Impact of the Prison Environment on the Process of Criminal Recruitment within Prisons

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Criminal recruitment within prison institutions represents a serious security and social problem. Prisons often become fertile ground for the expansion of criminal networks due to social isolation, lack of institutional support, and the presence of criminal leaders. The aim of this paper is to analyse the key factors contributing to criminal recruitment within prisons, with a particular focus on the role of social networks, hierarchical relationships, and prison conditions. This research uses a qualitative approach, with in-depth interviews with former convicts as the main data collection method. Six participants, who had served prison sentences in various institutions in Serbia and Croatia, were interviewed. Six respondents (five men and one woman) between the ages of 42 and 50 participated in the research. The data were analysed using thematic analysis in order to identify key patterns of criminal recruitment. The research results reveal that prison hierarchies and social networks play a crucial role in the process of recruiting new members into criminal groups. Prisoners without external support often become targets for criminal leaders, who exploit social isolation and the lack of resources in prisons as a means to recruit new members. Criminal recruitment in prisons can be reduced through reforms to prison policies, which include strengthening institutional support, improving prison conditions, and implementing specific rehabilitation programmes. This research emphasises the importance of preventing criminal networks within prisons by means of strengthening of institutional measures. Further research is recommended to analyse the role of social networks and hierarchical relationships among prisoners to identify key recruitment mechanisms. Additionally, it would be useful to examine the effectiveness of various interventions in different prison systems, as well as the long-term effects of support and rehabilitation programmes on reducing criminal networks within prisons.

Keywords: Criminal recruitment, Prison environment, Social networks, Prison hierarchies, Prisoner rehabilitation

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Introduction

Criminal recruitment can be described as the process by which criminal organisations attract and involve new members into their ranks using various methods. These methods include social, psychological, and economic pressure, as well as direct coercion, promises of economic benefits, protection, or compulsion through violence and threats (Carmona Bozo, 2019). This type of recruitment within the prison environment presents a significant social and security challenge in contemporary societies. Prisons, as total institutions, often become places where complex social networks and hierarchies are formed, which facilitate the recruitment of prisoners into criminal groups (Savona et al., 2017). This process contributes to the maintenance and expansion of criminal networks both inside and outside of prisons. Organised crime, gangs, and other criminal structures exploit prison conditions such as social isolation and lack of control to recruit new members, which jeopardises security and complicates the processes of rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners into society (Pavićević et al., 2023).

The deprivation theory is based on the idea that specific conditions within the prison environment – such as the loss of freedom, security, privacy, and autonomy – lead to psychological and social pressure on prisoners, prompting them to seek support within the prison. Sykes (1958) describes how prisoners, faced with these deprivations, form alternative forms of social support within the prison walls. These groups not only provide a sense of belonging but also mechanisms of protection and survival in a hostile environment. In this context, criminal groups offer prisoners social security and status that compensate for the loss of identity and power. Prisoners who are isolated and lack adequate institutional support are more likely to join such groups, as it provides them with a certain level of autonomy and control over daily life within the prison (Sykes, 1958, as cited in Shammas, 2017). Research indicates that personality traits can significantly influence the intensity of experiencing prison deprivations. For example, prisoners with more pronounced traits of anxiety or depression may experience the deprivation of freedom and security more acutely, while those with stronger traits of confidence and independence show a higher level of adaptation to prison conditions (Ilijić, 2014). Prison life inevitably involves numerous deprivations that affect the physical and mental health of prisoners. Among the most common forms of deprivation are: deprivation of freedom, material goods, heterosexual relationships, independence, and security. These deprivations can significantly affect prisoners' perception of prison life and their adaptation to it (Ilijić, 2014).

The importation theory, developed by Irwin and Cressey (1962), is based on the assumption that prisoners arrive in prison with pre-existing values, norms, and criminal identities that were acquired in their previous social environments. Unlike the deprivation theory, which focuses on specific conditions within the prison, the importation theory emphasises that prisoners bring criminal values and behavioural patterns from the outside world, which facilitates their integration into the prison's criminal subculture. According to this theory, prisoners who have already took part in criminal activities and developed criminal connections before entering prison are more likely to join prison criminal groups. They recognise shared values and norms within the prison's criminal networks, which facilitates the process of recruitment and adaptation to prison life (Irwin & Cressey, 1962).

