

THE TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION PROGRAM AT STILLWATER PRISON

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Prisoners practicing the Transcendental Meditation technique exhibited reduced anxiety, a reduced number of prison rule infractions, increased participation in recreational and educational activities, and a low number of parole violations. —EDITORS

As previous research had demonstrated physiological and psychological changes in persons practicing the Transcendental Meditation (TM) technique that would be of great value for rehabilitating criminals, the value of the Transcendental Meditation program in a large prison setting was systematically examined. Volunteer inmates at Stillwater Prison desiring to begin Transcendental Meditation were randomly assigned to an experimental group of 30 subjects who received instruction in the TM technique and a control group of 20 subjects who were not taught TM until after the experimental period. A second control group consisted of 16 inmates not desiring to begin TM. The Spielberger State-Trait Anxiety Inventory was administered to all subjects twice before and nine times, at weekly intervals, after the experimental group learned the Transcendental Meditation technique. The meditating inmates decreased substantially in both trait and state anxiety in the first weeks after instruction in Transcendental Meditation and maintained this level over the nine weekly testings. Both control groups increased slightly in anxiety over the same period. Analysis of covariance showed significant posttest differences between the experimental group and both control groups for both trait and state anxiety ($p < .001$ for each comparison). Stillwater's meditators shifted from being one of the most anxious populations to being one of the least anxious. Prison rule infractions were reduced by more than two-thirds for the meditators with almost no change for the controls. Meditating subjects reported that after learning TM they participated in a mean of twice as many recreational and educational activities for a mean of three times as many hours per week, a significant increase ($p < .01$). These results imply improved adjustment after release from prison. Indeed, of the 16 meditating inmates who were subsequently paroled (and had been on parole for an average of six months at last contact), only one violated parole. Combined with the extremely low cost of introducing the Transcendental Meditation program (compared with other prison programs) and its high acceptability to inmates, these results indicate the great potential of the Transcendental Meditation program as an effective means for rehabilitation.

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the last century, people of good will have been seeking an effective and humane technique to rehabilitate those convicted of violating the law. Unfortunately, during these 150 years this hope has not been realized. On the contrary, it is now generally recognized that the existing prison systems at best represent a humane and efficient method of punishment and removal of the problem from society.

However, in the last five years a considerable amount of research has appeared on a technique of self-improvement that seems to offer hope for the solution to this difficult problem. According to its founder, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Transcendental Meditation (TM) is a natural, effortless technique that is easily

learned and easily included in a daily schedule. Those who practice the technique meditate twice daily, morning and evening, for about 20 minutes; no changes in habits, lifestyle, or system of belief are involved. Proponents explain that during the Transcendental Meditation technique the mind is allowed to proceed to finer levels of thought until thought is transcended and the individual experiences a state of unique deep rest—called a state of restful alertness—which, it is claimed, provides the basis for improved performance in every aspect of life.

These claims are being increasingly supported by substantial, systematic research. The hypothesis that TM produces a unique state of deep rest is substantiated by results of physiological experiments on subjects practicing Transcendental Meditation. During meditation, subjects showed a greater reduction in oxygen consump-

tion in 20 minutes than normally occurs at any time during eight hours of sleep. They showed reduced cardiac output, substantially increased skin resistance, and a lowered concentration of blood lactate, a chemical identified with anxiety (1, 16, 20, 25, 26, 27). Simultaneous with these indices of very deep relaxation, EEG recordings indicate that during TM the mind is awake and alert. These recordings, in fact, present an unusual pattern of synchronous activity between right and left hemispheres of the brain (2, 3, 28). The claim that the practice of the TM technique spontaneously produces substantial changes in daily life has been supported by more than 50 independent studies.

