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THE EFFECT OF JUVENILE INSTITUTIONALIZATION
ON ADJUSTMENT IN PRISON

by

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A THESIS

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The field of criminology has been exhaustively studied in its various phases by many writers. Much of this work has been in relation to the causes of crime, the types and kinds of criminals, and new methods in the field. Recently, a major emphasis has been upon probation and parole. In general, however, the inmate within the prison has been overlooked by the investigators.

Statement of the Problem

In this investigation, the question concerns solely the adjustment of the inmate inside the prison. There is no doubt that the artificial environment found in a prison has a considerable modifying influence upon a man's behavior pattern. There is little doubt that any institutionalization has a telling effect upon this pattern and mode of adjustment. The problem at hand is to learn more about that effect. Specifically, the purpose of this investigation was to determine the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon the degree of adjustment of a prison inmate.

Working Hypothesis

Many men adapt quite well under prison routine; others not so well. The causes of this differential adjustment are interesting, complex, and numerous. Many prisoners are psychopaths who have been unable to adapt anywhere in their associations with other persons, and have for this very reason been "selected" by the correctional and penal agencies.

One of the many factors affecting adjustment in prison may be associated with previous institutional experience. The working hypothesis of this investigation is that juvenile institutional experience tends to be associated with poorer adjustment in prison, and that persons without previous institutional experience tend to make better adjustments in prison.

Basic Assumptions

In order that this study might be successfully pursued, it was assumed that adaptation in prison could be measured objectively by using existing prison records. It was assumed also that the adjustment as measured according to the prison records was fairly congruent with actual adjustment. Further, it was assumed that the accommodation of a prison inmate to the prison officials reflects his adaptation with his fellow inmates sufficiently well to allow fairly reliable conclusions to be drawn as to the degree of his general accommodation. The latter assumption may be analagous to, and thereby, partially supported by, Ferris Laune's two inmate investigators who found that they could predict the adjustment of fellow inmates on parole at least as accurately as intelligence can be measured.¹ Agreement was found between estimates by inmates and estimates by prison officials of adaptation of individual inmates on parole and their actual performances. This would indicate at least one recorded instance where inmates and institutional officials agreed on a matter of inmate adjustment.

1. Ferris Laune; PREDICTING CRIMINALITY, 1936. 17-18.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was three-fold. The primary objective was to evaluate the effect of juvenile institutionalization on the adjustment of an inmate in prison. The secondary objective was to determine the modifying influence of reformatory experience on the effect of juvenile institutionalization. The tertiary purpose of this study, and a means of arriving at the primary and secondary objectives were the construction of a scale for the measurement of adjustment in prison on the basis of existing prison records.

Importance of the Problem

The importance of the problem of the adjustment of the prison inmate with reference to a juvenile delinquency career seems obvious. Michigan, as well as other states and nations, has made a legal division between juvenile criminal careers and adult criminal careers. There is a tendency for workers dealing with adult offenders to disregard the juvenile career because of this legal division. It is appreciated that juvenile authorities insist that juvenile delinquency is a welfare problem, and that treatment is different. This being the case, the legal division between juvenile and adult offenders has authoritative support. Sociologically, or just logically, however, there should be no division. It is the same entity with which we deal. It is the same personality which is being processed. The division is merely of two links of the delin-

quency-crime chain² which juvenile and adult authorities have been trying to break in their preventive and rehabilitative programs. Any study which involves the juvenile career with any phase of adult offenders, then, would be considered valuable, if only because it adds some little bit to society's total knowledge of the problem.

This problem is of importance also in that it might give some insight into the results of experience in a juvenile correctional institution. The project was not designed to determine the effect of juvenile incarceration in all spheres. Because it has not included all of the boys who received treatment in the juvenile institution considered this study cannot possibly evaluate the success or failure of the rehabilitation program of that institution. This study has considered only fifty boys who have not made good. No boys from that institution who have succeeded in making an adequate adjustment in society after their release have been considered. With respect to the latter group, Healy and Bronner concluded that successful adjustment of juvenile offenders depended less on the rehabilitative program than on the type of case from an etiological standpoint.³ Even so, this study should determine whether or not previous juvenile incarceration tends to make a man a better prison inmate or a worse one in terms of his adjustment to the institution. This investigation may be valuable as a

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2. James V. Bennett; "Breaking the Delinquency-Crime Chain", NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, (Proceedings), 1941, P. 440
 3. William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner; NEW LIGHT ON DELINQUENCY AND ITS TREATMENT, 1936, New Haven, Connecticut, pp. 171-172.

complement to other studies of other phases of the results of juvenile incarceration.

The results should also be important in the determination of improvability, and the arrangement of a custodial program accordingly.⁴ If it has been adequately shown that a certain group of inmates who have not had a certain type of previous experience are more likely to adjust, then the custodial force can devote more attention to another group. The inability of certain groups of offenders to make use of a rehabilitative program certainly has its effect on the custodial and parole policies of a correctional program. (The results of study may help in pointing out one or two of the groups that need maximum custody, and one of the groups that can adjust fairly adequately with a minimum of supervision.)

One of the by-products of the present investigation was the construction of an experimental or tentative scale of adjustment in prison. Such a scale is sorely needed in prisons today, and none other is known by the experimenter at the present time. Numerous obstacles were encountered. Lack of adequate data for the measurement of adjustment in prison was the most serious handicap in the construction of such a scale. If, though, some attempt had not been made toward its construction, and improvements in other studies anticipated, a scale

4. See Walter C. Reckless; "An Experimental Basis for Revision of Correctional Programs", Federal Probation, January-March, 1942, p. 24-26.

for adjustment in prison might never be made. Further, one of the most potent incentives for the improvement of prison records may be such a partially successful or unsuccessful attempt to construct a scale for adjustment in prison on the basis of existing records.

The study of adjustment in prison seemed to be an important study because it is a major basis for parole consideration. Adjustment in prison has been included as a factor in many parole prediction studies. A survey of the release procedures in this country in 1939 indicated fairly adequately that offenders who behaved well in prison were better risks during parole and post-parole periods than those who behaved badly.⁵ Because institutional adjustment has been considered an important factor in the decision as to whether or not, or when, to parole a man, an attempt to measure that adjustment objectively presented as challenging and practical a project as did the original problem itself. Objective measurements are usually considered better than subjective evaluations. Consideration of the measurement of adjustment in prison as an end in itself seems futile in that it concerns adjustment in an unnatural environment. As a basis for successful prediction of adjustment during the parole and post-parole periods, however, and for use by prison custodial authorities, the field of adjustment measurement in prison assumes import-

5. ATTORNEY GENERAL'S SURVEY OF RELEASE PROCEDURES, 1939, Volume IV, "Parole", pp. 448-90.

ance.

Definition of Terms

In this study, the word, "adjustment" necessitated definition because the entire study is dependent upon its interpretation. John A. Washburne defines the well-adjusted person as one who is cooperative, happy, and is dealing effectively with his environment.⁶ Mrs. Mowrer defines adjustment as "the development of a pattern of life which does not hinder adaptation to new situations".⁷ Webster defines adjustment as "an act or process of making correspondent or conformable"; the establishment of a satisfactory relationship, as representing harmony, conformance, adaptation, or the like.⁸ The common element in these definitions center around the association of persons with each other with a minimum of irritation, and with a maximum of cooperation. This seems to be the basic principle of adjustment.

There was a question as to whether this investigation should consider an inmate's adjustment in terms of his association with other inmates or with the prison officials. There is a difference involved. Inmates have a definite aversion to "taking orders from some other con", whereas most inmates cooperate with a prison official at least apparently to the fullest extent. The measurement of adjustment of inmates with

6. John N. Washburne; Washburne Social - Adjustment Inventory, Manual, 1936, p. 1.

7. Harriet R. Mowrer; PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT AND FAMILY DISCORD, 1935, p. 149.

8. A. Merriam-Webster; WEBSTER'S COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY, 1936, p. 14.

each other would present a very difficult problem except in extreme cases. This study is concerned with normal cases as well as with extreme ones. The available data were limited, but enough facts could be used to gain an approximate measurement of an inmate's adjustment to the prison program as a whole, or more specifically to the prison's officials. For this reason, then, the word, "adjustment", was used to mean the process of maintaining satisfactory relationships with the prison's program and officials.

Despite the obvious drawbacks of personal bias and the sometimes careless manner of reporting, more accurate information can be obtained from the prison's officials, who send reports to be filed, than from any other available source. It is partially on the basis of the judgment of the prison's officials that progress reports are written by the sociologists for the parole board, and in turn, the parole board considers the content of the progress report very seriously in its determination of when to parole the inmate. Adjustment of a prison inmate to other inmates is, as we said before, difficult to measure, and not usually directly considered in treatment. When unusual interaction between inmates becomes noticeable to prison officials, the interaction finds expression in the reports of these officials which are eventually filed in the inmate's folders. Because of the aforementioned reasons, then, consideration of adjustment as the process of maintaining satisfactory relationships with the prison's program and officials seemed justifiable.

By "juvenile institutionalization" is meant the placing of a boy in the custody of the Boys Vocational School at Lansing, Michigan, for a period of time measured in months and years. The Boys Vocational School is the State of Michigan's correctional institution for behavior problem boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen, inclusive. Boys are turned over to the custody of this institution when the anti-social behavior of the young offender has become so acute that society as a whole deems it necessary to act through its law-enforcing agencies. A single school was selected in order to make all cases of juvenile institutionalization in this investigation comparable with each other, and at the same time to retain the same type of tax-supported correctional school situation found in most of the States. This tends to render the conclusions drawn from this investigation applicable to similar situations in other States. Hereafter in this study the Boys Vocational School is frequently referred to as B.V.S.

By "reformatory experience" is meant the confining of a man for penal or correctional purposes in the Michigan State Reformatory at Ionia. This is an institution with a program designed to treat the younger adults who are first offenders, or who are serving their first prison terms. Reformatory experience is the intermediate incarceration often found in a recidivist's record between a period of training in B.V.S. and the prison confinement. Hereafter in this study the Michigan State Reformatory is frequently designated as M.S.R.

By "prison" incarceration is meant a period of residence as an inmate of the State Prison of Southern Michigan in Jackson County, Michigan. This is Michigan's main prison, and is the prison in which the cases used in this study were incarcerated. This institution will be referred to frequently as S.P. S.M.

Organization of the Investigation

In order that the general plan of this investigation may be readily followed by the reader, a cursory survey of the organization of the thesis into chapters is presented.

Chapter I is the introductory chapter, containing a complete statement of the problem, the basic assumptions, and the purpose of the study.

In Chapter II, the literature in fields relating to the influence of a juvenile incarceration on the degree of adjustment of the prison inmate is reviewed.

Chapter III describes the sources of the data used in the study, along with their validations and invalidations.

Chapter IV includes the explanation of the methodology used for this study.

Chapter V discusses criteria of adjustment, and compares them with the criteria of adjustment that are available from the records of the State Prison of Southern Michigan.

Chapter VI in this study comprises the construction of the scale of adjustment of an inmate in the State Prison of Southern Michigan on the basis of the factors that are available in the inmate's case record.

Chapters VII to X, inclusive are statistical analyses and

case discussions of the various groups.

Chapter XI is a statistical and case comparison of groups III and IV to determine the influence of the intermediate reformatory incarceration upon the degree of adjustment in the S.P.S.M.

Chapter XII is a comparison of groups I and II to determine the modifying effect of the intermediate reformatory incarceration upon the influence of juvenile institutionalization upon the degree of adjustment of the prison inmate.

Chapter XIII is a comparison of groups I and IV to determine the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon the adjustment of a prison inmate.

Chapter XIV is a summary chapter to cover the results of the study, including its findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

Summary

In short, the major problem of this investigation was the determination of the effect of juvenile institutionalization on the degree of adjustment of an inmate in prison. In order to carry out this study adequately, it was assumed that adjustment in prison could be measured on the basis of existing prison records. One of the most challenging problems of this study was a scale for the measurement of the adjustment of an inmate in prison from the data universally obtainable from prison records. The importance of the study is reflected by the emphasis placed on good behavior in prison and its association with successful adjustment on parole, as indicated by

many writers on parole prediction. "Adjustment" is considered in this study as the process of maintaining satisfactory relationships between the inmate and the prison's program with a minimum of irritation and a maximum of cooperation.

Chapter II

LITERATURE IN THE FIELD

The author has not been able to find any published report dealing directly with the problem at hand. There are many studies of parole prediction, some sections of which relate to this problem, but the emphasis on the prediction aspects is so great that most phases of the inmate's adjustment in the prison itself have been overlooked. A survey of the research in the general field of criminology has indicated that factors prior to incarceration in prison and factors after release have been weighted heavily, and the change that occurs during incarceration, or almost all phases of the actual incarceration, have, in the past, been neglected.