Both theories highlight specific factors that facilitate recruitment within the prison system. The deprivation theory explains how the need for belonging and safety is intensified in the context of isolation and uncertainty, while the importation theory suggests that prior experience and values play a key role in the integration of prisoners into criminal networks. These theories together offer a comprehensive explanation of the social and psychological mechanisms shaping the process of criminal recruitment in prisons, emphasising the need to strengthen institutional support and reduce the influence of criminal subcultures in prison.

Previous research indicates that criminal recruitment within prisons is the result of complex interrelations between prisoners, institutional norms, and living conditions within prison facilities. The study by Meško and Hacin (Meško & Hacin, 2018) documents the presence of prison subculture in Slovenian prisons, where hierarchy, opportunistic friendships, and secrecy are key elements that facilitate the recruitment process. Furthermore, they point out in their research that prison staff, although formally responsible for supervision, sometimes tacitly allow the maintenance of the subculture, recognising its role in maintaining order within prisons. The same study showed that prison staff often fail to respond to the emergence of informal hierarchies that help criminal groups operate within the prison, thus further exacerbating the problem of recruitment. Meško and Hacin state that prison staff allow the prison subculture to exist within "reasonable limits", as informal leaders help them to maintain order within the prison. This practice is based on the belief that a complete suppression of these informal systems would be ineffective, as informal leaders do not directly violate prison rules, but use subordinated prisoners to perform various tasks. This limited tolerance enables a certain balance in order management, although the subculture may also have negative consequences, such as the exploitation of more vulnerable prisoners.

Social isolation within prisons often leads to prisoners, especially younger and more vulnerable individuals, becoming easy targets for criminal groups that offer them protection or economic benefits. Fredman (Fredman, 2013) points out that the lack of social support and conditions for reintegration increases the risk of recruitment, further complicating prisoner rehabilitation and reducing chances for successful resocialisation. Additionally, according to an expert report on the quality of prison life in the Republic of Serbia, prisons face numerous challenges related to hygiene conditions, lack of adequate healthcare, and access to rehabilitation programmes, especially for female prisoners (Copić et al., 2023). These challenges further exacerbate social isolation and make the process of resocialisation more difficult, thereby increasing prisoners' vulnerability to criminal groups offering apparent protection and economic advantages. Identifying key factors that enable recruitment can contribute to the development of better strategies for the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners, thereby reducing the influence of criminal groups both inside and outside prisons.

Furthermore, prison culture often includes specific values, stratification systems, and informal economies that influence interpersonal relationships among prisoners. These cultures are often based on adapting to the prison environment, where recruitment into criminal groups may be one of the main mechanisms of adaptation. Stratification systems within prisons encourage hierarchical structures, where prisoners in higher positions recruit new members in order to maintain control and the distribution of illegal goods (Wooldredge, 2020).

Aims of the Research

The main aim of this research is to analyse the impact of various aspects of the prison environment on the process of criminal recruitment. The specific objectives include:

Investigating the role of social networks and hierarchies among prisoners in the recruitment process;

Analysing the impact of prison conditions, including legal and security measures, on the process of criminal recruitment;

Identifying key factors that support or hinder recruitment within prison communities;

Providing recommendations for the development of effective policies and programmes to prevent criminal recruitment.

Methods

The participants in the research were both male and female (five men and one woman), aged between 42 and 50 years, who had served sentences ranging from three months to twelve years for various criminal offences. Their experiences include a wide range of crimes, from transportation of illegal migrants and illegal drug trade to robberies and attempted murders. Special attention was given to the ethics of the research, ensuring that participants were fully informed about the research aims and that all responses were voluntary. Anonymity of respondents was guaranteed to ensure the their safety and freedom of expression. This approach allowed respondents to freely share their experiences, including the most sensitive aspects of life in prison, such as relationships with prison staff and criminal groups.

A qualitative approach was used for this research, enabling a deeper understanding of complex social phenomena such as the process of criminal recruitment within prison institutions. This methodology allowed for the exploration of subjective aspects and personal experiences of respondents, which could be overlooked in quantitative methods, as qualitative research enables the collection of rich, "thickly" described data, as well as the conducting of comparative analyses of different research environments. Data collection techniques, such as interviews, help researchers study microsocial phenomena and understand cultural interpretations of social interactions (Lamont & White, 2005). This method was chosen as it provides key information about respondents' attitudes and motivations, which is essential for studying identity and emotions. In this way, in-depth interviews allow a clearer understanding of how individuals interpret the complex social processes in which they have been involved, such as those in a prison environment (Della Porta, 2014).