With regard to the problems of criminal rehabilitation, the Transcendental Meditation program has been shown to reduce antisocial attitudes, as measured on paper and pencil tests (5, 8, 9, 17, 18), and to reduce the use of illegal drugs (4, 14, 22, 29). An interesting experiment conducted by Orme-Johnson (16) indicates that meditators show substantially healthier physiological reactions to stressful stimuli. Several independent longitudinal studies found significant and cumulative reductions in anxiety following instruction in TM (8, 9, 12, 14). Finally, TM has been shown to directly promote psychophysiological integration and growth in several well-designed studies in which subjects practicing TM improved more than controls on measures including perceptual-motor coordination (6), intelligence (24), academic record (7, 11), inner control (Rotter's Internal/External Locus of Control Scale (12)), frame of reference (Rod-and-Frame Test and Embedded-Figures Test (19)), and self-actualization (Shostrom's Personal Orientation Inventory (12, 15, 21) and Northridge Developmental Scale (9)). In addition, a pilot Transcendental Meditation program conducted at La Tuna Federal Penitentiary in New Mexico showed that prisoners were very enthusiastic about the program, and that those prisoners who regularly practiced the technique showed substantial and significant improvement on a physiological measure of anxiety.

The present study was intended to examine systematically the value of TM in a large prison setting. It was predicted that inmate volunteers randomly assigned to learn TM (compared to those randomly assigned to wait before learning TM) would show a significantly greater decline in state and trait anxiety, a significantly greater increase in participation in prison activities, and would commit significantly fewer rule infractions.

METHODS

SUBJECTS—An introductory lecture on the TM program was given for all of the 125 inmates in D-Hall of Stillwater State Prison, Minnesota—a special cell block containing

prisoners under treatment for drug dependency or emotional disturbances. Approximately 75 prisoners attended. After the lecture 50 wished to begin the practice and met the program's requirements. These requirements were willingness to devote several hours per week to the TM program (personal instruction, follow-up sessions, and group meetings) and testing sessions, to have at least one year of sentence left to serve, to pay \$1.00 as a course fee, and to refrain from the use of nonprescribed amphetamines and other illegal drugs for at least 15 days before instruction. This last item is a standard requirement for learning TM and was included here because the use of drugs is common even in this maximum security prison.

The subjects participating in the program could be said to differ from the general prison population in that they were receiving special treatment, such as group and individual therapy and drug dependency classes, and all those starting TM presumably wanted to improve their lives in some way. However, examination of inmate files revealed no other trends of age, education, socioeconomic background, race, IQ, crime committed, or length of sentence that would distinguish the group wishing to start TM from other prisoners at Stillwater.

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN AND MEASURES USED—The experiment had two phases. The first phase measured changes in mean anxiety scores in experimental and control groups before and 4–11 weeks after the experimental group learned the TM technique. The second phase measured changes in number of rule infractions and self-reported behavioral changes in experimental and control subjects who had learned TM during the ten months of the program. The effect of TM on the prisoners was studied using a paper and pencil test, a behavioral measure, and a self-report. The Spielberger State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) was used as a measure of the effects of TM on the internal state of the inmate. This commonly used measure of anxiety requires about ten minutes to complete. The STAI measures two types of anxiety: state anxiety ("A-State"), which refers to "an empirical process or reaction taking place at a particular moment in time and a given level of intensity"; and trait anxiety ("A-Trait"), which "indicates differences in the strength of latent disposition to manifest a certain type of reaction" (23). State anxiety tends to vary with changes in the subject's mood and environment; trait anxiety is more stable over time.

For the purpose of administering the STAI, the subjects wishing to begin TM were randomly assigned to one of two groups just prior to instruction: an experimental group of 30 subjects (TM) that learned Transcendental Meditation 15 days after the introductory lecture and a control group of 20 subjects (Control I) that learned TM at varying times after the completion of the STAI testing program.

A second control group of 16 subjects (Control II) was composed of inmates not desiring to begin TM. All subjects were tested on the STAI twice before the experimental group received instruction in the TM technique. The STAI was then administered weekly for nine weeks. The third, sixth, and ninth testings were administered directly after the experimental subjects meditated in a group, in order to examine the immediate effect of meditation on state anxiety. The other six testings were administered just prior to the group meditation.

