Institutionalization, Organizational Commitment, and Hope for Personal Fulfillment in The Shawshank Redemption

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ABSTRACT

Institutionalization is a socialization process through which the values, beliefs, policies, and practices of an organization are instilled within the members of that organization that they might collectively adopt these values or rules and commit themselves to that organization. However, those being institutionalized under authoritarian discipline may lose the freedom of their soul and a personal level of self. In order to raise readers' awareness of the impact of institutionalization and commitment on the individual or collective actors, this study intends to use the film The Shawshank Redemption as a case study, using content analysis as a qualitative research technique to analyze the symbolic scenes in the film in order to reveal how commitment and stability via institutionalization can be brought into the organization. To achieve this goal, the study uses Scott's institutional theory and Meyer and Allen's organizational commitment model to demonstrate how commitment may greatly impact people. Those being institutionalized, like Brooks in The Shawshank Redemption, may lose their ability to think and act independently and thus lose their hope for fulfillment. However, those like Andy and, later, Red, choosing to hold on to freedom of the soul and a personal level of self, can deinstitutionalize themselves; break free of the shackles, either physically or spiritually, of the organization; and make a commitment toward their own inner development.

1. Introduction

The Shawshank Redemption, directed by Darabont (1994), is an adaptation of King’s (1982) novel Rita Hayworth and Shawshank Redemption, which deals with institutionalization, hope, and self-salvation. Some of the plots in this film reveal that those incarcerated at Shawshank have been “institutionalized”; consequently, they cannot function normally after being paroled. Based on Scott’s (2013) institutional theory, institutionalization exists at many levels, including commercial, industrial, and national levels. It is a socialization process through which the values, beliefs, policies, and practices of the organizations are instilled in the members that they might collectively take these values or rules for granted, either normatively or cognitively, in order to reach social legitimacy and hence achieve the goal of discipline (Scott, 2013; Selznick, 1996; Shen & Snowden, 2014).

In addition to institutional theory, Scott (2013) referred to organizational commitment, which involves the norms, values, structures, and procedures that individual actors and collective actors are concerned with and are willing to devote to the organization (Scott, 2013). Meyer and Allen (1991) proposed an organizational commitment model to demonstrate how commitment may greatly impact people when they are interacting with their organization. Scott's institutional theory and Meyer and Allen’s organizational commitment model have far-reaching effects on individual and collective actors’ social lives in terms of feelings, thoughts, and behaviors (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). From the other perspective, according to Selznick (1996), institutionalization benefits organizations, especially when the members in the organization make a commitment or experience a sense of belonging, which can create a stable environment within the institution and unity among its members. In order to enhance readers’ realization of the impact that institutionalization and commitment can have on individual or collective actors, this study intends to use the film The Shawshank

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Redemption (Darabont, 1994) as a case study and to analyze the symbolic scenes in the film to demonstrate the commitment and stability that institutionalization can bring to an organization and, conversely, that those being institutionalized under authoritarian discipline may lose hope, the freedom of the soul, and a personal level of self.

2. Method

This study uses content analysis as the qualitative research technique and adopts the film The Shawshank Redemption (Darabont, 1994) as a case study to examine how those imprisoned in Shawshank were influenced by the institution, using Meyer and Allen's (1991) organizational commitment model and Scott's institutional theory (1995) and “three pillars of institutionalization”: regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive (2013).

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2015), qualitative research demands conversations and observations in relation to the experiences, points of view, and relationships of participants or concepts that are difficult to grasp using figures and quantitative analysis (Sibbald et al., 2022). Creswell (2007) suggested that another characteristic of qualitative research involves recognizing the background of the experience or phenomenon and giving value to or deeper insight into the experience or phenomenon. The data collected in this research included the schemes, dialogues, gestures, symbols, and archetypes in the film and the script of The Shawshank Redemption (Darabont,1994).

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. The Shawshank Redemption and Institutional Theory

The film The Shawshank Redemption (Darabont,1994), set in 1947, is a story about Andy, an American banker whose wife had an affair and was shot by an unknown assailant. However, Andy is wrongfully charged for shooting his wife and her lover and is sentenced to two life sentences in Shawshank Prison. After witnessing the darkness and corruption of the prison, Andy recognizes the unlikelihood of proving his innocence; the only way to survive is to escape from prison. With that commitment and hope in mind, he begins to secretly carry out his plan to break out of jail.