Interviews with pre-defined questions were conducted with six former prisoners who had served sentences in different prison facilities across Serbia and Croatia. The interviews were organised in collaboration with the association "After the Rain" ("Posle kiše") from Kragujevac, which has been providing post-penal support to former prisoners for many years. The association facilitated contact with the respondents for the research, owing to the long-standing trust between the researcher and the respondents. This trust-based relationship contributed to the credibility of the collected data, allowing respondents to share their experiences more freely.

The interviews lasted up to 30 minutes, depending on the complexity of the respondents' experiences. All interviews, except for one, were recorded, as

consent for recording was not obtained for one interview. The collected data were later transcribed and subjected to thematic analysis to identify key patterns and themes related to recruitment into criminal groups. This approach allowed the researcher to gain a deeper insight into the motivations and social structures within prison institutions that may contribute to the recruitment process.

Sampling

A purposive sampling method was used, based on the selection of respondents according to predefined criteria, such as the length of their prison sentences and the diversity of their experiences. The researcher did not have complete control over the selection of respondents, as the "After the Rain" association provided contact with former prisoners who were considered willing to speak about events within the prison. The respondents in this research are represented by their initials.

Data Collection and Analysis

In this qualitative research, the following techniques were used for data collection and processing:

Semi-structured Interview: This data collection technique allowed preprepared questions to be adapted during the conversation, providing flexibility to explore deeper aspects of the respondents' experiences. In this way, the respondents had the freedom to describe their subjective experiences of recruitment into criminal groups in detail, while the researcher was able to follow unexpected topics that came up during the interviews.

Interview Transcripts: The transcripts of the interviews allowed for a thorough analysis of the data collected, providing the researcher with the opportunity to identify key themes and patterns in the participants' responses. These textual records were used for thematic analysis in order to gain a deeper understanding of the social and hierarchical relationships within prison institutions.

The focus of the interviews was on the subjective experiences of the respondents, including:

First experiences in prison, including emotional reactions and coping with the physical environment, which is often recognized as a key factor in recruitment into criminal groups.

Relationships with other prisoners and the role of prison hierarchies, which play a central role in recruitment processes.

Thematic analysis was used to analyze the collected data, which allowed for the identification of key patterns in the participants' responses. The analysis process involved the following steps:

Coding: The interview transcripts were carefully reviewed and coded according to themes such as prison hierarchy, criminal group dynamics, and the impact of prison conditions on recruitment.

Identification of Themes: The main themes identified in the data include social networks within prisons, the role of prison conditions in the recruitment process, and the influence of criminal groups and other informal groups on the daily life of prisoners.

Interpretation: The themes were analyzed in the context of the theoretical framework and existing literature to gain a deeper insight into the recruitment processes within prisons. For example, Sykes' deprivation theory provides a foundation for understanding how the lack of freedom and safety within prisons encourages prisoners to join criminal groups.

Results

As other authors have pointed out, prisons represent specific social environments where power and social relationships among prisoners play a key role in daily life and the spread of criminal activities. Research indicates that prisons operate as microcosms where informal hierarchies and social networks are formed, facilitating the recruitment of new members into criminal groups. For example, Savona et al. (2017) highlight that social isolation and economic insecurity in prisons create a fertile ground for recruitment, where organized criminal groups use prison conditions to gain new members. Similarly, Pavićević et al. (2023) emphasize that prisoners without external support often become part of prison criminal networks for the purpose of safety and access to resources, which helps maintain criminal networks even after prisoners are released into the community. Carmona Bozo (2019) further confirms that the social and economic needs of prisoners contribute to recruitment, as criminal groups offer selective incentives, such as safety and bare necessities for survival in prison.

These findings align with the observations made by Matijašević and Pavlović (2009), Meško and Hacin (2018), and Wooldredge (2020), which point to the specific hierarchical structures and prison subcultures that support the formation and expansion of criminal networks.