The records of inmate infractions were obtained at the end of the ten-month program. Data on 24 inmates who had been meditating for varying lengths of time were available. The number of rule infractions committed by these inmates for an equal number of months (generally ten) before and after TM instruction was compared. For other meditating inmates the records were inadequate, or in some cases inmates were not in the prison for a long enough period either before or after learning TM to allow a comparison. Data were also collected at the end of the program for a control group in order to examine rule infractions of a comparable group of the same size over the same two ten-month periods.

The request for written self-reports on prison activity and on the effects of the TM program was made eight months after the inception of the program. Twenty-three of the 46 inmates who eventually learned TM (including subjects from both the original experimental group and the control group that wanted to learn TM) completed the questionnaire. Eighteen were unavailable, having been transferred or released. Five did not complete the questionnaire.

The instruction in the TM program for the experimental group began with the standard four-day program of personal instruction and verification and validation of experiences. This was followed by group meetings every evening for six weeks, then meetings once a week for three months, then once every two weeks for the remainder of the ten-month program. These meetings all included a period of meditation together as a group, a question-and-answer period, and a lecture on some aspect of the technique or its underlying principles. In addition, individual sessions were held as needed to check that each meditator was continuing to practice the technique correctly. All three groups maintained their regular schedule of prison activities throughout the program.

RESULTS

TRAIT ANXIETY—As shown in fig. 1, the Transcendental Meditation group decreased substantially in trait anxiety in the first weeks after instruction in the TM technique and maintained this level over the nine weekly testings. By

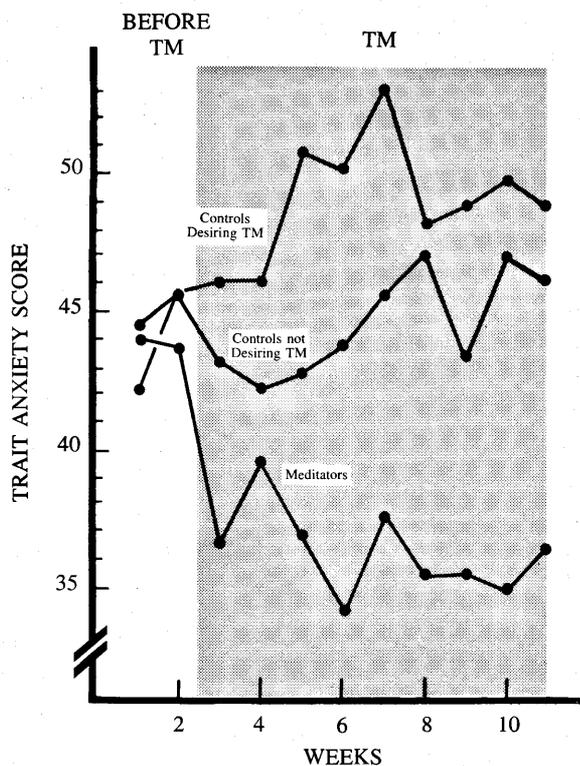


FIG. 1. DECREASED TRAIT ANXIETY IN PRISONERS PRACTICING TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION. Trait anxiety was measured each week over an 11-week period in an experimental group of inmates before and after they started TM, in a nonmeditating control group of inmates who desired to learn TM, and in a second nonmeditating control group of inmates who were not interested in TM.

contrast, both control groups increased slightly in anxiety over the same period. Taking the mean pretest scores as covariates and comparing the adjusted mean posttest scores of the TM group with each control group yielded highly significant results. For the comparison of the TM group with the control group not desiring to learn TM, $F = 13.37$, $df = 1, 35$, $p < .001$. For the comparison of the TM group with the control group desiring to learn TM, $F = 39.50$, $df = 1, 42$, $p < .001$. Means are reported in table 1.

The postinstruction mean was calculated for each subject on the basis of the mean score on the tests he completed in weeks 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11—the weeks in which the tests were administered *prior* to the group meditation for the TM group. The other three postinstruction testings (weeks 3, 6, and 9) were administered *after* the group meditation and are considered in connection with a special analysis of the immediate postmeditation effects on state anxiety (reported in the following section).

