the criminal subculture is mainly a broadly understood subculture of criminals. On the other hand, one can speak about prison subculture in case of a formally isolated social environment (e.g. a prison), where persons deprived of their liberty and free people coexist. It means that the prison subculture is a subculture of convicts and prison staff (Dolata, 2011) considered collectively. Therefore, all the norms, values, and patterns determining the behaviour of all those involved in social processes within the prison should be considered as a prison subculture. By the "second life" one can define a specific variant of prison subculture of a deviant nature, having specific norms, values, and (Świder et al., 2013) patterns. The "second life" can also be defined as a conglomerate of hidden uncontrolled norms that create a certain strategy of conduct whereby prisoners know how to behave under given circumstances and function (Kalisz et al., 2005) optimally in isolation.

The prison subculture represents a phenomenon that has a strong impact on the penitentiary system. As an informal decision-making centre, it functions alongside the formal, official power and decision camp, represented (Przybyliński, 2016) by the members of the Prison Service. The prison subculture can also be seen as a phenomenon of the unification of people sentenced to informal social groups with a different system (Kaczorowska, 2019) of values, norms, and customs.

The prison subculture analysed in the present paper consists of the behaviour of prisoners according to spontaneously created, specific moral, social and praxeological norms, aiming mainly at satisfying their needs, in violation of the applicable prison order, and frequently also at continuing crime. Additionally, this phenomenon should be seen as a specific system of the following components: a specific hierarchy of values and a related system of norms of behaviour, often accompanied by a certain mindset, a specific style of being as well as prison habits, social hierarchy or prison role, specific subculture products. According to T. Kalisz, when talking about prison subculture in the context of personal safety, one should pay particular attention to the fact that subculture strives to seize power over the community of convicts. It leads to a situation, where hidden lawlessness and brutality prevails in prisons programmed as one of the elements of the justice system while humiliating the victims and violating the sense of one's own dignity constitute every-day life and not exceptional (Kalisz, 2013) incidents.

The existing prison subculture in the community of people deprived of their liberty divides the community of prisoners into two groups: the so-called "real people", who have a privileged position and play a leading role therein, and the remaining prisoners, namely the so-called "inhumans" playing a marginal role (Szymczak, 2004) in the community. The principles regulating prison subculture are based on a dichotomous perception of the prison community and a division into "we" and "they" (the rest). Simultaneously, it should be noted that despite the transformation of the subculture in recent years, such a division still exists (Sarzała, 2015) in conditions of prison isolation.

The specificity, and in particular, the totality and passiveness of a spatially closed prison environment as a total institution is conducive to the formation and spread of the subculture. The phenomenon "clearly accompanies the execution of imprisonment (Sarzała, 2015) and pre-trial detention".

The emerging "second life" is a response to the deprivation of needs and any restrictions associated with imprisonment. It is a sort of alternative "to the formal social system set up by legislation which, imposed by coercion, does not satisfy the diverse (Iwański, 2011) needs of detainees".

Malec believes that the observation of the prison subculture enables us to state that it is mainly characterised by appropriately shaped, selected moral, social, and praxeological norms, particularly in the form of hygiene (Malec, 1998) rules.

An indispensable and most important element of the "second life" is considered to be the so-called "grypsera" or "grypserka", namely customs, norms, rituals, and absolute requirements for the individual, but also a specific language, a dialect deriving from the culture of criminals. In other words, these are unwritten rules of conduct in rehabilitation centres and secret, illegal ways of communication between convicts using the prison dialect, mimic alphabet, and other signs. All of the above rules were created by the convicts (Dolata, 2011) themselves.

The prison subculture applies standards modelled in such a way as to meet the needs of persons deprived of their liberty in the best possible way, particularly to get around prohibitions and restrictions imposed on prisoners. In the case of grypsera, these standards of criminal ethos overlap with each other, with the main aim of using other prisoners, as an important continuation of previous criminal behaviour, but also of preventing the police and prison staff from penetrating the prison environment. It is also a matter of establishing and consolidating criminal contacts to improve the commission of crimes and agree on plans for criminal (Malec, 1998) activities after release.

Simultaneously, prison subculture sanctions are generally very drastic. They often even include homosexual rape, with all its tragic consequences for the person concerned. Occasionally, even homicides against the background of a violation of the subculture standards occur.