The analysis of the data collected in this study highlighted the key thematic areas that define the dynamics of social relations within prison communities. The key themes include: Social networks among prisoners – Prisoners form informal groups based on shared origins, previous friendships, or similar experiences.

Hierarchical relationships and power dynamics – Informal hierarchies develop within prison communities, with prisoners who have more resources or influence taking on leadership roles.

Connection through common factors – Social networks are often formed based on geographic origins or other similarities, allowing prisoners to create a sense of belonging and support.

Social networks

One of the key elements of prison life, as revealed by this study, is social networks, which are most often based on geographical origins, previous friendships, or shared experiences. N.V. points out: "People stick together by cities or acquaintances. If you know someone, it's easier to adapt." These groups not only offer protection and assistance but often serve as a foundation for recruitment into criminal activities. D.J. emphasizes: "It's hard to survive without support; they provide you with protection. If you don't have anyone, you easily become a target." D.M., who spent nine years in prison, points out that prisoners without external support face pressure to join groups: "If you're not in a group, you easily become a target." S.O. adds that female prisoners without support have to do small chores in exchange for cigarettes or coffee, while those with more resources have more influence. S.D. highlights the importance of respect in prison social networks: "If you're not problematic, you find your place. Belonging to a group gives you protection." N.G. emphasizes that prisoners without external support often enter into informal agreements, doing chores in exchange for basic necessities.

These testimonies indicate that informal networks shape prison life, providing a sense of belonging, but also facilitating the spread of criminal activities.

Hierarchical Relationships and Power Dynamics

The hierarchy in prisons operates on two levels – formal and informal. The formal hierarchy, represented by the guards and staff, is responsible for maintaining order, but their power is often limited (Wooldredge, 2020). Prison staff mainly perform technical tasks, such as roll calls. N.V. says, "*In eight years, I saw a counsellor only four times.*" N.G. confirms that the guards were fair, but the everyday life of prisoners largely took place through informal networks. The informal hierarchy, based on reputation

and resources, has more influence. Prisoners with access to resources, such as food or cigarettes, become leaders. S.O. points out that prisoners with packages from the "outside world" gain power, while others seek protection from them. S.D. emphasises that authority in prison is built through respect: "Authority in prison is earned over time and through effort, you can't just come and say – I'm the boss, because then you slip." He adds that conflicts often arise over trivial matters and that control over resources brings real power.

Connection Through Various Factors

The results of this research show that prison conditions make resistance to recruitment more difficult because prisoners rarely seek help from the staff. Trust in institutions is minimal. D.J., who spent three years in prison, says: "There is no one to turn to. If you complain to the guards, it could get worse. It's better for you to join a group." This lack of trust allows informal hierarchies and criminal activities to strengthen, as prisoners rely on their own networks. N.V. notes: "Only 10% of the staff control the situation, the rest avoid conflicts." Due to the lack of staff engagement, informal groups take control, and prisoners become dependent on these structures for protection. S.O. adds that formal systems often do not work, so female prisoners must rely on other female prisoners for resources and protection. D.M. confirms that formal hierarchies are barely present, and most problems are resolved among the prisoners. The results of this research show that the lack of institutional support contributes to the strengthening of informal hierarchies, making prisoners dependent on criminal groups for resources and safety.

When we talk about isolation and lack of support, it should be noted that uneven and unequal prison conditions, together with isolation from the outside world and the lack of support, make prisoners more susceptible to criminal recruitment, as the results of this research show. Furthermore, the research results show that prisoners without social support, such as those who do not receive packages or visits, become ideal targets because they have nothing else to rely on. D.J. says: "*If you don't have help from the outside, you have to manage. In prison, this usually means joining a group.*" N.G. describes how those without money are forced to work for cigarettes or coffee, doing chores like washing clothes. Although they are not directly involved in crime, such prisoners become part of the informal economy, where they depend on the resources of other prisoners. S.O. emphasises that women without external support often sought help from other female prisoners, doing small chores to survive. Although these activities are not directly criminal, dependence on resources facilitates future manipulation. S.D. points out that young prisoners, lacking experience and support, often seek protection by joining criminal groups. These testimonies, presented in our research, indicate that isolation and the lack of external support make prisoners vulnerable to recruitment, forcing them to rely on internal networks that exploit their vulnerability for their own interests.