In The Shawshank Redemption, the wall of the prison, named “the Shawshank,” seems like a normal prison wall, but it is more than that. The wall at Shawshank represents a reification of institutionalization. In his first month at Shawshank, Andy does not adapt well to prison life, not uttering a word, but he is able to acclimate within a few years.

In Shawshank Prison, most of the prisoners expect to be paroled, and the warden and the guards want to manage the jail smoothly. To maintain the stability of the prison, Shawshank does not have reasonable rules, freedom, or equity; law is established based on the rules determined by the warden. The warden, Norton, seeks to create order and reduce uncertainty, such as resistance or rebellion, in order to maintain stability at Shawshank and secure his authority as the warden.

According to Scott (2002), organizations are not stable; it is easy to be shaped and influenced by the environment. In other words, environments have the power to infiltrate and mold organizations. Hence, in order to maintain organizational stability, research has been conducted to design frameworks or models for institutions and institutionalization to reduce uncertainty (Veciana & Urbano, 2008). To ensure stability and give sense to social existence, Scott (1995, 2008, & 2013) proposed the “three pillars of institutions framework,” which are demonstrated in Shawshank Prison.

3.2. Institutionalization and Commitment

Scott (2013) identified the three pillars of institution—regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive—each of which is distinctive and has been regarded as an essential component of institutions. According to the author, institutionalization is an orderly, stable mode of social integration that stems from “unstable, loosely organized, or narrow technical activities” (p. 146); achieving the stability and integration of the organization involves facilitating social engagements or commitments. Once people are able to coexist within an organization, they have already integrated with or even willingly made some commitment to it. Additionally, he emphasized that most types of institutions include different combinations of the three pillars and are not formed by a single pillar (Scott, 2013). His institutional theory is associated with Meyer and Allen’s (1977, 1984, 1991, & 1997) three-component organizational commitment model, which involves affective, normative, and continuance commitment. They suggested that organizational commitment refers to workers’ or people’s psychological relationship with the organization and their willingness to remain in the organization or vice versa.
Scott’s (2013) three pillars of institutionalization and Meyer and Allen’s (1991) organizational commitment model are well represented in *The Shawshank Redemption*, as those imprisoned at Shawshank are influenced by the institution, and the warden acts as a figure of authority to control, regulate, and even humiliate them in order to institutionalize these prisoners.

### a. The regulative pillar

The regulative pillar is related to the regulatory process and involves the ability to formulate new laws and rules to affect future behavior (Jaber, 2014). Kostova (1997) noted that the regulative system mirrors the current laws and regulations of a specific country in order to promote specific behaviors and restrict other behaviors. Hence, the regulatory process involves setting rules, checking the ability of others to follow the rules, and, if necessary, manipulating sanctions or penalties—using rewards or punishments—to try to influence future behaviors. The process may function via decentralized, informal civilian mechanisms, such as the use of humiliation or avoidance means to regulate people, or it may function through the use of highly formalized or specialized actors, like the police and the courts (Scott, 2013).

In the film *The Shawshank Redemption*, the warden, Norton, is the authority figure at Shawshank Prison. He forms his own laws and rules in order to mold the society and culture, leading to cruel practices. Indeed, many scenes depict prisoners being humiliated and tortured. For instance, when a new inmate cries in his cell during his first night in prison, the prison guard beats him mercilessly, while the other prisoners watch the violent scene, not daring to say or do anything. In this way, the prison guard is warning all the prisoners and ensuring that they will follow the laws and rules established by Norton. When Andy arrives at Shawshank, he is forced to abandon all of the rules and regulations he had known and adopt the specific prison rules established by the warden.

Before arriving at Shawshank, the prisoners are required to complete several tasks, among which, they must remove their clothing; this act symbolizes that, once they enter the prison, they are no longer a part of the outside world. These regulatory processes are necessary in order to ensure that the prisoners are controllable once inside the prison and that they will follow the organization’s mandates.