This deficiency may have been due to a lack of knowledge of actual prison operation on the part of those qualified by training and experience in sociological research techniques, and the reluctance on the part of those well acquainted with prison operation to gain training and experience in sociological research techniques. It may have been that parole prediction is considered so much more valuable than a measurement in prison that the latter is thought to be comparatively worthless. Whatever the reason may have been, the condition exists in the literature in the criminological field where one phase, that of parole prediction, is far in advance of other phases, and the problem of actual adjustment in prison on the part of the inmate has been almost untouched.

Sam Warner

Sam Warner devoted most of his attention to parole. Even so, he considered the incarceration period, as well as the pre-incarceration, and parole periods. In 1923, Warner pointed out the advisability of studying the reactions of the inmates to the various phases of prison life.⁹

Ernest W. Burgess

Ernest W. Burgess presented the first objective method of parole prediction on the basis of twenty-one factors.¹⁰ No detailed study was made, but the system was based on available data. Burgess is the only writer the investigator has found who used only existing prison records for his research. Work record, however, is the only factor used by Burgess, which is also used for measurement in the present study. Many of his other factors were concerned with factors in the neighborhood and home prior to the incarceration, and physical and mental examination results. As was pointed out by Tibbetts,¹¹ some of the factors used by Burgess did not show a high coefficient of contingency, indicating inadequate use of multiple correlation or tests of internal consistency.

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9. Sam B. Warner: "Factors Determining Parole from the Massachusetts Reformatory", Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1923, Vol. 14, 4-5-14.
 10. Bruce, Harno, Burgess, and Landesco; PAROLE AND THE INDETERMINATE SENTENCE, 1928, pp. 205-234.
 11. Clark Tibbetts; "Reliability of Factors Used in Predicting Success or Failure on Parole", Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1932, 22; 844-853.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck were the first, both in time and quantity of work, to study the juvenile-adult crime field. Their contributions, however, were not aimed at a measurement or an explanation of adjustment during incarceration, but rather at parole prediction and prediction of successful adjustment in the parole and post-parole periods on the basis of social factors found mainly before and after the actual incarceration. Their ONE THOUSAND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, JUVENILE DELINQUENTS GROWN UP, 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, and LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS present the field of sociology and criminology with a study of the sequence of events in the process of criminal formation that is as yet unsurpassed.

The combination of ONE THOUSAND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS and JUVENILE DELINQUENTS GROWN UP offers a sequence of juvenile and adult criminal careers. The combination of 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS and LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS offer a sequence on the reformatory and post-reformatory level. This is the level of the intermediate or reformatory incarceration considered in this study. These four volumes taken together form actually one study from the point of view of this investigation, but one in which little space is devoted to the problem of adjustment to incarceration. Much of the value of these studies in the present investigation have been in methodology. In the following few paragraphs will be mentioned some of the material written by the Gluecks which is pertinent in one way or another with reference to the present study.

Residence background as to the population of cities, villages, or areas from which a man came is considered important by the Gluecks. It was indicated that the larger cities contributed more heavily to the reformatory population than the smaller villages and rural areas on the basis of proportion to the general population.¹² This factor, then, should be controlled so as to get an equal proportion from each residential area in the samples of this study so that difference in residence will not be a factor causing apparent difference in adjustment.

The Gluecks also considered religion to be an important factor. It was indicated that the Protestants contributed more heavily in proportion to the distribution of religious faith in the general population of the State of Massachusetts than any other religion, and that the Hebrews contributed significantly less.¹³ Religion and residence background, then, should be controlled.

Of the men studied in the reformatory, the Gluecks found that almost seventy per cent of the men had not gone farther in school than the sixth grade. About eleven per cent had reached the third grade, and only twenty per cent of the men had gone into the eighth.¹⁴ Vocational training was an important part of the rehabilitative program at the Massachu-

12. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930, p. 131.

13. American volume of the WORLD SUMMARY, 1920, p. 26-7.

14. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930, p. 131.

setts Reformatory. Only seventeen per cent of the men, however, were sufficiently well trained in their trades to earn a good living as a semi-skilled or skilled worker. About fifty-six per cent of the trades engaged in were studied long enough to enable the prisoner to work at them outside. Eighty-two per cent of the men were occupied at trades long enough to learn the rudiments.¹⁵

There is somewhat of a correlation between mental ability and grade placement, or the grade level reached on an educational test. The correlation between intelligence quotients and grade placement in the group used for the present study is $\frac{1}{2}$.65. Because of this correlation, only one of these two factors need be controlled. Because of varying cultural backgrounds and varying educational advantages, the intelligence quotients seem to be more satisfactory in controlling this factor area.

Of the groups studied by the Gluecks, about a third of the five hundred and ten men were normal in intelligence. Approximately half of the inmates of the reformatory were dull or borderline defective in intelligence. The mentality of the groups studied by the Gluecks averaged slightly lower than that of the general population. Among the school children of Massachusetts, seventy-nine per cent were in the normal or supernormal class. Twenty per cent were dull or borderline defective, and only one-and-a-half per cent were fee-

15. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930, p. 131.

ble-minded.¹⁶ Only three per cent of the men in the reformatory had definite psychosis, and seventy per cent had no disease at all, either functional or organic. As far as improvement in the reformatory program was concerned, however, the borderline defective classification showed the greatest rehabilitation as measured by success on parole, with a group improvement of 1.7 per cent. The feeble-minded class showed better progress than either the dull or the normal, with an improvement per cent of 1.4. The average improvement was 1.3, and the dulls and the normals came slightly below the average of 1.2.¹⁷

The family backgrounds of the delinquents studied by the Gluecks indicated a heavy incidence of foreign-born parentage. Parental educational equipment was considered inadequate, and the economic condition was poor. Unfavorable parent-child relationships were conducive to failure, and more than ninety per cent of the men came from homes that were broken or poorly supervised. It was noted that the moral standards and conduct of the families as a whole were poor.¹⁸

The importance of good family relationships is shown by the fact that successful family relationships over a ten-year span for three hundred and eighteen inmates of the reformatory

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16. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930, p. 156.
17. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1937, p. 99.
18. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; ONE THOUSAND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, 1934, p. 80.

for the entire group was only 46.5 per cent, while it was 96.1 per cent in the non-delinquent group.¹⁹ A correlation of .62 was shown between successful family relationships and non-delinquency. This, of course, emphasizes the value of the maintenance of friendly familial contacts.

A correlation of .72 was indicated between the assumption of economic responsibilities and non-delinquency.²⁰ This indicates the value of economy in rehabilitation. This high correlation emphasized the necessity for the inclusion of this factor in the present study.

The Gluecks found a coefficient of mean square contingency of .72 between the ability to work adequately, or "industrial status", as they term it, and successful adjustment in the parole and post-parole periods.²¹ On this basis, work reports have been considered an important factor in the evaluation of successful and unsuccessful adjustment.

In the three hundred and eighteen cases they followed, they found that the use of leisure time was very important in the successful post-incarceration adjustment. That there is a marked relationship between the non-harmful use of leisure time and the factor of non-delinquency is indicated by the high coefficient of mean square contingency of .79.²² The interpretation of harmful use of leisure time as frequenting pool-rooms, gambling, and other similar forms of recrea-

19. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; *LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS*, 1937, p. 79.

20. *Ibidem*, p. 80.

21. *Ibidem*, p. 83-4.

22. *Ibidem*, p. 85.

tion negates the possibility of its being measured in a controlled prison milieu where the opportunity for such use of leisure time, or at least the recording of it, is minimized. Leisure time in prison is utilized through the library, the band room, radio "hook-up", and athletic programs. There are adequate records in the S.P.S.M. library, and there is a record of all men having earphones for the institutional radio system. There are no records, however, of men participating in the athletic program, the band room, or various games of skill and chance like chess and dominoes. The lack of these records prevents the obtainment of uniform data on recreational activities.

Recidivism is an important factor in this study in that the groups are divided, as will be discussed later, on the basis of past institutional experience. In a study of juvenile delinquency in Boston, the Gluecks found that the juvenile delinquents investigated had an appreciably higher proportion of recidivism than did the ex-inmates of the reformatory during a similar five-year period.²³ Furthermore, not as much difference was shown as may have been expected between juvenile and adult police and court records and their post-treatment recidivism. Eighty per cent of the juvenile studied continued to have conflict with the law after the five-year period of treatment was over. The Gluecks found that four-fifths of the reformatory inmates studied had had arrests prior

23. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; ONE THOUSAND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, 1934, p. 183-4.

to the one for which they were sentenced to the reformatory.²⁴ Open conflict with social authorities of police or school occurred at extremely early ages in the great majority of the groups.

Misconduct was considered an important factor in the adjustment of the reformatory inmate. The Gluecks found that an average of 6.3 violations of institutional rules per man were committed by the group of five hundred and ten inmates of the reformatory.²⁵ About half of the infractions were termed minor, and the other half major, or serious.

The Gluecks found that the chief explanation of the improvement of conduct with the passing of years was not in terms of probation, reformatory, or parole rehabilitative programs, but in physical changes that comprise the natural process of maturation.²⁶ The process of maturation continues up to about the thirty-sixth year. Although it is the most important single factor influencing reformation or rehabilitation, it is subject to blocking or retardation by mental or personal deviations.²⁷ Some of the men "age" more rapidly than others, and "settle down" earlier. Beyond the "age of discretion", usually about the thirty-sixth year, the factors favorable to rehabilitation regress.²⁸

24. Sheldon and Eleanor Gluecks; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930, p. 147.

25. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930, p. 159.

26. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; JUVENILE DELINQUENTS GROWN UP, 1940, p. 264.

27. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1937, p. 133.

28. Ibid. p. 123.

The Gluecks listed in their **LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS** twenty pre-reformatory factors and six reformatory factors which were considered important in their studies.²⁹ They are as follows:

Family Background

1. Nativity of parents and sons.
2. Educational of parents.
3. Economic status of parents.
4. Family delinquency.

Personal History Prior to Reformatory

5. Nativity of offender.
6. Intelligence.
7. Mental Condition.
8. Age at leaving home.
9. Mobility.
10. Age offender began to work.
11. Work habits.
12. Skill.
13. Economic responsibility.
14. Family relationships.
15. Use of leisure.
16. Church attendance.
17. Age at offender's first known delinquency.
18. Prior arrests.
19. Penal experiences.
20. Delinquency.

Reformatory History

21. Age at time of offender's commitment to reformatory.
22. Offense for which committed to the reformatory.
23. Commission of offense alone or with others.
24. Physical condition.
25. Conduct in the reformatory.
26. Frequency of commission of offenses in reformatory.

29. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; **LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS**, 1937, p. 99-100.

In this list of twenty-six factors, six were listed as reformatory factors. Actually, however, only two factors should be considered reformatory factors. These two factors, conduct in the reformatory and the frequency of the commission of offenses in the reformatory, are overlapping. Conduct in the reformatory is measured largely by the number and frequency of the commission of offenses.

The individuals studied by the Gluecks were nor representative of prison populations, and hardly comparable except in a general way to a prison situation. The group studied by the Gluecks in the Massachusetts Reformatory at Concord were a little over twenty years of age at the date of sentencing.³⁰ The average age of all commitments to the S.P.S.M., including those transferred to the M.S.R., average thirty years of age.³¹ The transfers to the M.S.R. are more nearly comparable to the group studied by the Gluecks at the Massachusetts Reformatory. These groups are included in this study as being in the stage of intermediate incarceration between the B.V.S. and incarceration at the S.P.S.M.

George B. Vold

George B. Vold wrote concerning the factors in parole prediction used by Burgess and the Gluecks.³² His material is mentioned here only to indicate that he had done something

30. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930, p. 153.

31. Vernon Fox; "Report of Psychologist", State Prison of Southern Michigan, November 1942.

32. George B. Vold; PREDICTION METHODS AND PAROLE, 1932.

in that field, and is not to be considered further in this study. The work of Vold offers little in the field of the relationship between the juvenile and adult offender.

Morris N. Winslow

The National Conference of Social Work in Indianapolis in 1937 noted the confusion existent in the penal situation. Here is the first note of awareness on the part of organized professional social workers of the complex prison problem. Morris N. Winslow stated that very few institutions keep adequate records.³³ The recording of inmate behavior has been usually limited to lock-ups, type of work performed, serious illnesses, whether or not the inmate attended school, and the date of his parole.