Recruitment into Criminal Groups

The results of this research indicate that recruitment in prison takes place subtly, without direct coercion or violence. Younger prisoners, often without external support, approach more experienced criminals for protection or resources. N.G. says: "*They offer themselves, no one forces them directly*," indicating that recruitment is mostly based on voluntary interest. D.J. emphasises the system of indebtedness as a key mechanism: "*Older prisoners put you in debt, and you have to repay through work.*" This system creates dependence and pressure on the younger prisoners, but it rarely extends beyond the prison walls. D.M. confirms that promises of cooperation outside of prison often remain unfulfilled: "*They promise, but you never see them outside.*" S.O. adds that women without external support often do small chores "*for cigarettes or coffee*," which, although not directly criminal, creates a dynamic of dependence. S.D. highlights how younger prisoners offer themselves to prove themselves and secure their place in the group.

Discussion

The results of this research reveal the complex mechanisms of criminal recruitment within prison institutions, with key factors facilitating recruitment including social networks and hierarchical relationships among prisoners. Based on the experiences of the respondents, prisoners who are socially isolated or lack adequate institutional support often seek protection in informal groups, which provide them with a sense of belonging and security, while hierarchical relations within these groups further strengthen the structure and stability of criminal networks (Pavićević, Ilijić & Batrićević, 2024). Such social connectivity allows prisoners to meet their basic needs and create a sense of community, while the presence of loyalty, resources, and protection from criminal groups becomes a means of survival. These hierarchical relationships can lead to conflicts over status and influence, with prisoners who have better access

to resources assuming leadership positions, while vulnerable prisoners are pressured to join in order to avoid violence (Matijašević & Pavlović, 2009; Savona et al., 2017).

The theoretical framework of deprivation and importation theories helps in the broader interpretation of these results. The deprivation theory explains how isolation and the loss of social support encourage prisoners to join criminal groups, seeking social protection and a structure that compensates for lost freedoms (Wooldredge, 2020). In contrast, the importation theory suggests that prisoners bring values and norms from criminal groups in the outside world, facilitating the formation and maintenance of criminal hierarchies within the prison. Both theoretical frameworks provide insight into the reasons why prisoners, particularly those without external support, quickly adopt the norms of the prison subculture and power relations, which further facilitate the preservation and expansion of criminal networks.

The findings of this research highlight the need for reforms that would provide greater institutional support for prisoners, particularly for vulnerable groups, in order to reduce their dependence on informal criminal networks and ease the rehabilitation process. The hierarchy within criminal groups plays a crucial role in organizing daily life and access to resources. According to Matijašević and Pavlović (2009), this hierarchy is based on discipline, strategic planning, and the interests of members, enabling criminal groups to operate efficiently within the prison. The recruitment of new members is often a subtle process in which prisoners voluntarily assume roles, although these relationships rarely last beyond the prison walls. Criminal groups survive through corruption and connections with state institutions, enabling them to freely operate and coordinate within the network, with key roles played by central actors responsible for linking different parts of the network (Bright et al., 2022).

In-depth interviews enabled the identification of key patterns in the prisoners' adaptation to the prison environment. Respondents highlighted that deprivation and a lack of trust in staff shape violence and recruitment into criminal groups. Similar observations are made by Wooldredge (2020), who notes that prisoners develop subcultures as a coping mechanism to deal with the pressures of prison life and protect their interests.

Results of our Research

These results are consistent with the previous research on prison culture and recruitment into criminal groups. For example, Matijašević and Pavlović (2009) state that the prison hierarchy within criminal groups operates based on strict discipline and the common interests of members, which enables the effective implementation of criminal activities, including the recruitment of new members. These prisoners often become targets of criminal groups, who offer them protection and resources in exchange for loyalty, thereby expanding criminal networks both inside and outside of prison. Meško and Hacin (2018) also confirm the existence of a specific prison subculture dominated by anti-authoritarian attitudes. secrecy and hierarchical structure. Such elements not only undermine the rehabilitation of prisoners but also further encourage their recruitment into criminal networks, particularly among prisoners without external support. Similar findings are presented by Fredman (2013), who describes the impact of prison subculture, particularly prison gangs, on new prisoners. The organisation of criminal groups within prisons involves not only protection, but also the opportunity for integration through criminal activities, thereby expanding the network and recruiting new members. Savona et al. (2017), in their systematic analysis, highlight key social and psychological factors in the recruitment process into organised criminal groups, such as economic insecurity and identification with the group, which is a common phenomenon among prisoners who face restrictions within the prison environment.