A characteristic feature of the current prison subculture in Poland is the fact that a number of its norms are not only implemented by the grypsers, but also by a part or perhaps even the majority of other prisoners. From the perspective of the threat it poses, it is of particular importance to implement the standard of various forms of aggression against prisoners who, in particular, have been found guilty of crimes against children, were employees of law enforcement agencies, but are also considered to be passive homosexuals, or are treated as informants of law enforcement agencies, or exposed their partners in the course (Malec, 1998) of criminal proceedings.

By describing the prison subculture, it is possible to present different aspects thereof, for instance, specific mo-

rality, methods of eliminating the grypsers from the group, etc. It seems, however, that for the functionality of the penitentiary system, the most significant issues are those caused by the existence of subculture. Therefore, these concerns such disturbances and irregularities in the functioning of prison units which are caused by the subculture in the scope of the implementation of penitentiary tasks.

## 3. Changes occurring in the Polish prison subculture

The phenomenon of the "second life" described in the following paper is the result of the development. It is subject to historical processes and certain transformations. In particular, changes in the surrounding reality entail changes in the rules of prison subculture, enabling its representatives to adapt to the new situation.

Among people professionally interested in the problems of prison subculture, one can find the two following views concerning these changes. It is possible to assume that along with economic and political changes in Poland, the changes also occurred in prisons, and thus in the prison subculture phenomenon. Such changes enabled the representatives of the subculture to adapt effectively to the changed situation, while the phenomenon of subculture itself does not degenerate. Also, with the fall of the totalitarian communist system, its glaring manifestation, which was the repressive regime of the penitentiary system, and with it - its product, yet its enemy, namely the prison subculture, collapsed. A softened version of this view states that the repression in prisons was not abolished (Szaszkiewicz, 1997), but only limited, and thus the phenomenon of prison subculture was merely limited. In the past, the phenomenon of prison subculture experienced, apart from its periodical blossoming, also periods of regression, however, its representatives always found ways to avoid the danger. One of such ways is a flexible change of subculture norms in response to the threat coming from the prison staff. The current prison reality is characterised by many changes, including those that may affect the further development of the subculture. One of them is the increased level of criminal deviation and demoralisation of prisoners. As a result, compared to previous years, currently, more people who, for example, belonged to so-called organised crime groups (Szaszkiewicz, 1997) go to prison.

Concurrently, a relaxation of the penitentiary regime occurs, thus improving communication between prisoners nowadays. In such a situation, the pressure of a group on individual prisoners is much easier, making it easier to recruit them to the organization, on the one hand, and on the other one, making it difficult for individuals to act against unacceptable subcultural principles.

Another important problem is the lack of work for all prisoners. This causes serious perturbations in the whole penitentiary system. One of the obvious effects of prisoners' unemployment is a state of permanent frustration and a growing feeling of hopeless monotony of everyday life and overwhelming boredom. In such a situation, the prison subculture appears to be a very attractive proposition (Szaszkiewicz, 1997) to make life more varied and to experience stronger impressions.

A weakening of the prison subculture can also be observed in the change of approach to punishment policy and the mitigation of criminal repression. Lower sentences shortened the potential time of membership in the subculture and reduced the degree of identification with the group. Reduced prison overcrowding, in turn, has resulted in a lower level of frustration and aggression of detainees (Szaszkiewicz, 1997) and relaxation of the administration's approach to prisoners. Under these conditions, the basic principle of "grypsers" to remain in absolute opposition to staff has lost its importance.

Currently, practically any prisoner can possess many material goods in a cell, therefore, one of the most important determinants of social position in the prison subculture group has become an economic measure. Nowadays, a promotion in an informal structure frequently consists of buying out with money or other material benefits. Additionally, one can observe a process of expanding the scope of matters suitable for the so-called raising – there is almost no violation of the secret code, which would not be possible to buy out from an organizational penalty. It is now difficult to determine whether the grypsing subculture is slowly becoming a thing of the past. Undoubtedly, the "subculture of money" has taken its place for several decades now. Everything has its price – the favour of prisoners, the transfer of the kite, but also the delivery of a mobile phone, anabolic steroids, alcohol, or even drugs. For several decades, the position of the prisoner was determined by the criminal record. Currently, the prison seniority, or participation in collective protests or group solidarity, is losing its importance in favour of money. A strong position in the prison environment is guaranteed by the material and financial resources available. There is practically no longer a test period - the so-called "amerykanka" for newcomers. Almost anyone can become a member of the organisation if they wish to participate.