The warden, Norton, considers himself a saint who leads the Shawshank prisoners to redemption. He always uses the prison guards to control the prisoners, so his hands are never dirty. In fact, the warden is the most heinous person at Shawshank. Some scenes in the film demonstrate that he does not care if the prisoners have been tortured; he only cares that they follow the rules set by the warden. If the prisoners choose to ignore the warden’s dictates, then his authority becomes invalid. Unfortunately for them, choice is not an option for the prisoners; because of the threats directed against them, they are made “willing” to abide by the rules set by the warden. Hence, a willingness to follow the rules set by an institution brings about profound effects on individual and collective actors’ thinking and behavior (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), as with Norton and the prisoners. The warden makes all of the decisions at Shawshank Prison; therefore, he considers himself a god or saint who can lead all of the prisoners to redemption. For their part, after entering Shawshank Prison, the prisoners are ordered to follow the rules established by the warden and enforced by the guards; to avoid punishment, they must regulate their behavior and obey the rules and norms. Through this process, they are being influenced and are adapting, albeit subconsciously, to the institution’s expectations.

### b. The normative pillar
The normative process involves social values, norms, and beliefs shared and enforced by individuals or institutions to meet the expectation of society or the community (Kostova, 1997). Scott (1995 & 2013) explained that the normative institutional pillar establishes what is appropriate and what is correct for people in society. It encompasses the rules, measures, and obligations of social life, in connection with values and norms. “Values” refers to concepts to be pursued, while “norms” refers to existing structures or behaviors that can be compared and evaluated as a set of specific criteria that guide how things should be done (Scott, 2013).

In this way, even without legal or official approval or permission, when an institution promotes certain norms, regulations, or behaviors, it can indeed enforce them on individual and collective actors of that institution via the normative process. Brooks, a man who has been imprisoned at Shawshank for over fifty years, is totally institutionalized by the so-called norms, values, and rules of the prison:

Heywood: Old man’s crazy as a rat in a tin shithouse, is what.
Red: Heywood, enough. Ain’t nothing wrong with Brooksie. He’s just institutionalized, that’s all.
Heywood: Institutionalized, my ass.
Red: Man’s been here fifty years. This place is all he knows. In here, he’s an important man, an educated man. A librarian. Out there, he’s nothing but a used-up old con with arthritis in both hands. Couldn’t even get a library card if he applied. You see what I’m saying?
Floyd: Red, I do believe you’re talking out of your ass.
Red: Believe what you want. These walls are funny. First you hate ’em, then you get used to ’em. After long enough, you get so you depend on ’em. That’s “institutionalized.”
Jigger: Shit. I could never get that way. (Darabont, 1994, p. 57)

Red accurately states that Brooks has been institutionalized. Indeed, as a librarian at Shawshank, Brooks considers himself useful; hence, he has formed a strong connection with Shawshank. In other words, the prisoner has already accepted Shawshank as part of his social life. After being released on parole, arrangements are made for him to work at a supermarket, but he finds that everything is different from what he remembered. He is shocked when he sees so many cars on the road, since the situation had been quite different fifty years earlier.

However, when they are forced into an unfamiliar environment, they might resist it at first and later be assimilated into the organization. Brooks found a way to adapt to prison life, which for him was stable and safe; yet, once he is set free from Shawshank prison, he has to begin the assimilation process all over again, with a different organization. Hence, he feels anxious and miserable because he has a deep emotional commitment to Shawshank.

c. The cultural-cognitive pillar

The cultural-cognitive institutional pillar focuses on cognition and a general consensus among actors about what is taken at face value, without question (Busenitz et al., 2000; Scott, 1995 & 2013). According to Scott (2013), with the cultural-cognitive institutional pillar, conformity occurs in a variety of situations because, while other types of behavior are inconceivable, conventions or routines are complied with as the norms by which people abide. The logic of orthodoxy is used to justify the ideas behind the actions. Shawshank Prison uses the cultural-cognitive system as a way of brainwashing, a process of forcing someone to accept a completely different belief through the use of systematic and often conceived means, in order to ensure the stability of the institution. For instance, the prison authority allows prisoners to watch films with sensational scenarios, which are used as a cultural-cognitive institutional means to control the prisoners. These prisoners, except Andy, enjoy repeatedly watching these films and are immersed in these sensational scenarios. In this way, they are becoming institutionalized via cultural-cognitive activities, which are used to make the prison more stable and orderly. In other words, all of the actions and policies undertaken at Shawshank Prison are intended to make the prisoners more disciplined and malleable—the goal is not to rehabilitate, but to institutionalize.