STATE ANXIETY—Figure 2 indicates that state anxiety scores showed an immediate and substantial decrease for TM subjects following initial instruction, while both control groups showed no decrease over the 11 weeks of the STAI experiment. Analysis of covariance again yielded highly significant differences favoring the TM group over both control groups. For the comparison of the TM group with the control group not desiring to learn TM, $F = 16.82$, $df = 1, 34$, $p < .001$. For the comparison of

the TM group with the control group desiring to learn TM, $F = 15.63$, $df = 1, 41$, $p < .001$.

An additional analysis was conducted to examine whether or not there was a further decrease in state anxiety immediately following meditation. The mean TM group scores for those weeks in which tests were administered immediately following TM (weeks 3, 6, and 9) were compared with control group scores for these weeks, taking the mean of the other six postinstruction weeks for each group as the covariate for that group. This analysis yielded marginally significant results for the comparison of the TM group with the control group not desiring to learn TM ($F = 3.60$, $df = 1, 36$, $p < .10$) and insignificant results for the comparison of the TM group with the control group desiring to learn TM ($F = 1.26$, $df = 1, 42$, p is NS). These calculations are reported in table 2.

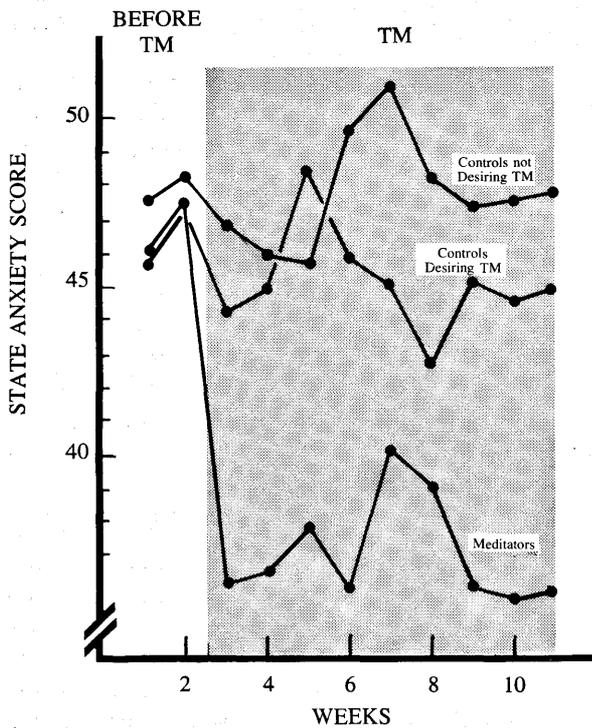


FIG. 2. DECREASED STATE ANXIETY IN PRISONERS PRACTICING TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION. State anxiety was measured each week over an 11-week period in an experimental group of inmates before and after they started TM, in a nonmeditating control group of inmates who desired to learn TM, and in a second nonmeditating control group of inmates who were not interested in TM.

PRISON RULE INFRACTIONS—Over approximately ten months before instruction, the TM group ($N = 24$) committed a mean of 0.15 infractions per month. In an equal period of time following instruction they reduced infractions to a monthly average of 0.036. In a specially constructed comparison group (retrospectively constructed from prison records to match the experimental group) of 24 nonmeditators, infractions over the same two ten-month periods were 0.108 per month and 0.100 per month, respectively. Comparing change scores in the TM and control groups yielded a Mann-Whitney U score that attained marginal significance ($U = 354$, $z = 1.36$, $p < .10$). Since 12 of the subjects in each group committed no rule infractions in either period and seven of the TM group who committed infractions prior to instruction committed none after instruction, it is likely that the significance of the difference is attenuated by a floor effect.