Winslow mentioned that much more adequate records were needed in prison in order to carry out adequate research.³⁴ He suggested that the following data should be added to prison records:

1. Family deaths, births, marriages, divorces, and changes of addresses during the time the man is incarcerated.
2. Changes in economic circumstances of an inmate's family.
3. It should be noted whether or not family members are loyal, sympathetic, and to be depended upon for real assistance to the inmate in the future.

33. Morris N. Winslow; "The Incarcerated Offender", THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, Indianapolis, 1937, p. 597f.
34. Ibid. p. 597.

4. Regular and reliable work reports should be received.
5. Records of increased vocational skill, application, mental alertness on the job, reliability, attitude toward his instructors, and cooperation with other inmates should be received.
6. The inmate's hobby should be known.

William F. Lanne

Of prison records, William F. Lanne said that many of the investigators were limited in the number of factors they could use in any sort of study, because much material was not available in the records. Had the investigators wished to add factors they believed more important and indicative, they would have been stalemated for lack of data.³⁵

Ferris F. Laune

Dr. Ferris F. Laune, sociologist and actuary of the Illinois State Prison at Joliet, has published a noteworthy study on parole prediction.³⁶ Although his main emphasis was on parole prediction, some of his factors indicated that he felt that the prison experience influenced in some measure the successful completion of the parole period. His factors which pertain to the actual prison record of the man were "good job in prison", which he scored minus, and "religiosity", which he scored plus.³⁷ Other factors included by Laune, and which may be used in measurement of actual adjustment in prison were; stupidity, industry, family ties, recidivism, trade,

35. William F. Lanne; "Parole Prediction as Science", Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, September 1935, 26:380-81.

36. Ferris F. Laune; PREDICTING CRIMINALITY, 1936.

37. Ferris F. Laune; PREDICTING CRIMINALITY, 1936, p. 20-26.

age, break in criminal record, length of time to be served on parole, and physical defect. These latter factors were used in the present study not as qualities to be measured, but rather as factors to be controlled. These factors are a fraction of what Laune includes in his "hunches". Laune considered the actual imprisonment and its results more fully than many other writers, probably because he is a prison worker and has a better opportunity to appreciate the effects of prison life on the human personality. He mentioned that the attitudes of inmates may be the result of habits and background prior to incarceration, but they are surely subjected to considerable modification as a result of the prison experience.³⁸ These attitudes influence to a large extent post-incarceration adjustment, and it was in this connection that the problem was mentioned.

Measurement of prison adjustment along the general lines followed by Laune could be made by having other inmates judge on the basis of "hunches" the adjustment of any given inmate, and then breaking the "hunches" down into their constituent factors. Questions then could be constructed, and each inmate could be given a questionnaire by which to measure his adjustment. The problems and probability of errors here are legion. First, the continued and successful use of the "Truth Group" would be very difficult to handle adequately. This "Truth Group" was sixty-four inmates selected to answer truthfully the questions put to them by Laune's inmate investigators.

38. Ferris F. Laune; PREDICTING CRIMINALITY, 1936, p. 8.

The members of the group were guaranteed anonymity in order to elicit more truthful answers. Sampling, even through Laune's method of using a sort of internal consistency, becomes rather subjective as compared with methods dependent upon only established routine records. Individuals may vary, also, in answering the questionnaire. Many inmates "shoot angles". They sometimes distort situations and try to manipulate other inmates and prison workers for individual gain of some sort. Because of this, many of the answers on a questionnaire are likely to be influenced by the inmate's ideas as to what may be gained or lost by any given answer without regard for the scientific analysis of the man's personality. Even a fool-proof questionnaire which may work for the first few times it is used will eventually become known to the inmate body, and when it does become known, answers influenced by possible gain or loss in some way are certain to be received. Measurement on the basis of the established system of recording seems to be the most practical and the most objective method of determining the degree of adjustment. It is uniform and applicable to all inmates. It is less influenced by "angle-shooting" than any other method. Lastly, it is easily and quickly determined.

Edwin H. Sutherland

Although Sutherland wrote sagaciously and well about the prison problem, he did not devote much space to adjustment in prison nor the juvenile-adult relationship. In his studies of the relationships of crime to other factors, he considers

juvenile and adult crime rates together.³⁹ He does not, however, touch upon the problem involved in this investigation. Sutherland maintains that there is no conclusive evidence that adult criminals begin their careers as juvenile delinquents.⁴⁰ There is evidence, however, that a comparatively small proportion of persons who are arrested in adult or young-adult life had juvenile court records. Sutherland partially supports the evidence advanced by the Gluecks that the age of maturity for the criminal is about thirty-six - Sutherland indicates that the end of the professional career is about thirty-five years of age.⁴¹

Helen D. Pigeon

Helen D. Pigeon had done a considerable amount of work with regard to the inmate while he is in prison. Her emphasis was, however, on the explanation of the mechanisms explanatory of conduct and in giving factual background material for prison workers. With this emphasis, the actual factors associated with successful adjustment in prison were not discussed, and the relation of juvenile institutionalization to adjustment in prison was left unmentioned.⁴²

Austin H. MacCormick

Austin H. MacCormick, Executive Director of the Osborne Association, Inc., discussed the situation of inmates in prison

39. Edwin H. Sutherland; PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY, 1939, p.178.

40. Ibid, p. 96.

41. Ibid, p. 97.

42. Helen D. Pigeon; PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF DEALING WITH OFFENDERS, 1940.

to some extent, but the problem of adjustment of an inmate was not touched except in a section on malingering. The material covered by the article was in the main concerned with the physical plant and personnel. The article offered little assistance in the present problem.⁴³

Social Science Research Council

The Social Science Research Council has begun work on a series of social studies, one of which was entitled, THE PREDICTION OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT. There was no factors nor general conclusions pertaining to adjustment in the volume. Rather, the book devoted itself entirely to methodology. Part One was a treatise on general methodology, and Part Two discussed the statistical method in the general field of human adjustment.

The basic steps in the construction and application of a prediction instrument can also be used in the construction and application of a measuring instrument. Paul Horst indicated that the five basic steps in such construction and application are as follows:⁴⁴

1. The indexes or measures of "success" in the given activity are selected.
2. The data on the background and personality factors of a group are assembled.
3. The data and indexes so obtained are combined to give a total prediction score for each individual.

43. Austin H. MacCormick; "Institutional Treatment and Management", Jail Association Journal, January-February, 1939.
44. Social Science Research Council, bulletin 48; THE PREDICTION OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT, 1941, p. 4-5.

4. The selected items are tried out on at least one check sample of individuals other than the original group.
5. If sufficiently high relationships are shown, the test is ready for general application to the group of which the original groups were samples.

The second part of the volume is devoted to technical statistical formulae which are of great assistance to the advanced statistician. The various methods of factor-weighting are checked for reliability. The implication is that the best method of weighting is the criterion of internal consistency. This was developed into the most predictable criterion method for purposes of prediction.⁴⁵

Any method of weighting factors statistically is inadequate because the weighting depends upon the particular variates which happen to be selected to be used for prediction or measurement. A second objection may be made because these weighting methods attempt to use the mechanical aspect of predictability and measureability to define a scientifically meaningful variate.⁴⁶ The present trend in sociology and other social sciences has been toward the factor analysis method of investigation. The basis for this method is the almost universally accepted assumption that within the bell-shaped curve representing distributions in almost any given phase of economics, social, psychological, or related phenomena, the difference is in degree rather than in kind. After

45. Social Science Research Council, bulletin 48: THE PREDICTION OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT, p. 292 (1941)

46. Ibid. p. 292.

the kind has been isolated through methods subjective, trial and error, or statistical, then within the isolated broader qualitative function, factor-analysis and the weighting methods help to determine and measure the constituent parts of the broader qualitative function.

The penal field has suffered from confusion and differences of opinions because of the very nature of the work performed and expected. The public is divided in its opinion and its expectation. Many citizens want punitive retribution wrought. Most "reformers" want sentimental coddling. The social case worker wants a middle ground--to accept the individual as he is, regardless of punishment or sentiment, and to treat the "patient" through social and psychological methods. Until recently, however, professional case workers did not give much attention to the penal problem.

James V. Bennett

At the National Conference of Social Work at Atlantic City in 1941, James V. Bennett proposed the concept of a "delinquency-crime chain".⁴⁷ This begins with the mistakes made in youth, and the development progresses logically through juvenile institutionalization, reformatory incarceration, and finally incarceration in prison.

Bennett supported Walter Reckless⁴⁸ in his theory of improvability of inmates. He indicated that between thirty and

47. James V. Bennett; "Breaking the Delinquency-Crime Chain", On the Adult Level. NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK., 1941. p. 440.

48. Walter Reckless; "An Experimental Basis for Revision of Correctional Programs", Federal Probation, Jan.-Mar., 1942. p. 24-26.

forty per cent of the commitments to prison are usually, though not necessarily, first or accidental offenders, who make good institutional records. He indicated that thirty-five to forty per cent of the commitments are really affected by the rehabilitative program. The remaining twenty to thirty-five per cent of the commitments are misfits for whom little hope of rehabilitation is held, and who become purely custodial problems.⁴⁹

Walter C. Reckless

Walter C. Reckless indicated that the professional criminal usually begins his career in childhood.⁵⁰ The juvenile delinquent develops into the professional criminal. Reckless here spoke only of the habitual or professional offender. The possibility of reforming this group of professional criminals is slight. The detection of these persons, would, of course, be advantageous to penal workers, law-enforcing agencies, and society as a whole. He felt that this group could be detected and isolated from "improvable" offenders, and given purely custodial treatment. In this way, the rehabilitative program can be concentrated upon the group of "improvable".⁵¹

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The preceding review of the literature in the general field reveals little or no material on the particular problem of the present investigation, namely, the measurement of adjustment in prison and the manner in which it is affected by

51. Walter C. Reckless; "An Experimental Basis for Revision of Correctional Programs", Federal Probation, Jan.-Mar. 1942. pp. 24-26.

previous juvenile institutionalization. Studies of parole prediction come nearer than any other type. As far as the writer can discover, this particular problem is attacked here directly for the first time.

Chapter III

SOURCES OF DATA

One of the most important and fundamental parts of any study is the factual material upon which it is based. It is necessary, then, to explain the sources of the data. As a background to a better understanding of the study, the present chapter attempts to describe the various institutions in the penal system of the State of Michigan, as well as the records from which the data were taken and the systems of recording used. In the light of this description it is hoped that the procedure of the study can be followed with greater clarity, the methodology evaluated, and a broader view of the study in relation to the penal situation obtained.

Boys Vocational School

The Boys Vocational School at Lansing, Michigan, as was mentioned in Chapter I, is the State of Michigan's correctional institution for boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen, inclusive. This institution is one of three units operated by the Juvenile Institutes Commission in Michigan, the other two being the Girls Training School at Adrian, and the Child Guidance Institute at Ann Arbor. The B.V.S. houses about five hundred and eighty delinquent boys in a cottage system. The records there have been inadequate, which precludes any comparison of adjustment of an individual in B.V.S. and adjustment later in the S.P.S.M. The function of the school has been to rehabilitate Michigan's delinquent boys, and to teach as many as possible of them a useful trade

with which then can compete adequately in the industrial milieu with other man, making further participation in crime unnecessary from the economic standpoint.

Department of Correction

The Department of Correction operates under Act 255 of the Public and Local Acts of Michigan, 1937, through a Corrections Commission of five member appointed by the governor for staggered terms of six years.⁵² This Department of Corrections maintains jurisdiction over probation officers and all orders of probation, pardons, reprieves, commutations, and paroles, and penal institutions, correctional farms, probation recovery camps, and prison labor and industry.⁵³ Within the Department of Corrections is the Bureau of Prisons. The Bureau of Prisons is responsible for the maintenance and operation of three penal institutions in the State of Michigan. These three institutions are the State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette, the M.S.R. at Ionia, and the S.P.S.M.

The State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette cares for approximately eight hundred prisoners. To this prison are sent all men convicted of felonies and sentenced to prison terms in the northern peninsula of Michigan. It also receives men from the S.P.S.M. who have become serious custodial problems from the standpoint of discipline, and from the Receiving Depot of the State, which is at the

52. PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS--MICHIGAN, 1937, p. 425.

53. Ibid, p. 426.

S.P.S.M. The institution at Marquette, however, is not considered in this study, and is mentioned here only in order to present a more complete survey of the corrections system with which this study is concerned.