This was also represented by Red’s repeated parole rejections by his correction committees, despite his assertion that he would not bring any harm to society because he has turned over a new leaf and will be further rehabilitated as a member of society. His requests are rejected because Shawshank Prison’s goal for prisoners is not to help them turn over a new leaf and be independent thinkers; instead, it is a place to institutionalize them into behaving as expected.
According to Selznick (1996), institutionalization is used by organizations to guide members to achieve the organization's goals. One reason why Shawshank Prison needs the prisoners to be disciplined and institutionalized may be to create lower-cost workers to perform labor tasks. Therefore, there is no need for a good library and books to increase their knowledge and enrich their soul; in the cultural-cognitive institutionalization, which focuses on cognition and acceptance of the rules, without question (Busenitz, et al., 2000; Scott, 1995 & 2013), there is no need for independent thinking and exploration. Thus, in Shawshank Prison, there is no budget for the library and books.

The condition of the library in Shawshank Prison is quite poor. There is a paltry selection of books, and the space is small and dirty. When Andy asks the warden for funds to buy books or renovate the library, Norton, without hesitation, says, “Not a dime. My budget's stretched thin as it is” (p. 52). Undeterred, Andy writes letters to the state senate to request the funds and later receives a charitable donation of second-hand books and sundries, including albums by Nat King Cole, Bing Crosby, and Mozart's “Le Nozze de Figaro.” Andy’s “eyes mist with emotion at the sight” (p. 64). These items symbolize an enrichment of the soul. Later, Andy breaks into the warden's office to play the album “Le Nozze de Figaro” publicly, at which point

Cons all over the prison stop whatever they’re doing, freezing in mid-step to listen, gazing up at the speakers. THE STAMPING MACHINES IN THE PLATE SHOP ARE SHUT DOWN... Andy is reclined in the chair, transported, arms fluidly conducting the music. Ecstasy and rapture. Shawshank no longer exists. It has been banished from the mind of men (p. 66).

Afterward, Andy is sent to solitary confinement for two weeks as punishment for his disobedience of the values, norms, and rules set by the warden. However, he is delighted to have had the experience and is not bored during the confinement because his soul is enriched by the music, which is still going round and round inside his head. Somehow, Andy’s spirit is enriched by the beauty of the music, proving, as Andy declares, that the beauty of music is what the Shawshank authority cannot “confiscate” from you, “not ever” (p. 68). The music is clearly a metaphor for thought and hope, which are intangible and hence cannot be controlled by anyone.

Unlike other prisoners who are accustomed to the norms established in Shawshank and who have committed themselves to abide by the established prison rules, Andy is not institutionalized by the prison; instead, he focuses on his self-awareness, making a commitment toward his own spiritual development.

3.3. Organizational Commitment versus Hope for Personal Fulfillment

Institutionalization is enacted to maintain the stability of social order. Hence, it serves as a mechanism to discipline and further model certain behaviors. In The Shawshank Redemption, the three pillars share the same goal, which is to make the organization’s environment more stable and easily managed. Indeed, if after being institutionalized, the prisoners are willing to commit to following the rules of Shawshank prison, they will have a strong connection to and dependence upon the prison. Therefore, through institutionalization and commitment, these prisoners would be more controllable, more useful, and hence more productive; in fact, Norton considers them a “pool of slave labor” to “underbid any contractor in town” and hence “roll in” the money (pp. 74–75).

a. Organizational commitment

Three components comprise Meyer and Allen’s (1991) organizational commitment model: affective commitment, continuance commitment, and normative commitment. What all three components have in common is that each one forms a boundary, which reduces the probability of employees’ or members’ leaving the organization; however, the quality of this constraint varies depending on the type of commitment (Eslami & Gharakhani, 2012; Meyer & Allen, 1991). In The Shawshank Redemption, when the prisoners commit themselves to Shawshank Prison, they prove that they are willing to remain in the institution, being docile and creating no trouble. Hence, they are more controllable and easier to be manipulated by the warden to exploit them for money. Norton certainly needs to ensure that the prisoners dare not try to escape, so that he can own a lower-cost labor force and thus continue to benefit from exploiting them.