ACTIVITY OF INMATES—Self-reports by TM subjects on their participation in recreational and educational activities showed a significant increase in the number of

TABLE 1
MEAN STATE ANXIETY AND TRAIT ANXIETY (STAI) SCORES

GROUP	N*	STATE ANXIETY				TRAIT ANXIETY				
		Before Learning TM†	After Learning TM (4-11 weeks)‡	F§	p	N	Before Learning TM	After Learning TM (4-11 weeks)	F	p
TM	23	47.98	37.78	24	43.65	36.08
Control I (desiring to learn TM)	21	46.43	46.71	15.63	<0.001	21	44.19	50.33	39.50	<0.001
Control II (not desiring to learn TM)	14	48.86	47.23	16.82	<0.001	14	45.25	43.92	13.37	<0.001

*Subjects were included only if they completed at least one test in both "Before" and "After" periods.
 †Each subject's score is the mean of all tests completed in weeks 1 and 2.
 ‡Each subject's score is the mean of all tests completed in weeks 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11.
 §Analysis of covariance comparing "After" scores of TM and control groups, using "Before" scores as the covariate.

TABLE 2
IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF GROUP MEDITATION ON STATE ANXIETY (STAI)

GROUP	N	TESTINGS ADMINISTERED BEFORE GROUP MEDITATION (weeks 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11)*	TESTINGS ADMINISTERED AFTER GROUP MEDITATION (weeks 3, 6, and 9)†	F	p
TM	24	38.12	35.58
Control I (desiring to learn TM)	21	46.71	45.56	1.26	NS‡
Control II (not desiring to learn TM)	15	47.47	47.72	3.60	<0.10

*The means are not identical to those of table 1 because only subjects who had completed at least one test after the experimental group learned TM, as well as tests in weeks 3, 6, and 9, were included.

†Control groups were tested in the same weeks but obviously did not meditate.

‡NS = not significant.

activities and the mean number of hours spent in these activities per week. For the 17 subjects still available for testing eight months after the inception of the program, the mean retrospective report of pre-TM participation was 0.88 activities per week. Six months after instruction in TM the mean number of activities per week had risen to 2.29. Eleven increased their participation, and only one participated in fewer activities (sign test: $z = 2.89$, $p < .01$). Sixteen subjects also reported the hours spent per week in these activities. The mean pre-TM weekly participation was 2.88 hours. Six months after instruction the mean weekly participation reached 10.75 hours ($t = 3.27$, $df = 15$, $p < .01$).

OTHER WRITTEN SELF-REPORTS—On the 23 questionnaires returned, 13 subjects reported having meditated regularly (i.e., at least 12 meditation periods per week), five had been irregular (i.e., at least four meditations per week), and five had not meditated more than occasionally. Of those who were not regular, three found the prison environment nonconducive to meditation, and seven felt they were too busy or too lazy to meditate regularly. All 23 reported that after meditating they felt rested or calm, or relaxed, or peaceful, or more outgoing, or good, or they made some other positive statement.

Ten felt this positive feeling lasted eight hours, or until sleep or the next meditation. Six felt the effects lasted two to five hours. Five felt the effects lasted an hour or less. One could not say anything definite, and one felt the effects continued to last longer as months passed. Twenty felt they had seen positive effects in their relationships with others since starting the TM technique, due particularly to reduced outbursts of temper, increasing understanding and compassion, increasing social interest, and reduced social apprehension. Eighteen felt these changes would help them outside of prison, and 17 felt TM was entirely responsible for these changes.

The exact level of drug use prior to TM could not be ascertained. After beginning TM two subjects decreased their use of alcohol and all drugs, legal or illegal. Six ceased using all drugs, or all but cigarettes. Six were

smoking fewer cigarettes, and two stopped smoking altogether. Fourteen reported TM to be the reason for their decline or cessation of drug use. One felt some change, but did not find it permanent. Eight did not respond.

Of the 23, eleven stated that since starting TM they had had fewer days of illness, three said they were never ill before and thus had no basis for comparison, four felt there was no change, and five gave unclear answers or no answers. Eighteen reported feeling physically better since beginning TM, and 16 attributed this improvement to TM.