Research Limitations

The primary limitation of this research is the small sample of respondents, which may limit the generalisability of the results. Although interviews were conducted with prisoners from various institutions, the sample was restricted to those who were available and willing to share their experiences. This could create selection bias, as the participants may not be representative of all strata of the prison population. Additionally, the use of self-reporting could have introduced bias in responses to sensitive topics such as violence and criminal activities. Another limitation relates to the lack of data on the role of prison staff in controlling recruitment, which requires further investigation to gain a more complete understanding of their role. It should be added here that although the selection of participants was not based on predefined inclusion criteria, their responses provided insights into certain dynamics within prison groups, which enriched the preliminary understanding of these processes and their potential impact on individuals.

Finally, the last limitation relates to the period of the respondent's prison sentence, i.e., the fact that all participants have been free for at least six years. This fact leaves open the possibility that in the meantime changes have occurred within the prison system, including changes in the structure of subcultures, the functioning of criminal groups, or the approach of prison staff to informal hierarchies. Therefore, the findings of this research should be interpreted in light of potential changes in the prison environment that may have affected the dynamics of social relations and recruitment processes within prisons.

Research Contribution

The contribution of this research lies primarily in the deeper understanding of the role of social networks and power relations among prisoners. The research shows how social networks not only serve as survival mechanisms in the prison environment but also significantly facilitate the recruitment process into criminal groups. Based on the experiences of the respondents, the research reveals that those prisoners who lack external support are particularly vulnerable, as they often find protection and a sense of belonging within informal criminal structures.

As an important theoretical contribution, the study integrates deprivation and importation theories, which explain why prisoners quickly adopt criminal norms and hierarchical relationships. The deprivation theory highlights how isolation and lack of support encourage prisoners to seek safety within criminal networks, while the importation theory demonstrates that prisoners bring values from criminal groups in the outside world into the prison context, contributing to the spread of criminal activities within prisons.

In addition to theoretical insights, the research has practical implications that may be important for the development of prison policies. The findings emphasise the need for stronger institutional support, particularly for vulnerable prisoners, in order to reduce their dependency on criminal networks and increase the chances for successful rehabilitation. This study can serve as a basis for recommendations for reforms in prison institutions, thus contributing to the improvement of policies aimed at reducing the influence of criminal groups within the prison environment.

Practical implications

The results of the research indicate the need for a reform of prison policies, particularly with regard to curbing the influence of criminal and harmful informal groups within prisons. Reducing their influence could be achieved through improving prison conditions and engaging mental health professionals, as well as experts in social and pedagogical work. Additionally, it is important to develop psychological support programmes for prisoners, especially those entering prison for the first time, in order to reduce the pressure to join criminal groups.

Furthermore, the research showed that the perception of fairness among prisoners plays a key role in their behaviour towards staff. Prisoners who believe that sanctions or privileges have been unfairly taken away are more likely to resist, which leads to a deterioration in relations with staff (Liebling, 2008). Prison management and staff have a significant influence on shaping prison culture and the level of violence, which indicates the need for a more proactive approach to managing prison dynamics (Wooldredge, 2020).

Conclusion

The research has pointed out key factors that may contribute to the process of criminal recruitment within prison institutions. The hierarchical structure of prisoners, social networks, and the role of prison staff play a central role in shaping prisoners' daily lives and their involvement in criminal groups. The result of this research indicates that prisons are specific social environments where informal hierarchies and social networks not only enable survival but also facilitate criminal recruitment. In this context, prisoners without external support and adequate institutional resources become the most vulnerable targets for criminal groups, thus maintaining criminal behaviour even after leaving prison.

Further research should focus on longitudinal studies to monitor the longterm impact of prison life on the criminal careers of prisoners. These results could help in developing strategies to reduce criminal recruitment within prisons and increase the chances of successful reintegration of prisoners into society. Such research could lead to the development of more effective prison policies, contributing to the reduction of the influence of criminal groups within prison institutions.

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