The Michigan State Reformatory at Ionia, housing normally about fifteen hundred inmates, is the institution to which are sent the young offenders usually between the ages of sixteen and twenty-three. This policy is not inflexible, nor is age the only factor considered. The extent of the young offender's criminal record is taken into account. His social and physical maturity is considered. Young offenders are selected for the Reformatory by the classification committee at the receiving depot of the S.P.S.M. on the basis of improvability. If a young man is a first or accidental offender, immature, rather naive in the ways of prison life, and for whom the prognosis for rehabilitation seems good, he is sent to the M.S.R. His transfer is legally made by the warden of the S.P.S.M. with the approval of the Director of Corrections at Lansing. If, on the other hand, the young offender seems mature, hardened, his anti-social behavior pattern firmly established, and for whom the prognosis for rehabilitation seems unfavorable, he is retained at the S.P.S.M. The effect of this policy has been in the reservation of the M.S.R. for cases in which rehabilitation seems likely or probable, and purely custodial problems are eliminated.

The State Prison of Southern Michigan is the main penal institution for the State of Michigan. This prison has a

capacity of about five thousand and eight hundred inmates. The population usually runs about fifty-five hundred. All men sentenced in the lower peninsula of Michigan are brought to the receiving depot at the S.P.S.M. The men are then studied by the various members of the classification committee. The classification committee was established by Act 255 of the Public and Local Acts of Michigan, 1937, Chapter IV, Section 4.⁵⁴ It is the duty of the committee to obtain and file complete information with regard to each prisoner. The committee is bound by law to "make and complete a comprehensive study of such prisoner".⁵⁵ This study is done by the prison physician, educational director, psychologist, and sociologists. After a "quarantine" period, which usually lasts about thirty days, and during which this study takes place, the classification committee⁵⁶ meets with each man. He is then transferred to the M.S.R., or to the State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette, or is released into the general group at the S.P.S.M.

Sources of Information

The sources of the data used in this study was the institutional records of the S.P.S.M. Each inmate's record,

54. PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS--MICHIGAN, 1937, p. 436.

55. Ibid. p. 436.

56. For a more complete description of the classification procedure in Michigan, see Austin H. MacCormick, 1940. SURVEY OF MICHIGAN PENAL INSTITUTIONS, 1940, published by The Osborne Association, Inc., 114 East 30th Street, New York City. See also Elmer R. Akers, "Classification in the State Prison", Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, May-June, 1943, pp. 16 ff.

or folder, includes the indeterminate sentence record, the probation officer's pre-sentence report,⁵⁷ the Michigan State Police report, the social history, the psychological report, the educational report, medical report, classification meeting summaries, work supervisor's reports, chaplain's reports, school supervisors' reports, assignment changes, and the psychiatric report, provided the latter has been made. Psychiatric reports have not been made in many instances because the psychiatrist has been exceedingly busy with psychotic or near-psychotic cases needing immediate attention and with reports for the parole board to determine whether or not a man is mentally responsible enough to be again placed at large in society.

The Michigan State Police report of arrests is a compilation of an individual's police record. It is compiled at Lansing in the Michigan State Police Bureau of Identification. This report has been used exclusively in the selection, on the basis of delinquent and criminal background, of the groups included in this study. Whenever a police department makes an arrest, and when an institution receives a commitment, a report is sent to the Michigan State Police Bureau of Identification.. Most of the reports and their identifications are confirmed by fingerprints to designate with certainty that only one person's record is compiled on one man's "dope sheet",⁵⁸ as the compilation is called. Whenever the report is not com-

57. PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS--MICHIGAN, 1939, p. 555.

58. Prison parlance for Michigan State Police Report.

pilation is called. Whenever the report is not confirmed by fingerprints, an asterisk precedes the notation. Because for a long period of time, boys committed to the Boys Vocational School at Lansing were not fingerprinted, many, if not the majority, of the boys included in our Groups I and II have unconfirmed notations on their "dope sheets". Despite the lack of fingerprints, however, the unconfirmed notations from institutions and police and sheriff departments within the State of Michigan are as nearly accurate as they could be without the fingerprints themselves. Certainly they are as accurate as the data used in Social Service Exchanges which are in operation in Detroit, Lansing, Grand Rapids, and numerous other cities. In the case of the Social Service Exchange, no fingerprints or any other method of positive identification are ever used. These reports from the various institutions and law-enforcing agencies within the State are compiled in the Bureau of Identification of the Michigan State Police, and are sent to the Federal Bureau of Identification in the Department of Justice. The Federal Bureau clears the case, and forwards to the Michigan Bureau any information it has received from other States and Canada. The Michigan State Police then compiles the full report, and sends a copy to the Bureau of Identification of the institution or law-enforcing agency originally reporting that case. In this instance, the Bureau of Identification is that of the S.P.S.M.

The indeterminate sentence record is the record of sentencing, including the crime and the sentence given. This

record is made by the court from which the man was sentenced, and forwarded to the prison at the same time the man is sent. County court policies vary widely in the amount of information included, but all of them give the crime and sentence.

The probation officer's report is written by the probation officer at the court from which the man is committed. This report is in accordance with Act 286, Chapter XI, of the Public and Local Acts of Michigan of 1939. According to Section 14 of this Act, the probation officer shall investigate, before the sentencing procedure, the character and circumstances of a person charged with a felony.⁵⁹ A copy of this report is to go with the commitment papers to the State penal institution to which the person is sentenced. The quality of and quantity of information on this report varies widely with different courts. In many cases the law is not followed. Reports are made sometimes after sentence is pronounced, and are sometimes merely transcriptions of what the judge and defendant said to each other during the sentencing procedure. In some cases there are no reports submitted at all. On the other hand, many of the probation officer's reports are abundant in helpful and complete information of the exigencies leading up to the commission of the crime, and the social background of the individual. These reports are used to a great extent by the sociologists on the classification committee in preparing the social history and determining the man's most

59. PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS--MICHIGAN, 1939. p. 555.

ideal program.

The social history is a fairly complete chronological history of a man's life, dividing it into three distinct periods: pre-school, school, and post-school. Family data is included in this history in much the same manner as a social agency makes out a fact sheet. The father, mother, and all the siblings are listed, and a brief statement made concerning each. Most of the information usually comes from the man himself, but it is checked and supplemented by the Michigan State Police Report, the Probation Officer's Report, the Indeterminate Sentence Record, and letters from employers, relatives, friends, schools, and social agencies.

The psychological report is a record of the various psychological tests the man has been given. These records are in the main in terms of intelligence quotients and mental ages. Tests used were mainly the Bregman (1940) revision of the Army Alpha test of mental ability, with ability, with the Kent E-G-Y test and the Hermon-Nelson test for checking results. The Wechsler-Bellevue tests are used for individual testing. Other tests used in the group manner were the Otis Self-Administering, Terman, and Kuhlmann-Anderson. Other individual tests used on occasion were the Grace Arthur Performance Scale and the Stanford-Binet Scale, Form L.

The medical report is, of course, that of the institutional physician. The report tells whether or not a man has been or must be hospitalized, whether or not he is or should be under treatment for any serious or contagious malady, and

whether or not he is capable of ordinary labor.

The educational report gives the results of the grade placement tests in terms of average grade placement as well as in each subject individually. The Stanford Achievement Test, Form D, is used exclusively for this purpose. The grade the man completed on the outside is also in this report, but is in most cases unverified.

The classification summary is the summary of the meeting of the man with the classification committee. The committee gives each man in the institution a general classification in the academic school, agricultural school, vocational school, commercial school, or labor pool. The majority of the men are classified for labor pool, for in this classification, they are free to accept employment in any of the institutional jobs. As was mentioned previously in this chapter, the classification committee recommends in what state penal institution the inmate should be incarcerated. A third decision made by the classification committee is whether or not a man should have close, medium, or minimum supervision. Close supervision means that the man remains within the prison walls. Medium supervision means that he may be locked in one of the trusty cell-blocks outside the prison walls, and may work in the "probation gangs". These probation gangs work in groups with little custodial supervision. Minimum supervision means that he may live at one of the prison farms, sleep in barracks, and work without supervision, and alone, if need be. A reclassification summary is made whenever an inmate's classification

is changed.

The progress report is a compilation and evaluation of the progress a man has made in the institution as seen by the various departments. Reports are sent to the classification committee from the chaplain, work supervisor, school supervisor, psychologist, director of education, physician, and, if deemed advisable by the psychiatrist. These reports are compiled by the sociologist, who adds his own evaluation, and summarizes the progress made by the man during his stay in the prison. Progress reports are made on men in a routine manner as their minimum sentences expire, and then become eligible for parole. They are made on other occasions when a man's sentencing judge, the parole board, a prison official, or some other ranking official desires a report as to the inmate's institutional progress. The original objective of the progress report was to give the parole board some idea of the progress the man had made during his incarceration.

The work supervisor's report is made whenever a man leaves an assignment or whenever a progress report is wanted. In general, these reports are subjective evaluations of the quality and quantity of work the inmate did while on the assignment, and includes how he cooperated with the other men on the job.

The chaplain's report includes the religious status of the man, usually rated good, fair, or poor. Sometimes there is a subjective evaluation, such as "lacks religious insight", that means little when quantitative or objective measurement

is attempted. For the results of the study at hand, the "religious status" as reported by the Chaplain has been used.

The school supervisor's reports are records of the man's progress in the various schools of the institution. The quantity of work done, the courses completed, grades received, and general progress in relation to time spent is included in the reports.

Notices of changes of assignments are included in the record. They are posted conspicuously on the outside of the folder, as well as within the record. Within the folder, assignment changes and the reasons for them may be noted by the content of the various work supervisors' reports. When a man leaves an assignment, a report of his work, conduct on the assignment, and the reasons for his leaving is made by the work supervisor, and filed in the man's folder.

On occasions, a psychiatric report is found in the folder. These are included very rarely, and many of the cases where psychiatric reports have been made are eliminated in our study because the need for these reports is usually not indicated in the first year. Further, psychotic cases are eliminated from the study as a procedure in sampling. The psychiatrist is kept busy by the parole board's needs of reports on men under consideration for parole. These men are usually long-termers who are recidivistic and for that reason, not included in the groups of cases we are studying.

The mail office records are available. Record is kept in that office of all correspondence carried on between the inmate and any outside sources. Acceptable correspondents are listed.

The dates of letters going to and coming from any of the outside sources are recorded. This record is considered valuable in that it gives us an index as to the inmate's familial adjustment during his incarceration. It is felt that an outside contact with relatives is helpful in stabilizing the inmate. This, of course, is conducive to better adjustment.⁶⁰

For the same reason, the visits of an inmate with his family are considered important in the adjustment process. The information desk records include a list of acceptable visitors and the dates of the visits. Complementing the information desk record with the Mail Office Records should give a fairly adequate index of the inmate's relationship with his family and other outside sources. This information is not considered as indicative of family relationship as is incoming and outgoing correspondence. Each man is limited to one visit a month, though more than one visitor may come at the same time. Distances to and from homes vary widely, though all the homes of the men included in this study are in Michigan. Postal service, on the other hand is fairly uniform in all communities.

Economic responsibility and ability to budget a small income is important in prison adjustment in terms of dealing effectively with one's environment. This may be indexed by an examination of the records of the inmate accounting office. There is recorded what amount of money the inmate brought in,

60. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1937. p. 79.

how much was sent to him by relatives, how much was spent, and how much remains in his account.

Misconduct reports of inmates during incarceration are very important.⁶¹ A record of the misconduct reports may be obtained from the "Deputy's Folder", a folder kept by the Assistant Deputy Warden. This folder lists the major infractions of rules, and sometimes one or two minor ones when a series of minor infractions occur. All minor infractions cannot be obtained from this folder, because most of them are discarded after one year. A copy of the minor infractions are permanently filed in the office of the Deputy Warden.

In summary, the sources of data were:

Folder;

1. Michigan State Police Report.
2. Indeterminate Sentence Record.
3. Probation Officer's Report.
4. Social history.
5. Psychological report.
6. Medical report.
7. Classification and reclassification summaries.
8. Work supervisor's report.
9. Progress report.
10. Chaplain's report.
11. School supervisor's report.
12. Psychiatric report.

Other Records;

13. Mail Office records.
14. Information desk records.
15. Inmate accounting office record.
16. Assistant deputy warden's folders.
17. Deputy warden's record of minor infractions.

61. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930. p. 147.