Finally, 18 stated they were satisfied with meditation, two were not, one gave no answer, one was unsure, and one "was satisfied while I was still meditating." Eighteen had noticed positive changes in others who were meditating. Seventeen found prison life easier with TM, six found it did not help or change prison life. Fifteen felt TM would be useful after parole, seven were unsure, and one felt he could not maintain the regularity of the practice. Thirteen felt TM would help inmates if it were offered to everyone in the U.S. prison system, six were unsure, two felt it would not help, one felt it would help 95 percent of prison inmates, and one felt it would help only if prisoners could maintain the schedule required.

On the whole, the shortcomings cited were expressions of the desire for a longer, or more intensive, or more accessible TM program.

DISCUSSION

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESULTS—The results of the combined measures seem to indicate a powerful global effect on inmates' behavior and internal state. On the STAI there was a very substantial and immediate decrease for meditators on the usually stable measure of Trait Anxiety, while no change was found in either control group. State anxiety level was also significantly decreased, with a trend toward an additionally lowered score immediately after the meditation periods. That the immediate effect of a meditation on transitory anxiety was not greater may be

due to the fact that about half of the meditators reported that the beneficial effects of the TM technique persisted throughout the day. Thus, the levels of anxiety before and after meditation would not be expected to differ greatly.

Unfortunately, the subjects could not be kept ignorant of the fact that the tests were measuring the effect of the TM technique, and it is possible that with repeated measures they could have become skilled in "faking" their results. However, there is no reason to expect them to have done this. The subjects had already received instruction in TM when the tests were administered; the TM teacher, who also administered the tests, was not part of the penal system and so had nothing to offer inmates that might act as an incentive for them to appear improved. Further, scores for all groups varied with prisonwide situations such as lock-ups, i.e., times when all prisoners were confined to their cells.

An accompanying table (table 3) permits a comparison of the subjects' STAI scores with other populations. Stillwater's meditators show a shift from being one of the most anxious to one of the least anxious populations. Emotional conflicts, strain, and anxiety are widely known to be associated with criminal behavior and drug dependency. It is also well recognized that prison inmates and staff live under a great deal of stress and tension. This burden of physiological and psychological tension seems to be the fundamental cause of disruptive behavior in and out of the rehabilitation institution. Here and in other studies (16, 27), strong evidence is available to demonstrate that TM reduces stress and relieves tension. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the TM program can be of significant value in solving the rehabilitation problem.

The records of prison rule infractions are strongly indicative of the positive effect of TM on the inmates' behavior. Violations were reduced by more than two-thirds

for meditating inmates, with almost no change for controls. A small number of subjects, a large variance, and the necessity of using nonparametric statistics makes this result only marginally significant statistically, but it is an important result because of its relative objectivity and its known close relationship to recidivism (10). Interestingly, the most popular current form of depth reorientation of the criminal personality—group psychotherapy—has been shown, in a well-controlled study using both mandatory and voluntary experimental control subjects, not to affect prison rule infractions at all (13).

The more crucial implication, decreased recidivism for inmate meditators, is substantiated by the fact that of the 16 experimental subjects paroled (who had been on parole an average of six months at last contact), only one was known to have violated parole.

The self-reported increase in prison activity, to twice as many programs and three times as many hours of participation, is an important result when considered in light of the total prison rehabilitation program. It seems that TM can support other programs by increasing the quality and quantity of time prisoners spend in such important activities as vocational and educational training. Again the results imply improved adjustment after release. When TM is properly introduced, it appears to appeal to a large number of inmates, acting as a stepping stone to other positive activities. Many inmates reported greater receptivity to drug dependency classes and group therapy after starting TM. Others transferred to more responsible jobs, and one began to teach a class in creative writing that led to an outside job after parole.