With affective commitment to the institution, the institutional members are happy to define themselves by the institution, thinking that they are part of it (Yucel et al., 2014). For those with normative commitment to the institution, instead of emphasizing the incentives (costs and benefits), they think that they have an obligation or moral duty to remain and be loyal to the institution (Scott, 2013; Triguero-Sánchez et al., 2022). Some who have worked in an institution may not be satisfied with the workplace, but may realize that better work options elsewhere are limited and may fear ruining the standing that they have earned in their current workplace. When certain circumstances beyond their control arise and making a change is not advisable, such people may choose to stay and maintain a continuance
commitment to the institution (Cakı, et al., 2015). However, those perceiving a continuance commitment to the organization, although their enthusiasm and work efficiency are very low, will do everything they are expected to do, albeit with an inattentive disposition (Cakı et al., 2015). The librarian, Brooks, in The Shawshank Redemption represents affective and normative commitment to Shawshank Prison. As a librarian at Shawshank, he finds a way to fit into prison life and make his experience meaningful and self-fulfilling. Although Brooks did not volunteer to be a librarian, given his college degree, he agrees with the goals and values of the library, which leads him to willingly work for the prison library. Hence, given his normative commitment to Shawshank Prison, once being set free after a fifty-year incarceration, Brooks, instead of being happy, has a mental breakdown. He simply does not know how to function in and identify with the outside world. Out of his mind, he irrationally grabs a knife, places another prisoner "in a chokehold," and holds "a knife to his throat" (p. 55); Brooks is willing to hurt another person in order to continue serving his sentence in prison.

In fact, upon leaving Shawshank, Brooks has “tears streaming down his face” (p. 58). When Brooks is paroled, he is sent to a halfway house. After leaving Shawshank, unfortunately, he has difficulty forming a real commitment to his new job as a grocery store bagger. Because of his age, he is not welcomed there; even the grocery manager dislikes him. However, unable to find a better job, such as a librarian, he has no choice but to keep working in the grocery store; he is displaying a continuous commitment to the store.

He cannot find his sense of existence in the outside world. Lying on a big bed, he cannot even sleep without having nightmares about falling. When he wakes up, terrified, he occasionally can’t remember where he is. At one point, Brooks wonders if using a gun to rob the grocery store or to shoot the manager would mean that he would be sent “home”—to Shawshank Prison. He feels useless, as if there is no reason for him to remain in this world. In the end, with no hope, Brooks commits suicide: “He swings gently, facing the open window” (p 61). He hanged himself to finally gain freedom.

b. Hope for personal fulfillment

The extreme darkness and cruelty of Shawshank Prison imprisons not only inmates’ bodies, but also their souls, cutting off their eagerness for freedom and hope. Red recognizes this: “Hope is a dangerous thing. Drive[s] a man insane. It’s got no place here. Better get used to the idea” (p. 69).

Red could have been like Brooks, losing his sense of existence in the outside world. Similar to Brooks, being institutionalized by Shawshank Prison, Red feels uncomfortable in the outside world; he also loses the ability to think and act independently. Indeed, although released from prison, he has difficulty ridding himself of institutionalization; he grew accustomed to asking for permission for any action, even to urinate. He admits that, without permission to go to the bathroom, he cannot even release a drop of urine. Finding no commitment to or identification with the outside world, Red, similar to Brooks, intends to break his parole in order to return to Shawshank Prison. He may even duplicate Brooks’s suicidal fate. While glancing up at the ceiling from which Brooks hanged himself, Red thinks, “Terrible thing, to live in fear. Brooks Hatlen knew it. Knew it all too well. All I want is to be back where things make sense. Where I won’t have to be afraid all the time” (p. 121).

However, keeping a positive outlook, Andy believes that “hope is a good thing, maybe the best of things, and no good thing ever dies” (p. 123). He insists on keeping his hope alive to resist institutionalization, even when he is unjustifiably provoked and abused by the “three sisters” in the prison (p. 29). Moreover, to help his Shawshank inmates temporarily experience their own spiritual or physical freedom, he manages to negotiate with the guard to acquire beers and books and hence help them feel alive and experience a sense of personal fulfillment. In that way, they, with hope, can resist the institutionalization of Shawshank.