Chapter IV

Methods of Procedure

This investigation began with the study of 10,484 cases received at S.P.S.M. between July 22, 1937, and December 31, 1941, inclusive. The reason for the first limit of July 22, 1937, was that on this date Act 255, Public and Local Acts of Michigan, 1937, became effective. Act 255 abolished the old, purely custodial, type of prison in Michigan, and provided for the classification system now in use in the State of Michigan's Department of Corrections. With the advent of the newer and more scientific type of rehabilitative program, better records were established. With such records as sources of data, more precise and objective results and conclusions could be obtained. Further, the results of this work would be more helpful in the newer and more scientific program if only those men treated by that rehabilitative program were considered. The inclusion of cases committed during the existence of a less adequate program, prior to the introduction of the classification method, would serve only to confuse the situation with respect to the results achieved under either of the two programs. Comparison of the results under both programs constitute a separate study not within the scope of this investigation. The latter limit, December 31, 1941, was set merely as a matter of convenience, allowing time for the completion of one year of adjustment of the persons included in this study.

From the 10,484 cases all men with juvenile institution-

alization, reformatory experience, or prison incarceration in any other State or under the Federal penal system were eliminated. This was done to hold constant such factors as general cultural background, institutional policies, and mobility. This investigation was therefore limited to men with institutionalization in B.V.S., M.S.R., and/or S.P.S.M. Those with jail and workhouse sentences of less than ninety days' duration were allowed to remain in the sample.

In order to obtain a group whose adjustment could be fairly measured, only those men who had served in S.P.S.M. for the first time were retained, provided they had been received at the prison within the aforementioned time limits. To keep the time element constant, the adjustment of the prison inmate was considered only during his first year of incarceration. This eliminated to some extent the possibility of incomparable measurements of adjustments of men serving varying sentences, such as one to fifteen years, two to five years, twenty to forty years, and life. By measuring only the first year of each man's sentence, the influence of a long term served by some men as compared with men serving short terms is controlled by the elimination of time after the first year. In some cases, measurement of degree of adjustment was possible only on a nine-months basis. These cases are of men committed with a one-year minimum sentence, whose "special good time" for good behavior makes him eligible for parole at the end of nine months. In no case was a man's period of measured adjustment less than nine months nor longer than one

year.

Differences of sentence probably influenced the study only in the attitudinal aspect, which may have affected slightly the degree of adjustment. This influence can hardly be controlled because of its complex nature. Further, it is felt that the influence of this factor is not significant in the present problem. It is noted in chapters VII through X that there are very few long sentences among the men retained for study. This minimizes the influence of the attitudinal factor with respect to time to be served.

Controlled Factors

In order to adequately measure the variables, there were several factors which have been controlled. These controlled factors, or constants, include such items as age, sex, economic status, education, and other factors mentioned in this section. The variables, of course, are the criteria by which adjustment was measured and the presence or absence of juvenile experience, and are discussed in Chapter B.

The age factor was controlled by admitting to the test group only those men received at S.P.S.M. prior to their thirty-sixth birthdays. This limitation prevents senility from significantly affecting adjustment of some men by limiting their activities so that he would not find himself being punished for serious infractions of the prison's rules. The thirty-sixth birthday was selected because this is approximately the time the professional career ends, or noticeably di-

minishes in scope, according to the Gluecks⁶², Sutherland⁶³, and Reckless⁶⁴. The factors of senility and long experience in association with men were controlled by this age limitation, so that a fairer evaluation of the adjustment problem can be made. The lower age limit is set by Michigan law, since persons who have not reached their seventeenth birthdays are not sentenced to the reformatory or prison except by special legal procedure. The age group considered in this study, then, is seventeen to thirty-five, inclusive, at the time of admission to the prison.

The sex factor was also controlled, since only men are committed to the S.P.S.M.

Educational achievement was kept fairly or regularly constant by eliminating all illiterates from the study. Since there is a coefficient of correlation of $\pm .65$ between grade placement according to test and intelligence, one is fairly well controlled by controlling the other. Intelligence has been controlled more rigidly, as is discussed later in this chapter. The result of this indirect control of education is that the grade placements throughout the sample range between second and tenth grades, inclusive, with an average of fifth grade placement.

Economic status and occupation are well correlated, and would undoubtedly affect the adjustment of a man in prison in

62. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; JUVENILE DELINQUENTS GROWN UP, 1940, p. 264.

63. Edwin H. Sutherland; PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY, 1939, p. 97.

64. Walter C. Reckless; CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR, 1942. p. 143.

a large measure, especially if the prison were to change materially his standard of living from what it was in normal life. In order to get a homogeneous grouping with respect to economic status, all men were eliminated except laborers and apprentice tradesmen.

In order to further control cultural background, the sample was limited to those persons who have been in Michigan since their twelfth birthdays. This eliminates the factors of interstate mobility and wide and uncontrolled variations in cultural backgrounds.

The study was limited to non-hospitalized cases. Those men who spent more than one week in the hospital for treatment were eliminated. Crippled or perceptibly disabled cases were also eliminated. The elimination of these cases makes possible the consideration of the adjustment of the physically normal inmate.

Mental cases were eliminated to prevent excessive disturbance of the normal results of the study. Cases hospitalized for psychosis, and those under mental observation during the first year in prison are eliminated from consideration in this study.

To make certain that the "normal" criminal was being considered, those men who had been transferred from the M.S.R. to the S.P.S.M. for any reason, behavioral or medical, were eliminated. Only those men who had been returned to the community between incarcerations were studied.

Grouping as to Institutional Experience

Since this study was designed to determine the relationship between juvenile institutionalization and the degree of adjustment of a prison inmate, a division was necessarily made between those men who had experienced juvenile institutionalization and those who had not. Further, it was recognized that many men have been subjected to an intermediate penal incarceration after their juvenile institutionalizations and before their prison experiences. This intermediate incarceration, or reformatory experience, was taken into account in this investigation as a modifying influence on the effect of the juvenile institutionalization on adjustment in prison. It is also considered as a part of the normal course in criminal development as described by Bennett, who discusses it as a "link in the delinquency-crime chain"⁶⁵.

In order to account adequately for the respective effects of juvenile institutional and reformatory experience upon any phase of subsequent incarceration, it was deemed advisable to separate the group considered into four classes or sub-groups, on the basis of past institutional experience. Group I, included those persons with B.V.S. experience who had come to S.P.S.M. for the first time. Group II included those persons who had had B.V.S. institutionalization, M.S.R. experience, and had come to S.P.S.M. for the first time. Group III was comprised of men without B.V.S. experience, but who had been

65. James V. Bennett; "Breaking the Delinquency-Crime Chain - On the Adult Level", NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, 1941, p. 440.

in the M.S.R., and had come to the S.P.S.M. for the first time. Group IV included those men who had come to the S.P.S.M. for the first time, without any previous institutionalization. Perhaps the differentiation of the various groups can be more adequately visualized with the help of the following chart:

<u>Institutional Background</u>				
Group I	B.V.S.		S.P.S.M.	27 cases
Group II	B.V.S.	M.S.R.	S.P.S.M.	88 cases
Group III		M.S.R.	S.P.S.M.	941 cases
Group IV			S.P.S.M.	3,728 cases

Of the original 10,484 men, 884 had juvenile records of some sort, according to the S.P.S.M. Bureau of Identification. Sixty-six per cent, or 581 of the 884 men with juvenile records had been institutionalized in Michigan's B.V.S.⁶⁶ After all of the controls and limitations discussed in the section on Controlled Factors were applied, only twenty-seven men remained in Group I, and eighty-eight remained in Group II. There was adequate sampling in groups III and IV, the number of cases available running into the hundreds.

Because of the small samples in groups I and II, it was necessary to refine the cases studied even further. It was determined that a small sample in each group, individually matched on the basis of the characteristics of the twenty-seven men in group I, was better for the purposes of this

66. Vernon Fox; "Survey of Commitments with Juvenile Records", a report to the Michigan Director of Corrections in connection with the governor's survey of juvenile delinquency, June, 1943.

investigation than attempting a statistical comparison of small groups with large groups. The individuals in group I, therefore were classified as to residential background, race, religion, and intelligence.

In controlling residential background, the cities in Michigan were divided into four groups on the basis of population. Metropolitan Detroit was in a classification by itself, including Detroit and its satellite cities like Hamtramck, Highland Park, and Dearborn. The second classification included Michigan's "second" cities, such as Kalamazoo, Lansing, Grand Rapids, Flint, and cities of similar size and importance. The line of demarcation between this classification and the classification of smaller cities was set arbitrarily at 40,000 population. The small cities were those between 2,500 and 40,000 population, such as Adrian, Albion, South Haven, and cities of similar size and importance. The smaller communities and rural areas were those under 2,500 in population.

Only two races were represented in the study. Of the twenty-seven men in group I, seven were Negro and twenty were Caucasian.

Relative to religion, the men in Group I were classified as either Protestant or Catholic, and were balanced in the other groups as indicated below. Although there were Hebrews in the original large group, they were gradually eliminated from the sample for reasons other than religion.

The intelligence factor was also controlled. The men

were classified in the following categories, and were balanced in all groups as indicated below:

Very superior	I.Q. above 120
Superior	I.Q. 111 - 120
Average	I.Q. 90 - 110
Dull normal	I.Q. 80 - 89
Borderline defective	I.Q. 70 - 79
Feebleminded (moron level)	I.Q. 50 - 69

After classifications as to residential background, race, religion, and intelligence had been determined for the men in Group I, men with similar classifications were found in Groups II, III, and IV, and were individually matched. The individual matching procedure was rigid. If there were a white, Catholic, borderline defective, resident of metropolitan Detroit in group I, then a similar individual was found for groups II, III, and IV. In the individual matching procedure, 4,643 records were examined. Of these, 4,543 were rejected. Only one hundred cases could be used, since only twenty-five of group I's twenty-seven controlled cases could be adequately matched with controlled cases in each of the other three groups.

The sampling procedure left in each of the four groups the following number and types of cases.

- 1 White, Catholic resident of metropolitan Detroit, feebleminded in intelligence.
- 1 White, Catholic resident of metropolitan Detroit, dull normal in intelligence.
- 3 White, Catholic residents of metropolitan Detroit, borderline defective in intelligence.
- 2 White, Protestant residents of metropolitan Detroit, dull normal in intelligence.

- 1 White, Protestant resident of metropolitan Detroit, average in intelligence.
- 1 White, Catholic resident of metropolitan Detroit, superior in intelligence.
- 2 White, Catholic residents of metropolitan Detroit, average in intelligence.
- 1 Negro, Protestant resident of metropolitan Detroit, feeble-minded in intelligence.
- 1 Negro, Protestant resident of metropolitan Detroit, average in intelligence.
- 1 Negro, Protestant resident of metropolitan Detroit, borderline defective in intelligence.
- 1 White, Protestant resident of Michigan's "second" cities, dull in intelligence.
- 2 White, Protestant residents of Michigan's "second" cities, borderline defective in intelligence.
- 2 White, Catholic residents of Michigan's "second" cities, average in intelligence.
- 1 White, Catholic resident of Michigan's "second" cities, borderline defective in intelligence.
- 1 Negro, Protestant resident of Michigan's "second" cities, average in intelligence.
- 2 White, Protestant residents of Michigan's smaller cities, average in intelligence.
- 1 White, Protestant resident of the rural areas, average in intelligence.

—
25 cases

After the sampling procedure was completed, criteria of adjustment were considered. Criteria of adjustment of the prison inmate were selected from the available reports and records. They were statistically treated to determine their significance as indices of adjustment by quantification of the class of attributes⁶⁷ on the basis of the criterion of internal consistency. From this quantification of the group of attributes, the attributes being the selected criteria of inmate adjustment, was developed a scale for measuring adjustment in prison. Weighting of the criteria was based upon the

67. Social Science Research Council, bulletin 48; THE PREDICTION OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT, 1941, p. 321.

computation of the criterion of internal consistency during the construction of the scale.

Following the construction of the scale, a statistical analysis and a discussion of the frequency distributions of the adjustment scores of each of the four groups was considered. Eight cases studies were made, two in each group to determine some of the processes involved in the differential adjustments of inmates in prison.

Groups II and III have been compared statistically to determine the influence of the experience of institutionalization at the Boys Vocational School on the effect of the intermediate incarceration. A comparison of groups I and IV with groups II and III has been made also in order to throw a little light on the effect of the intermediate Reformatory incarceration. Groups I and II have been compared statistically with Groups III and IV to determine the effect of Boys Vocational School institutionalization on the adjustment of the prison inmate without eliminating the effect of the intermediate incarceration. Finally, group I has been compared with group IV to determine the effect of a juvenile incarceration on the degree of adjustment of the inmate of the State Prison of Southern Michigan. Case studies have been included to help to determine some of the processes involved in differential adjustments. The last chapter summarizes the entire study, along with the findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

Every effort was made to control many sociological and

psychological factors to such an extent that the results from statistical analysis might become more significant than would those from a larger and uncontrolled sample. This would tend to make the conclusions drawn on the basis of these statistical analyses and case studies comparatively free from outside influence by factors not controlled.