Of the other questionnaire data, perhaps the most important result for the penal system and for society, as well as for the individual, is the reported decrease by 16 out of 23 inmates in the use of either cigarettes or illegal drugs. This replicates another study of self-reported decrease in

TABLE 3

STAI STATE AND TRAIT ANXIETY MEAN SCORES FOR HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE STUDENTS, NEUROPSYCHIATRIC PATIENTS, GENERAL MEDICAL AND SURGICAL PATIENTS, AND MALE PRISONERS

	N	STATE ANXIETY MEANS	TRAIT ANXIETY MEANS
Undergraduate males	253	36	38
College freshman males	334	40	38
High school males	190	37	39
Neuropsychiatric patients	461	48	47
General medical and surgical patients	161	42	42
Prison inmates			
Fed. Correct. Inst., Tallahassee, Florida	212	46	45
Stillwater Prison			
Meditators			
Before learning TM	23, 24	48	44
After learning TM	23, 24	38	36
Nonmeditators (Control Group I)			
Before	21	46	44
After	21	47	50

SOURCE: Data in this table (except that obtained from Stillwater Prison inmates) are from Spielberger, Gorsuch, and Lushene, *STAI Manual*, p. 8.

drug use due to Transcendental Meditation by Benson and Wallace (4). Half of the inmates at Stillwater are said to have drug dependency problems. Since some of the 23 said they had never used any drugs, it would probably be correct to say that at least 75 percent of those meditators with drug problems experienced some decrease in drug dependency.

Self-reported data have their limitations, but in this case the experimenter received many staff comments corroborating the benefits of the TM program for participating inmates and over 100 requests each month from other inmates and staff members for instruction in the TM technique. There was substantial support from the inmates in the form of their speaking to others about TM, writing articles on TM, and circulating a petition asking that the program be continued, which was signed by 150 inmates. It is unlikely that this response could be accounted for by any placebo or suggestion effects, as such effects would all have undoubtedly diminished to negligible proportions well before the end of the ten-month program. Apparently there was something very satisfying, even profound, about the technique.

PROGRAM DIFFICULTIES—About 30 percent of the 57 instructed failed to continue meditating even irregularly. Seven others did not finish the four-day course. There was not one consistent cause, but often the complaint was that meditation did not seem to be compatible with the prison environment or that there was not enough time. Adequate staff preparation, including a thorough discussion of the mechanics of TM and therefore the need for two uninterrupted 20-minute periods a day for the meditating inmates, would probably have greatly improved the program's effectiveness. Also, a population that was originally so tense would no doubt have benefited from more initial follow-up sessions on a one-to-one basis than the project's budget permitted.

Another minor difficulty was an increase in sleepiness during the first few weeks after inmates began the TM program. In the general population, this experience of increased sleepiness is not uncommon during the first few days after instruction. The fact that this sleepiness in the prisoners sometimes lasted several weeks indicates the great need for rest in these individuals. In all cases the sleepiness eventually gave way to increased alertness.

THE TRANSCENDENTAL MEDITATION PROGRAM AND PRISON REHABILITATION—The cost of a TM program is extremely low when compared with other rehabilitation programs currently designed for prisons. The cost of the entire TM program from August 1972 through August 1973 was under \$7,000. By contrast, the prison's D-Hall therapeutic community project cost \$105,000 for six months. The TM project could have been improved with

more funds. However, even with the additional funds necessary to make these improvements, the TM program would never have approached the cost of the latter program for an equivalent number of inmates. Yet many inmates found TM to be the most helpful program in the prison. In particular, it seems to have lowered drug abuse, one of the most intractable of rehabilitation problems. It lowered the number of rule infractions, implying that the institution would be easier to manage, and it lowered recidivism. The TM program also increased the prisoners' use of existing rehabilitation activities, thus increasing the effectiveness of these programs.

The Transcendental Meditation program offers additional advantages that probably underlie these results. It is simple to learn and practice and does not require a great commitment of time, effort, initial interest, or desire to analyze one's behavior, as does, for example, psychotherapy. It does not require a desire to eliminate patterns of antisocial behavior (although it seems to bring about that effect). Even the hardened criminal can be interested in feeling better physically and increasing his intelligence and pleasure in life. The TM technique does not involve intellectual understanding or even emotional release, but rather it involves the physiological level by releasing tension through very deep rest, which seems to automatically lessen the root cause of criminal behavior.

Detailed psychological and physiological studies of more general prison populations are now needed to verify these results. Nevertheless, this pilot study implies that a promising new solution to the problem of inmate rehabilitation has finally been found.

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