Nowadays, the norms of the subculture that protected the dignity and honour of the git-man have suffered the most, for example, there is almost no longer a norm of sharing – the organizational duty to share material goods. The ban on cheating and exploiting members is also a thing of the past. The solid bearing of disciplinary consequences for the outrage of a colleague is currently only a pure theory. In some facilities, the entire previously rich code of the grypsera has been reduced to two standards: "not to snitch" and "not to be the object of homosexual acts". Working in a prison unit allows us to take a closer look at new trends and changes in the criminal subculture. Based on experience in working with persons deprived of their liberty, a few conclusions can be quoted as a result of interviews with prisoners and their observation, i.e. everyday practice. The observations made show that the norms of criminal subculture have been increasingly softening recently. This manifests itself (Jastrzębska, 2010) primarily in:

- moving away from strong leadership, usually one-man leadership, to group decision making and common judgment (especially in semi-open and open prisons);

- a predominance of declarative and conformist attitudes;

- preventing the administration of prison units from negating the joint imprisonment of "grypsers" and "non-grypsers" for residential purposes;

- the growth of authority among fellow inmates who are materially wealthy or have a high level of intelligence;

- blurring the divisions between "grypsers" and "non-grypsers" through their joint participation in group activities such as sports, cultural and educational, therapeutic activities, workshops and competitions in the penitentiary units;

- the priority of self-interest over group interest;

- more frequent resolution of conflicts through negotiation with reasonable arguments;
- the weakening of the hostility of "grypsers" towards the prison administration;

- in the disappearance of the importance of tattoos, dialects or aggressive or self-abuse behaviour as methods of action.

The above considerations indicate several factors that have an impact on the weakening of the prison subculture, which is indeed progressing. Concurrently, it is increasingly difficult for the participants of the subculture groups to adapt to changes in the surrounding reality.

### 3. Preventing the phenomenon of prison subculture

However, despite the process of subcultural norms, easing in recent years, even small manifestations of inmates' behaviour resulting from engaging in the "second life" should not be underestimated. The basic methods of identification of the subculture phenomenon, such as observation, conversation, or analysis of detainees' products, should be indicated here. Prison staff should constantly undertake activities (Jastrzębska, 2010) aimed at counteracting the phenomenon of criminal subculture.

Negative activities of the subculture may be contrasted with the improved work, adequate to the situation, aimed at removing a maximum possible number of prisoners from the criminal impact. At present, however, the forces of the penitentiary are not sufficient to carry out such a task to the desired extent. It may be estimated, for exam-

ple, that the number of psychologists and prison educators (Malec, 1997) is at least 50 % below the requirements. In such a situation, the correct classification and distribution of convicted persons become particularly important. It is primarily a matter of identifying those prisoners mainly classified as situational offenders, who should be regarded as offenders of a conscious, considered choice. The methods of rehabilitation for each of these groups must be significantly altered. It is certainly open to the question of developing methods and tools that make it easier for prison psychologists and educators to diagnose them properly.

The prevention of illegal behaviour (Jastrzębska, 2010) by convicts also applies to:

- ensure the personal safety of those convicted as well as those under pre-trial detention;
- conduct interviews and observations with persons arrested or serving a sentence of imprisonment;
- proper deployment and imprisonment of convicted victims and the precursors of the criminal subculture;

- cooperation between all departments of the service in the prison or detention facility and exchange of information on the phenomenon of the subculture;

- the proper management of prisoners' free time through various sports or educational activities.

It should also be noted that prison staff, especially educators, play a key role in preventing the expansion and weakening of the role of prison subculture in prisons. The possibility for an inmate to serve their imprisonment sentence in the so-called programmed rehabilitation system, as specified in the executing penal code, is a legal factor supporting social rehabilitation and thus weakening the significance of the subculture. It defines such aspects of a prisoner's life as employment in a prisons industrial workshops, education, contact with family, and ways of spending free time.

The phenomenon of prison subculture, due to its exceptionally antisocial and anti-humanitarian character, should, therefore, be placed at the centre of the rehabilitation impact in both institutional and freedom conditions, and should be consistently eliminated from prisons, as otherwise (Woźniak, 2015), it may take on new, even more, destructive forms than before. Counteracting manifestations of prison subculture are, therefore, an important task both for the prison staff and for prison chaplains (Sarzała, 2009), and everyone else who supports the process of moral renewal of a man deprived of the freedom.

## 4. Analysis of own research

Through the aim of the research, we should understand the type of effect we intend to achieve as a result of the research, as well as the type of factors involved. It is also the type of intended effect (Matejun, 2016) to be achieved by the research activity.