Chapter V

CRITERIA OF ADJUSTMENT

The crux of the problem of the relationship of juvenile institutionalization to the degree of adjustment of a prison inmate is the differential measurement of adjustment. In order to measure adjustment adequately, the qualitative factors constituting adjustment must be known first, and then quantitatively measured. In this chapter, the attempt has been made to discuss and perhaps isolate some of the qualitative factors contributing to good and bad adjustment. In Chapter I, the writer tentatively defined adjustment as the process of association of persons with each other with a maximum of cooperation and a minimum of irritation. To find some of the factors which constitute adjustment, the experimenter turned to the psychological "adjustment inventories" which have been widely published and used throughout the educational and psychological fields.

Criteria

Robert G. Bernreuter constructed a "Personality Inventory" that was one of the earlier and best known of the instruments which suggested any measurement of human adjustment⁶⁸. This, of course, did not attempt to consider the adjustment of an inmate in prison. Even so, it was felt that some of the factors common to adjustment in the various "normal" situations may be transferrable to the adjustment proce-

68. Robert G. Bernreuter; Manual for the Personality Inventory, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, 1935.

ture in the artificial prison situation. The transferrance of some of the common factors was rigidly limited, however, by the inadequacy of the prison records to distinguish or clarify various evaluations of the Bernreuter factors. The factors included in the scale are measures of neurotic tendency, self-sufficiency, introversion-extroversion, dominance-submission, self-confidence, and sociability. These factors can hardly be duplicated in the prison record with assurance that each will be comparable with the other. Some of his factors, however, could be approximated. Bernreuter's "dominance-submission", "self-confidence", and "sociability" show up to some extent in the various reports from an inmate's work assignment, school, chaplain, and classification committee. "Neurotic tendency" could hardly be expected to show anywhere in the record except, perhaps, in the reports of the psychiatrist or psychologist. The majority of men in the past have not seen the psychiatrist, and all of the men have seen the psychologist. The former, then, has not had the coverage to make uniform reports, and the latter has not had the time to make uniform reports on the phase of personality called by Bernreuter "neurotic tendency". "Self-sufficiency", "self-confidence", and "introversion-extroversion" might be indicated in the various reports, but surely no uniformity of reporting in these phases could be expected because of inadequate methods of measurement. For lack of available data, then, these three factors introduced by Bernreuter were considered impractical for use in this particular measurement of

the adjustment of an inmate in prison. "Sociability" and "dominance-submission" might be indicated by the number and types of misconduct reports.

Hugh M. Bell published an adjustment inventory which gained some popularity among educators⁶⁹. His inventory was based upon adjustment in the home, health, social, emotional, and occupational areas. As in the Bernreuter inventory, this instrument can give little enlightenment on the adjustment problem because of the lack of uniform and reliable data in the prison record. The areas of measurement in the Bell inventory surely are not comparable to those of a prison situation. The artificial environment set up by prison walls invalidates many of the items in the inventory, and even some of the broader general factors. For example, measurement in the home area must be eliminated, because the type of residence upon which the Bell inventory was standardized, and the type of residence found in the prison situation are not comparable. The health area could hardly be used because all hospitalized cases have been eliminated from the study, and there was not enough differentiation in the record of those remaining in the study to warrant the use of health as a factor in the influence of adjustment in varying degrees. The social area, which stresses submissiveness-aggressiveness, as in the Bernreuter scale, has been shown to some extent in

69. Hugh M. Bell; Manual for the Adjustment Inventory, Adult Form, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, 1938.

the various reports of work, school, and cell-block supervisors, and the number and type of misconduct reports. Emotional factors in adjustment, as used by Bell, could be estimated on the basis of available data only in the light of the various reports and a subjective evaluation of them. Consequently, objective measurement of this factor as such would lend itself easily to inaccuracy, invalidity, and unreliability. Adjustment in the occupational areas may be measured somewhat by the reports of the work supervisors. Although the factors used by Bell are valuable, the lack of objective and comparable data in the prison record eliminates the use of his material in toto for purposes of this study.

Stuart Lottier designed a scale for predicting success on parole or probation which might be of interest and of assistance in our measuring problem⁷⁰. All of his factors, however, are concerned with situations outside of the prison itself. Since the material in this study was limited to factors within the prison, Lottier's material could be of assistance only as generalities could be drawn from his work, and adapted to this peculiar adjustment-measuring problem. These generalities could possibly be compared with the general factors used by Bernreuter⁷¹, but quite remotely. In scoring, Lottier's factors are somewhat more subjective in the procedure of gain-

70. Stuart Lottier; "A Preliminary Report on a Scale for Predicting adjustment During Probation or Parole", PAPERS OF THE MICHIGAN ACADEMY OF ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LETTERS, Volume XLV, 1939, p. 621-628, published 1940.

71. Robert C. Vernreuter; Personal Inventory, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, 1935.

ing the original answers from the subject. Bernreuter's factors are more psychological or educational than sociological, as compared with the items used by Lottier. Lottier's factors predicting adjustment are, on the whole, inadequate for use in measuring adjustment in prison.

John N. Washburne says of well-adjusted and maladjusted individuals that the "cooperative, happy person who seemed to be dealing effectively with his environment was counted well adjusted; the uncooperative, discontented, disorderly, estranged person or one who seemed to be unable either to alter his environment or to adapt himself to it was counted maladjusted"⁷². This differentiation is broad and general. The factors used by Bernreuter, Bell, and various other inventory-builders used specific factors that might be used under broad and general classifications. Likewise, the data available in the prison record lends itself more readily to qualification and quantification under the more broad and general classifications. With this differentiation of the well-adjusted and the maladjusted in mind on the basis of the broad and general classifications, the records kept at the State Prison of Southern Michigan on each individual inmate were examined to glean factors pertaining to the measurement of degree of adjustment and maladjustment.

The number of misconduct reports the man has on his record at the end of the first year of incarceration is important in

72. John N. Washburne; Washburne Social-Adjustment Inventory, 1936, manual, p. 1.

measuring adjustment. Infractions of rules are infractions of the dictums of the social order of which a man is a part. Infractions of prison rules are infractions of the prison order. At the S.P.S.M., there are two official types of misconduct reports. The "held" or "hold" report is a minor infraction which is not filed against the man, except in the office of the Deputy Warden, and is not mentioned in the Progress Report to the Parole Board. The "filed" report is a misconduct report of fairly significant seriousness, and which is filed against the man. There is no doubt that the hold report of a minor infraction is significant in the measurement of adjustment. The filed report of a major infraction is, of course, more important in degree than the minor violation.

The type of misconduct report on the record is considered in the light of its manner, its aggression, and its relative divergence from the prison-accepted manner of conduct. Fighting is deemed more serious than gambling from the standpoint of successful adjustment. Stealing articles, though a form of aggressive behavior from the psychiatric point of view, is certainly less aggressive and direct than belligerent violence. The Gluecks divided the misconduct reports into two types⁷³. One of their types was designated as rebellion against authority, and constituted seventy per cent of the serious infractions. The other type was designated as

73. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; 500 CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1930, p. 159.

violence against persons. The former classification would include gambling, stealing, "skating" (leaving one's cell, job, or block without permission), and similar infractions. The latter classification would probably include only fighting or quarrelling. For purposes of this investigation, the type of misconduct report was considered as the Bluecks considered it--rebellion against authority, and violence against persons. The degree of seriousness of the infraction has been cared for in the system of filing the reports themselves.

Whether or not a man entered school was considered to be a factor in his adjustment. This was taken as an index of his interest in self-improvement, and his desire to "deal more effectively with his environment"⁷⁴. An inmate can enter school full-time instead of having a work assignment, or he can attend school part-time, or in extension, in which case he studies in his cell.

The school supervisor's reports were considered, since they tell something of the inmate's adjustment in the classrooms. The inmate's effort, motivation, attitude, progress, and general conduct are usually covered.

Whether or not a man works was considered important. Stability and good work habits may be indicated by remaining on the average job a long period of time. If a man is able to remain on one job for a long period of time, he must be dealing effectively with his environment.

74. John N. Washburne; Washburne Social-Adjustment Inventory, 1936, manual, p. 1.

The work supervisors' reports of an inmate's progress on the job were considered very important in the measurement of an inmate's adjustment in prison. The Gluecks considered work habits one of the most essential characteristics of the successful parolee⁷⁵. The development of this characteristic has been an important factor in the adjustment of a man in prison, or anywhere, for with good work habits, a man is dealing effectively with his environment.

The chaplain's reports of religious activities must be considered important in the measurement of adjustment. It was felt that religion has not enjoyed prominence in adjustment in prison with the inmate body as a whole. Men have frequently attended chapel services voluntarily as a means of getting out of their cells on Sunday. There have been a few men who use religion as an escape mechanism, sublimating and relieving emotional tension⁷⁶. In the cases of the few men who need religious philosophy to assist them in accepting life as it is, and to remain fairly well adjusted in his dealings with other people, the religious factor has assumed overwhelming proportions. Because these men exist, the religious factor must be considered.

Religion was considered also from another standpoint. The Hebrew faith exercises strong social control over the conduct of its adherents. It exercises such strong control that there are no men of that faith in the sample of 100 men used

75. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS, 1937.

76. M.L.Saddler,M.D.; THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PSYCHIATRY, 1936.

in this study. This control, of course, affects the adjustment of these men to a great extent. The Catholic faith affords its followers a manner of emotional catharsis in the "Confession". Relieving emotional tension in this manner has been considered an important factor in adjustment. The Protestant faiths neither exercise strong social control over, nor afford emotional catharsis to its followers. The lack of these benefits would seem to influence adjustment to some degree. For this reason, religious faiths were considered rigidly in the sampling procedure. The type of religious faith and the manner in which it was followed were taken from the chaplain's reports, and were accounted in the final measurement of adjustment.

The block officers' reports are the reports of the officers of the cell-blocks where the inmates lock⁷⁷. These reports are rather subjective evaluations, by relatively untrained persons, of the progress and conduct of each inmate. These reports have been considered in the measurement of the adjustment of a man in prison.

Family ties are important in the adjustment of an individual because they lend stability. Conversely, stability makes for the maintenance of family ties. The use of family bonds as an index to the measurement of adjustment of a man in prison, then, is fairly necessary. Two indexes to the measurement of the strength of family bonds are correspondence and

77. Prison slang denoting an inmate's living in a certain cell. Used as a verb.

visits. The volume of correspondence carried on between the inmate and his family is a more adequate measure than the number of visits. Correspondence is not affected materially by the distance between post offices. Correspondence seems to be the most satisfactory method of measuring the strength of family ties. The total volume was considered, both incoming and outgoing mail. This was justified by the fact that the coefficient of correlation between incoming and outgoing mail was ± 0.80 .

Financial budgeting and recognition of legitimate obligations was deemed by the Gluecks⁷⁸ to be important factor in successful adjustment of men on parole. Analogously, it must be an important factor in successful adjustment almost anywhere. Certainly a man who can manage his account in prison so that he benefits to the utmost possibility from it is dealing as effectively with his environment as he can. The measurement of budgeting ability in prison has been impaired by the fact that the use of finances is controlled. A man is allowed to spend money for library transfers in the purchase of books, newspapers, and periodicals. He is allowed to spend twenty cents per month for radio hook-up in his cell. If he has at least five dollars in his account, he is allowed to spend fifty cents a week in the inmate's store. If he has at least ten dollars in his account, he is allowed to spend a dollar and a half a week. If he has twenty-five dollars or

78. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; *LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS*, 1937, p. 80.

more in his account, he is allowed to spend two dollars and a half per week. Most inmates buy groceries, such as cup cakes, jellies, and similar foods at the inmate's store. It is a commonly accepted opinion that the majority of inmates spend all they are allowed to spend. This method of control eliminates detection of some men who would control their spending without being forced to do so. Even so, some rating can be made, and the computation of the adjustment scale in Chapter VI has indicated that it is significant.

The Gluecks found a significant relationship between non-harmful use of recreation and adjustment or "non-delinquency"⁷⁹. At S.P.S.M. recreation is undoubtedly of importance in the adjustment situation. Lack of records of all men participating in the athletic program, the band room, and the various games of skill or chance, made impossible the collection of data on all forms of recreation. Lack of such uniform data prevented the use of recreation as a factor in measuring adjustment in the prison.