He believes that having hope will enrich his mind and help him envision a positive future, which will prevent him from losing his initiative and self-esteem while being incarcerated (Peng, 2020). Hence, in order to realize temporary spiritual freedom, Andy, unheeding of the punishment of solitary confinement, breaks into the prison’s radio room to play “The Marriage of Figaro" to release the constraint of institutionalization. In contrast to Red, thinking that music, as well as hope, is a useless and dangerous tool that would drive people mad, Andy asserts that music allows him to remain hopeful in his imprisoned life. Therefore, when Andy is attentively listening to Mozart’s music reverberating throughout the prison, when his soul is dreaming of freedom, he can ignore the threatening roars of Norton and the guards outside the locked door. With a satisfied smile, Andy is overwhelmingly absorbed in the music, thus realizing spiritual salvation and a rebirth of life.
In contrast with Brooks, who feels hopeless in the outside world, Andy, though wrongly sentenced, maintains a positive attitude, saying that “there’s a small place inside of us they can never lock away, and that place is called hope” (p. 68).

Furthermore, to deinstitutionalize the physical confinement imposed by Shawshank Prison, instead of being willingly confined by the high stone walls and hence being institutionalized, Andy spends nearly twenty years using a small hammer to drill through the high wall of Shawshank Prison, symbolically declaring his redemption, his spiritual and physical freedom, and his rebirth (Peng, 2020). Finally, with hope to seek freedom, he drills a tunnel and breaks out of jail to Mexico.

Most people who are institutionalized gradually lose their ability to think and act independently because they have lived under the rules of an institution for a long time. They, like Brooks and Red, are accustomed to being confined by the high stone walls of Shawshank, a symbol of institutionalization. However, unlike Brooks or Red, Andy chooses to hold on to the freedom of his soul and personal level of self, with which he can deinstitutionalize and free himself from the shackles, physical or spiritual, of Shawshank Prison.

Red is definitely losing hope and the sense of meaning in his life; then he remembers his promise to Andy, which arouses Red’s hope for a positive future. Following Andy’s instruction, he arrives in Buxton and finds a letter under the rock by the long rock wall; after reading the letter, he has hope that he can cross the border, not only to fulfill his promise to Andy, but also to fulfill his own dreams, although the prospect is uncertain:

I find I am so excited I can barely sit still or hold a thought in my head. I think it is the excitement only a free man can feel, a free man at the start of a long journey whose conclusion is uncertain... I hope I can make it across the border. I hope to see my friend and shake his hand. I hope the Pacific is as blue as it has been in my dreams. I hope. (p. 124)

Hence, the letter Andy gives Red is a metaphor of hope for personal fulfillment. Having been institutionalized in Shawshank Prison, Red, as with Brooks, loses his sense of self after being given parole; however, after reading Andy’s letter, he is finally inspired by Andy to remove the shackles of institutionalization. In the end, Red hopes to find personal value and goals, although he still feels that the prospect is uncertain. Crossing the border symbolizes crossing the border of institutionalization. With hope and personal fulfillment, Red finally escapes institutionalization, and instead of making an organizational commitment, he seeks freedom of the soul and a personal development of self. Hence, to keep his promise to Andy, he sets out on a journey to Mexico to find Andy and achieve personal fulfillment. He reflects upon—and agrees with—what Andy said: “Get busy living or get busy dying. That is goddamn right” (p. 123).

4. Conclusion

Institutionalization is a socialization process through which the values, beliefs, policies, practices, and rules of organizations or social systems are instilled in their members so that they collectively adopt these values or rules; thus, they maintain stability and commit themselves to the organizations or societies. Hence, it serves as a mechanism to discipline and model human behaviors. Those being institutionalized, like Brooks in The Shawshank Redemption, may lose their ability to think and act independently and thus lose their hope for self-fulfillment. However, for those like Andy and, later, Red, who choose to hold on to freedom of the soul and a personal level of self, they can deinstitutionalize themselves, removing the shackles, either physical or spiritual, of the organization and making a commitment to their own inner development.

References


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