The following paper aims at determining the scale and type of transformations that occurred in the prison subculture in the last decade, in the opinion of the prison service officers surveyed.

In turn, the research issue requires a solution. According to W. Goriszowski, a research issue consists of a certain question or a set of questions answered by the research. Research problems represent questions for which we seek answers through scientific research.

The research problem undertaken in the present paper was to consider whether and to what extent the phenomenon of prison subculture has a destructive effect on the process of rehabilitation carried out in prison units towards prisoners by presenting all the changes in the functioning of the subculture comprehensively, by isolating and analysing those conditions contributing to the reduction of rehabilitation and by diagnosing their destructive effect.

The basic applied method is a diagnostic survey method, mainly consisting of a systematic collection of certain types of data from appropriately selected cases. The information collected with this method allows us to determine the range, scope, but also the level of a given phenomenon. The diagnostic survey also helps to assess the causes and effects of the analysed problem (Cieślarczyk, 2015), as well as develop completely new solution.

A survey was used in the paper. It is a technique of obtaining information by asking selected people through a printed list of questions (Niemczyk, 2011), called a questionnaire. The survey was carried out by 43 Prison Service officers. The seniority of the officers participating in the survey was examined below in Chart 1.



Chart 1. Seniority in the Penitentiary Service

The survey was mainly conducted by officers working in the Prison Service from 11 to 15 years (48.8%), as well as those working over 15 years (25.6%). Below, it has been determined whether the respondents were aware of the changes occurring in the prison subculture in recent years (Chart 2).



Chart 2. The fact of the existence of changes in prison subculture in recent years in the opinion of the officers surveyed

Practically all officers participating in the survey replied that there had been several changes in the functioning of prison subculture over the last years. The changes in the respondents' opinions were as follows (Chart 3).

#### JOURNAL OF SECURITY AND SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES ISSN 2029-7017 print/ISSN 2029-7025 online



Chart 3. New trends and changes in prison subculture in recent years according to the officers surveyed

Source: own elaboration

According to the officers surveyed, the most important changes in the functioning of the prison subculture over the last few years included, first of all, an increase in authority among fellow inmates with a better material situation (23%), a greater degree of implementation of rehabilitation programmes by inmates (18.8%), as well as blurring the differences between "grypsers" and "non-grypsers" mainly due to their joint participation in group activities (17%), but also the sight of conformist attitudes among inmates (17%) (Table 1).

Table 1. Actions required to eliminate the prison subculture phenomenon in the opinion of the officers surveyed

Answers	Research results	
	Number of respondents	Percentage value
analysing the reasons why criminal subculture is attractive to convicts and reducing the benefits of belonging to informal groups	36	16,29
providing convicts with opportunities to satisfy their psychological needs, particularly in terms of safety, belonging and collective activity, in competition with those arising from belonging to informal groups	5	2,26
eliminating potential sources and possibilities for obtaining, accumulating and transferring illegal income by convicted persons	40	18,10
organising common activities for "grypsers" and "non-grypsers"	34	15,38
focusing on convicts who, due to their victim characteristics, may be subject to harassment, intolerance or aggression and, as a result, suffer from criminal subculture	29	13,12
weakening the role and position of leaders of informal groups and reducing their contacts with other convicts	33	14,93
punishing participation in informal groups of detainees	13	5,88
participating in the training of Prison Service officers on functioning and preventing prison subculture	31	14,03
IN TOTAL	221	100

Source: own elaboration

In turn, in the opinion of the officers surveyed, the activities necessary to eliminate the phenomenon of prison subculture are, in the first place, the elimination of potential sources and possibilities of obtaining, accumulating and transferring by convicted persons the income from illegal sources (18%), organisation of common activities for "grypsers" and "non-grypsers". (15.4%), as well as focusing on convicts, who, due to their victim characteristics, may become subject to harassment, intolerance or aggression and, as a result, victims of criminal subculture (13%), and ultimately weakening the role and position of leaders of informal groups and reducing their contacts with other convicts (14.9%) (Chart 4).



Chart 4. Impact of the rehabilitation process carried out in penitentiary institutions on the decrease of the subculture phenomenon in the opinion of the officers surveyed

The majority of the officers surveyed agree with the statement indicating that an effective rehabilitation process carried out in prisons has a significant impact on the reduction of the prison subculture phenomenon.

## 5. Summary

All researchers of the subculture phenomenon agree that prison subculture is one of the most important factors hindering, and often even preventing, effective rehabilitation of prisoners.