Men experience significant changes of attitude when they arrive in prison, and also after a few months of regimented incarceration. In some cases, these changes of attitude have resulted in the development of embittered resentment against the society that condemned them to spend some of their lives behind prison bars. In other instances, the changes of attitudes have resulted in a resignation to the idea that docile

79. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; *LATER CRIMINAL CAREERS*, 1937, p. 79.

adjustment is the easiest and shortest way out. Changes of attitudes have resulted in many widely divergent modes of adjustment to the artificial prison situation. These changing attitudes undoubtedly have a significant bearing upon adjustment. The observation and measurement of these changing attitudes could not be made because of inadequate recording of these changes. A progress report has been written only as each man nears the expiration of his minimum sentence. In order to measure fairly accurately a man's changes in attitude, it should be observed much more frequently. Because of inadequate records, this factor could not be included in the criteria for measuring adjustment.

The experimenter was aware that a difference exists between the adjustment of an inmate to the prison's officials and program and his adjustment to his fellow inmates in the prison community. One of the basic assumptions of this study was that the adjustment of an inmate to the prison's officials and program reflects his adjustment to his fellow inmates sufficiently well to allow conclusions to be drawn as to the degree of his general adjustment. Extreme cases of maladjustment with fellow inmates are clearly designated by the various reports received from cell-block officers, and work and school supervisors. Misconduct reports such as "fighting" or "quarreling" indicate maladjustment. Adjustment to fellow inmates could hardly be accurately and reliably measured, because of obvious obstacles. There existed at the time of this investigation no better method of measuring adjustment in prison than

by indexes of adjustment to the prison's official program. For this reason, the criteria of adjustment were based upon compliance with the prison's program with a maximum of cooperation and a minimum of irritation.

SUMMARY

In summary, the criteria of adjustment for purposes of measurement found uniformly in the records of all inmates were as follows:

1. The number of misconduct reports an inmate has on his record at the end of his first year.
2. The type of misconduct reports.
3. School attendance.
4. School supervisor's report of the inmate's progress.
5. Work Record.
6. Work supervisor's report of the inmate's conduct and progress.
7. Chaplain's report of religious activities .
8. Block officer's reports.
9. Family and outside ties as indicated by the volume of correspondence.
10. Family and outside ties as indicated by number of visits.
11. Financial ability according to the manner with which he handles his money.

Chapter VI

SCALE FOR MEASURING ADJUSTMENT

The success of this entire project depended upon the successful construction of a scale for the measurement of adjustment in prison. Although perfection cannot be achieved on the basis of existing prison records, it was felt that a fairly reliable and valid scale could be developed. At least the imperfection of the more subjective questionnaires and groups similar to Laune's "Truth Groups" can be eliminated. A uniformity of application that has not been found in other methods has been attained by using only prison records that are routinely collected. By using the existing records, the adjustment of prisoners long since discharged can be evaluated, and then used for further research if so desired.

Construction

The eleven factors serving as indexes to the adjustment of an inmate in prison, discussed in Chapter V, are the only universally collected and fairly reliable data dealing with this problem in the existing prison records. The diagnostic capacity of some of these records individually might be questioned. On the whole, however, cases of good adjustment or maladjustment are detected somewhere. The reports covering each of the eleven factors attempt to throw light on the same general factor, that of adjustment of the inmate in prison. One or more of the reports should vary enough from the average quality of the respective factor or factors to make the final adjustment score vary. This variance, though it may be

slight, should be enough to show some difference in final adjustment as compared with other inmates scored on the same scale. Variation of diagnostic capacity between the eleven factors exists. To account for these differences, the factors have been weighted, commensurate with their respective diagnostic capacities.

Prior to weighting, arbitrary values were assigned to each of the eleven factors as a basis for computation of varying diagnostic capacities. For each of the factors, a trichotomy was selected for the arbitrary values in order to allow for good, average, and poor adjustment. Good adjustment was arbitrarily allowed three points, average adjustment two points, and poor adjustment one point. There was some difficulty in determining how visits, correspondence, and financial adjustment should be weighted. In order to gain a fair weighting, the letters from and to the immediate family, visits from members of the immediate family, and savings were tabulated. These were roughly divided into thirds by inspection. Three points were awarded to those men in the upper third, two points to those in the middle third, and one point to those in the lower third.

In tabulation for use in this scale, correspondence was recorded as the total number of letters going to and coming from the immediate family. Familial relationships with an individual number is a two-way affair, and to use but one half of the correspondence index would be to distort the true situation. The Pearson coefficient of correlation between

the number of incoming letters with the number of outgoing letters in the population included in this project was 4.80. The correlation, while high, was not perfect, so it was considered necessary to use both incoming and outgoing letters.

According to the trichotomy explained above, the eleven factors were arbitrarily valued as follows:

Misconduct reports.

No misconduct reports	3 points
"Hold", or minor reports	2 "
"Filed", or serious infraction	1 "

Type of misconduct reports.

No misconduct reports	3 points
Rebellion against authority	2 "
Violence against persons	1 "

School attendance.

Full-time student six or more months	3 points
Part-time student, of full time student less than six months	2 "
No school attendance.	1 "

School report.

Good adjustment	3 points
Average adjustment	2 "
Maladjustment	1 "

Work assignment.

Worked six months or more on one assignment	3 points
Worked six months or more on two assignments	2 "
Worked six months or more on three assignments, or less than six months	1 "

Work Supervisor's report.

Good adjustment	3 points
Average adjustment	2 "
Maladjustment	1 "

Chaplain's report of religious activities.

Good religious status	3 points
Fair religious status	2 "
Poor religious status	1 "

Block Officer's report.

Good adjustment	3 points
Average adjustment	2 "
Poor adjustment	1 "

Visits.

10 or over	3 points
1 - 9	2 "
0 visits	1 "

Correspondence.

70 or more letters in and out	3 points
40 - 69 letters in and out	2 "
0 - 39 letters in and out	1 "

Financial adjustment⁸⁰.

Saved \$12.00 or more	3 points
Saved \$5.00 to \$11.99	2 "
Saved less than \$5.00	1 "

In the case of an inmate who has worked, but has not gone to school, or has gone to school or not worked, no points can be given on the school supervisor's report or the work supervisor's report, respectively. It would be unfair to the individual to give him a rating of zero for the missing factor. In order neither to penalize nor reward the inmate excessively for not going to school or for not working, such missing factors are prorated and assigned a score at the average of the other ten factors to the nearest one-tenth,

80. This division was based by tabulating the amount saved by each man of the sample, and computing the upper, middle, and lower thirds of the distribution.

on the basis of the 1-2-3 trichotomy.

In this trichotomy, the condition exists wherein misconduct, school, work, and familial relationship has double the value of the block report, chaplain's report, and financial adjustment. It was felt that this is justifiable. The block report has been considered somewhat unreliable among prison workers, because many of the inmates find out what sort of a report is handed in by the block officer. In some instances they are typed by inmate clerks and signed by the officers. It is interesting to note that none of the block officers reports on cases used in this project was below average, and most of them indicated good adjustment. Every one of the eighteen average reports, however, were given to the twenty-five inmates scoring lowest in the other adjustment factors. This, of course, increased materially the computed diagnostic capacity of the block officer's reports, as given later in this chapter. We hesitate, therefore, in using it on the same plane as the misconduct report, the school report, and the work supervisor's report.

Religion in prison is not strong in the inmate body as a whole. Reports from the religious department can hardly be expected to depict accurately the adjustment of an inmate in many phases other than the religious. The influence and potential sensitiveness of the religious department in the matter of adjustment of inmates does not appear as great as school, work, and misconduct reports, coupled with an inmate's relationship with his own family.

The financial adjustment is important in outside relationships as well as relationships inside prison. Financial policies of an individual inside prison, however, are somewhat controlled. When the school, where no money is earned, is considered, financial policies do not give an absolutely reliable index to how an inmate deals with his environment from a financial viewpoint, although a difference of some significance was noted.

Further, the areas of misconduct, work record, school record, and familial relationships are the areas in which the inmate has greatest and most universal freedom in the selection of his mode of adjustment. For these reasons, it was felt that no undue arbitrary weighting is attached to these four areas.

Another condition exists in cases of inmates who have gone to school for a short time, and then went to work for a period of over six months. In this way, five points are gained automatically, two for going to school, and three for working. On the other hand, a person who has gone to school or worked full time gains but four points, three for working or going to school, and one for the activity in which he did not participate. The writer has been unable to find a method to circumvent this difficulty, and still maintain a fairly accurate measuring device in other phases of the problem. This difficulty may be an unexpected asset in that it penalizes slightly the individual who has neglected either his work record or self-improvement through education.

In any case, the difference is negligible in view of a possible total raw score of thirty-three points for perfect adjustment in all phases.

After the arbitrary weightings had been assigned, all men in the four groups were scored in all eleven phases or areas which had been selected as possible indexes of adjustment. The criterion of internal consistency was used as a basis for determining the diagnostic ability of each item.

The raw 1-2-3 scores on the eleven items were totalled for each of the 100 men. These schedules were arranged in the order of their quantitative scores, regardless of which of the four groups was represented. The upper quarter, or 25 cases scoring highest, and the lower quarter or 25 cases scoring lowest, were selected for comparison. The means of each of the eleven items were computed for both the higher and the lower groups. Critical ratios⁸¹ were determined between the means of the higher and lower groups on each of the eleven respective items. The resulting critical ratios indicated the diagnostic capacity of each item in measuring the adjustment phenomenon. The resulting critical ratios for the various items are given below in the order of their computed significance.

81. The formula used for computing the critical ratios is as follows:

$$\sigma_D = \sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{n_1 - 1} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{n_2 - 1}}$$

$$\text{Critical Ratio} = \frac{M_2 - M_1}{\sigma_D}$$

<u>Item</u>	<u>Critical Ratio</u>
1. Work reports	8.1
2. Misconduct reports	4.5
3. Block officer's report	4.5
4. Visits	4.4
5. School reports	4.3
6. Type of misconduct	3.8
7. Correspondence	3.6
8. Chaplain's reports	3.3
9. Financial budgeting	2.9
10. Work assignment	2.8
11. School assignment	2.4

In determining whether or not the arbitrary weightings should be used in this investigation, a correlation was computed between the total raw score for each individual and the corresponding product of the raw scores and critical ratios. - This coefficient of correlation was ± 0.95 , indicating a fairly high degree of agreement between the two weightings.

Later in this chapter a rank correlation between a sociologists evaluation of the adjustment of twenty-seven inmates and the weighted adjustment scores was shown to be $\pm .98$. The rank correlation between the sociologist's evaluation and the raw adjustment scores was found to be $\pm .93$.

Considering the smallness of the sample, the accuracy of discrimination needed between the various adjustment scores, and the higher-agreement of the weighted scores with the sociologist's evaluations, it was decided that the weighting procedure should be used.

Weighting of the items, then, was done by multiplying the raw 1-2-3 score or any pro-rated score by the critical ratio of the respective item. For purpose of scientific accuracy within the group studied, the resulting weighted scores were not rounded out into whole numbers, but retained their

value to the nearest tenth. The final scale with its weighted values for the eleven factors is given below:

Work reports.⁸²

Good adjustment	24.3
Average adjustment	16.2
Maladjustment	8.1

Misconduct reports.

No misconduct reports	13.5
"Held" reports	9.0
"Filed" reports	4.5

Block officer's report.

Good adjustment	13.5
Average adjustment	9.0
Maladjustment	4.5

Visits.

10 or over	13.2
1 - 9 visits	8.8
No visits	4.4

School reports.⁸³

Good adjustment	12.9
Average adjustment	8.6
Maladjustment	4.3

Type of misconduct.

No misconduct reports	11.4
Rebellion against authority	7.6
Violence against persons	3.8

-
82. If the man has not worked, the raw 1-2-3 score should be obtained to the nearest tenth pro-rating on the basis of the other raw 1-2-3 scores. The raw score should then be multiplied by 8.1.
83. If the man has not gone to school, the raw 1-2-3 score should be obtained to the nearest tenth by pro-rating on the basis of the raw scores of the other items. The resulting raw score should be multiplied by 4.4.

Correspondence.

70 or more letters in and out	10.8
40 - 69 letters in and out	7.2
0 - 39 letters in and out	3.6

Chaplain's appraisal.

Good religious status	9.9
Fair religious status	6.6
Poor religious status	3.3

Financial budgeting.

Saved \$12.00 or more	8.7
Saved \$5.00 to \$11.99	5.8
Saved less than \$5.00	2.9

Work assignment.

Worked six or more months on one assignment	8.4
Worked six or more months on two assignments	5.6
Worked six or more months on more than two assignments, or less than six months	2.8

School attendance.

Full-time student six or more months	7.2
Part-time student, or full-time student less than six months	4.8
No school attendance	2.4

- Reliability and Validity

The reliability of the scale is partially assured by the internal consistency method of its construction. The computed critical ratios used as weights make the scale reliable for the given population by weighting according to the significance of the factor in question in measuring consistently whatever is to be measured. Further mention of reliability has been made later in this section.