This publication aimed at characterising the phenomenon of subculture with particular emphasis on the changes occurring in prison subculture over the last decade. The main objective of the study, allowing the results obtained to be applied in penitentiary practice, was the contribution to improving the effectiveness of rehabilitation applied to prisoners in prison units.

The phenomenon of prison subculture has a significant impact on the functioning of persons deprived of their liberty in prisons. They form informal "social structures" with a disintegrated value system, based on the cult of brutality and violence, in opposition to the prison administration. Belonging to such a structure implies absolute subordination to a deviant subculture and allows detainees to satisfy the need for security and recognition. The prison community functioning as such creates negative attitudes and patterns of conduct contrary to the generally applicable system of norms.

At present, the phenomenon of prison subculture is subject to the pressure of changes in the surrounding reality, which in turn causes changes in the subculture itself. Simultaneously, the phenomenon of prison subculture has already lost many of its assets, such as secrecy and elitism. Over the years, many of the rules applicable to prison subculture participants have been relaxed, modified, or completely disappeared. Nowadays, the prison subculture is mostly a subculture of money, where material values and financial resources have deformed the traditional rules and norms of conduct of "grypsing" inmates. Money is an indispensable element of the functioning of the present penitentiary institution, where the rules of subculture in force nowadays have nothing in common with the rules of the "second life" from years ago.

Currently, there is a clear "relaxation" in terms of observing the rules and standards of the "second life". There are also visible changes in the approach to the phenomenon of subculture and its participation, for instance, changes in communication, poor control over other people's behaviour, resignation from the absolute obligation to fight against administration.

However, even though certain principles of the "second life" are not observed, what may indicate a weakening of the activity of members, we are still dealing with the subculture and its negative manifestations. The group members propagate demoralisation, brutality, aggression, and humiliation. There are still certain rules of membership. Membership of the group depends on such criteria as using the dialect, starvation diet, and selfmutilation, appropriate seniority in prison, or a large number of disciplinary penalties.

Despite ongoing changes resulting in the relaxation of the rigour of many norms and behaviours, the least responsive part of the activities of the group is its negative actions. The evolution of prison life has not changed the attitude of the group to these behaviours, as they are accepted and considered to be right. Perhaps the reason is the constant attention to the "ranks purity" because otherwise, the group would be at risk of rapid disintegration.

It has become a dominant opinion that people participating in prison subculture should not be eliminated, but only the negative manifestations of prison subculture should be prevented and assessed. Such an approach resulted in a significant improvement in the atmosphere among detainees and combined with other activities consisting in subjective treatment of detainees, humanisation of conditions of imprisonment and pre-trial detention, as well as the opening of prisons to the world of science, churches and religious associations – it resulted in a fundamental change in prison life.

Ideally, each convicted person could work and acquire appropriate professional qualifications, learn and participate in cultural, educational, and sporting activities, and maintain contact with family and the outside world at a sufficient level. Then many of the prisoner's needs would be satisfied, and the sense of security, love, appreciation, etc. would prevail over a sense of loneliness and alienation. Then the subcultural group would become less attractive, less valuable, and would no longer have such a big impact.

In recent years, the influence of subculture has been to some extent diminished due to the implementation of the so-called principles of humanity, respect for human dignity, increasing professionalism of people employed to work with convicts, and many other changes.

In conclusion, it should be stated that the prison subculture is a phenomenon constituting an inseparable element of penitentiary isolation. However, from the perspective of recent years, one can observe symptoms of a specific relaxation in the area of compliance with the subculture rules and standards. At present, the number of financial resources in the prison environment is of significant importance. Such a situation results in a significant role of materially wealthy detainees in informal structures. However, it should be noted that a factor proving the position in the subculture is not only material wealth, but also links with the criminal environment outside the prison, especially the fact of belonging to criminal groups and the role played in such groups before the arrest.

Therefore, despite the gradual disappearance of the prison subculture in its rigorous form, its complete disappearance is not expected. Thus, the rigorous form of the prison subculture does not allow for its complete disappearance, as it sets out a certain framework for prison life and shapes a hierarchy of values distinct from those of freedom.

At the same time, the Penitentiary Service officers must constantly develop new methods of coping with the problem of the subculture and influencing it. Prison staff should be aware of emerging threats and make ef-

fective interventions to oppose any changing phenomena of the "second life". The effectiveness of coping with the conditions of penitentiary isolation may depend on the later functioning of prisoners in non-detention settings.

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