Validity of the adjustment scale was established by a correlation test. Sewell maintains that three major methods

have been used in determining the validity of a sociometric scale⁸⁴:

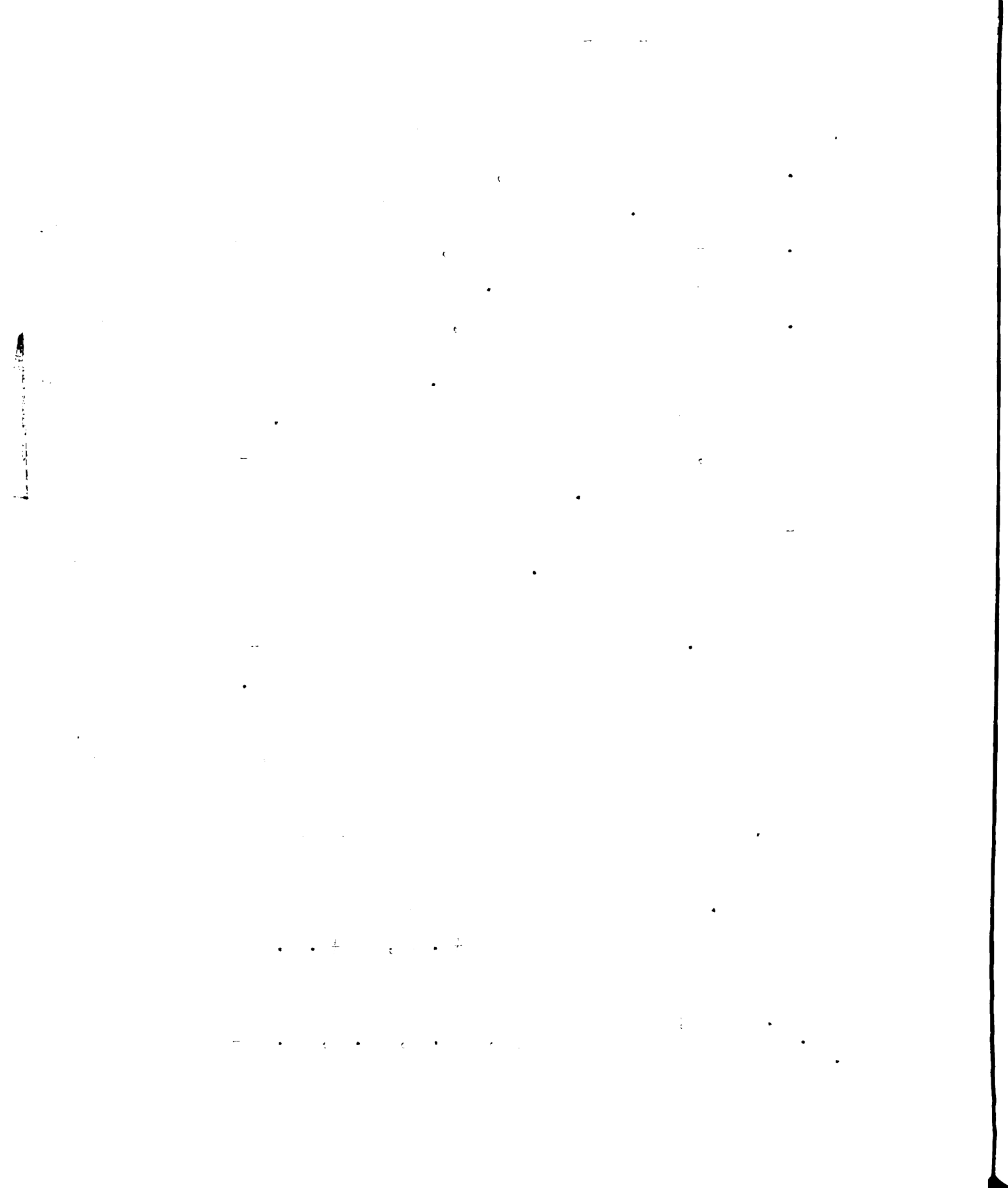
1. Logical test of validity, which is merely that the scale is built on a sound theory.
2. Common-sense test of validity, which means the scale squares closely with common-sense observations.
3. Correlation test of validity, which is that proof of validity be offered by correlation or comparison with an accepted independent criterion.

Sewell says that the third method is by far the best. This being the case, the correlation method was used in testing the validity of this scale.

Twenty-seven cases were selected at random from those not included in this investigation. Weighted adjustment scores were computed for each on the basis of the scale for measuring adjustment. These scores were arranged in the order of their ranks from the highest through the lowest score. One of the prison sociologists was asked to arrange the cases in the order of his evaluation of their adjustments without knowing of the scale for measuring adjustment nor the purpose of the request. The subjective rankings were then tabulated in order of their ranks from the best adjustment through the poorest adjustment. The coefficient of rank correlation⁸⁵ between the two rankings was found to be ± 0.975 , or ± 0.98 .

84. William H. Sewell; "The Development of a Sociometric Scale". Reprinted from Sociometry, Vol. V, No. 3, pp.279-297.

85.
$$r = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{n^3 - n}$$



This high degree of agreement indicates that the scale is valid.

Eleven cases were taken at random from the twenty-seven men included in the rank correlation to show by inspection the agreement between the sociologist's evaluation and the adjustment scores. The "sociologist's evaluation" sections of the progress reports have been quoted to complement the respective subjective and adjustment score rankings.⁸⁶

Case #1

Adjustment Score: 117.4 Adjustment score rank 6th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 4th

Second prison offender, has adjusted favorably while here. Adjustment out and in is conditioned by his lowered intelligence. Satisfactory family background is noted, including paternal and sibling delinquency, economic stress and father's desertion. Admits guilt - stole car to get money for Bus Fare. Inadequate and suggestible type who is restricted to unskilled labor. He has no employment plans. Under proper supervision and if everything runs smoothly he can adjust, but under stress, and on his own counsel, may again be in trouble.

Case #2.

Adjustment Score: 111.6 Adjustment score rank 10th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 8th

Prison record good. Has made some progress along educational lines although his work record has not been especially steady. He is of superior intelligence, has traveled about the country a good deal. Claims employment as professional entertainer and formerly played pro-baseball. He admits drinking excessively and that he has been arrested a number of times in this condition. In view of two arrests for indecent exposure there appears to be a likelihood of sexual-mal-adjustment.

86. These sociologist's evaluations were quoted verbatim. It is acknowledged that they contain many errors in English usage. These have been left uncorrected rather than to risk even the slightest alteration of intended meaning.

States he was drunk at time of this offense. He has been involved with an accomplice in a large number of burglaries in Detroit, prior to their arrest. In view of his past history of excessive drinking, wandering, and possible sexual abnormality, a psychiatric report might be helpful in this case.

Case #3.

Adjustment Score: 109.9 Adjustment score rank 12th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 12th

Good prison adjustment, also on work assignment and in the school. He has been in previous difficulty, serving a prison term for negligent homicide and a jail term for assault and battery. He is the product of a poor background, is of very low intelligence. He has lived among a group where knife carrying and assaultive offenses are common-place, and he appears quite hot-headed and assaultive. Worked as a painter on W.P.A., in recent years. Lacks ability to improve his social status to any extent, although he has done quite well in prison along educational lines, and with suitable employment he may adjust somewhat better in the future.

Case #4.

Adjustment Score: 108.6 Adjustment score rank 13th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 13th

This man adjusted well in prison. Has been homo-sexual for many years, and in recent years has developed alcoholic habits. Inclined to misbehave sexually during periods when he is drinking excessively, and at such times is especially inclined to molest young persons, both male and female. Unlikely that imprisonment has changed him in any fundamental way, and he will no doubt be in further trouble, especially if he resumes drinking habits. His chances of adjusting in future can probably best be judged by the Psychiatrist.

Case #5.

Adjustment Score: 107.8 Adjustment score rank 15th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 14th

This man has adjusted satisfactorily but has made no progress educationally or vocationally. He was in the U. S. Army at Fort Custer at time of present offense and presumably has been dishonorably discharged for desertion - since Army records show he deserted. Subject's gross indecency - present offense - was committed with Yose #52400. He has no adequate parole plan. Parole hazards will include excessive drinking, lack

of responsibilities and to his probable possession of homo-sexual tendencies.

Case #6.

Adjustment Score: 105.5 Adjustment score rank 16th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 18th

This man apparently made a satisfactory prison record, as to work and conduct, and some progress in school. He has been nomadic and shiftless for number of years. Number of arrests for vagrancy and one jail sentence for assault and battery. Present offense was unusually vicious as well perverted. Drinking a good deal for a number of years and was apparently intoxicated when he committed the present offense. Will likely get into further trouble if he continues this kind of life. Does not seem a very good parole risk, but will probably be more likely to get into trouble if he is held until his maximum expires next year, and then released on discharge. As Judge Murphy mentions in his statement: "The assault he made is vicious, and it is unfortunate for society that he was not convicted for a more serious offense".

Case #7.

Adjustment Score: 96.7 Adjustment score rank 20th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 19th

Fair prison record. Has been on no assignment for any length of time except the Root Farm, where he worked for about two months. Work record has been from poor to average. He seems to have about four wives, at least two of them simultaneously. He drank excessively and was especially inclined to become entangled with women in connection with drinking. He has lived an unstable life, joined the Navy at an early age and was given a bad conduct discharge after several minor difficulties and A. W. O. L. Very impulsive when drinking which caused him serious difficulties other than marital entanglements. His return to drinking habits will probably result in further difficulties. Placement in the Army might be good for him, although there is some question as to whether he is sufficiently stable to adjust in the Army.

Case #8.

Adjustment Score: 91.9 Adjustment score rank 23rd

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 22nd

Poor institutional record to date. Iowa record shows repeated misconduct reports of the more serious type and is regarded

as both assaultive and homo-sexual. Criminal record is quite extensive for a youth his age, and if present trend continues he seems to be becoming worse, rather than a better parole risk. He has been in the institution too short a time to demonstrate any change.

Case #9.

Adjustment Score: 85.6 Adjustment score rank 25th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 24th

He has had one misconduct report for stealing, has had two work assignments and has made a good adjustment as a worker. Not interested in self-improvement, educationally or vocationally. Has handled earnings poorly. His wife has divorced him. This is his second conviction, and information from Probation Report states he has previously deliberately planned thefts. Married nine years, wife testified their married life had been very unhappy, on account of his drinking and lack of consideration for her and their daughter eight years old. He is willing to serve in the armed forces and might profit from the rigid discipline and supervision derived from it. Parole hazards - drinking excessively, cultivating undesirable associates, to act in his own selfish interest without sufficiently considering the rights and feelings of others.

Case #10.

Adjustment Score: 75.3 Adjustment score rank 26th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 26th

This man has become steadily worse in his attitude toward his incarceration and authority in general. He personally expresses resentment toward all authority, and mentions the fact that people are educated so they can more efficiently cheat their fellow men. He has refused to return to Vocational School because he does not want to work in a factory upon his release. Does not care if he gets a parole or not. Should receive psychiatric attention.

Case #11.

Adjustment Score: 60.1 Adjustment score rank 27th

SOCIOLOGIST EVALUATION: Subjective rank 27th

He has amassed more misconduct reports than I have seen in any other cases, I believe. Transferred to Ionia shortly after classified here, and in that institution ran up six misconduct reports. Finally returned to this institution to be considered

a serious behavior problem. He has been such for many years, beginning when a child. Has had Boys Vocational School and Ionia experience. Father a respected citizen in Middletown, Ohio, being in the Sheet Metal Business. Always running away from home and spent some time in Boys School at Lancaster, Ohio. Nomadic. A letter from the American Legion in Middletown, Ohio, suggests the Army for rehabilitation. He expresses an interest in getting into the Army or the Navy. He admits a bad record and thinks the Army would make him behave. Personally, I think he would be no asset to the armed services of our country.

The high rank correlation between adjustment scores and subjective evaluations, and the above comparison of adjustment scores with sociologists' evaluations on progress reports indicated that the scale has validity - that it does measure adjustment. These same facts, the high coefficient of rank correlation and the close progressive agreement between the results of the scale and the sociologists' evaluations, also support the reliability of the scale. This agreement indicates by inspection and by statistical computation a high degree of consistency of measurement.

With the scale for measuring adjustment in prison constructed and the test for reliability and validity described, attention is turned in the following chapters to a statistical analysis of the varying adjustments made by the one hundred men finally considered in this study.

Chapter VII

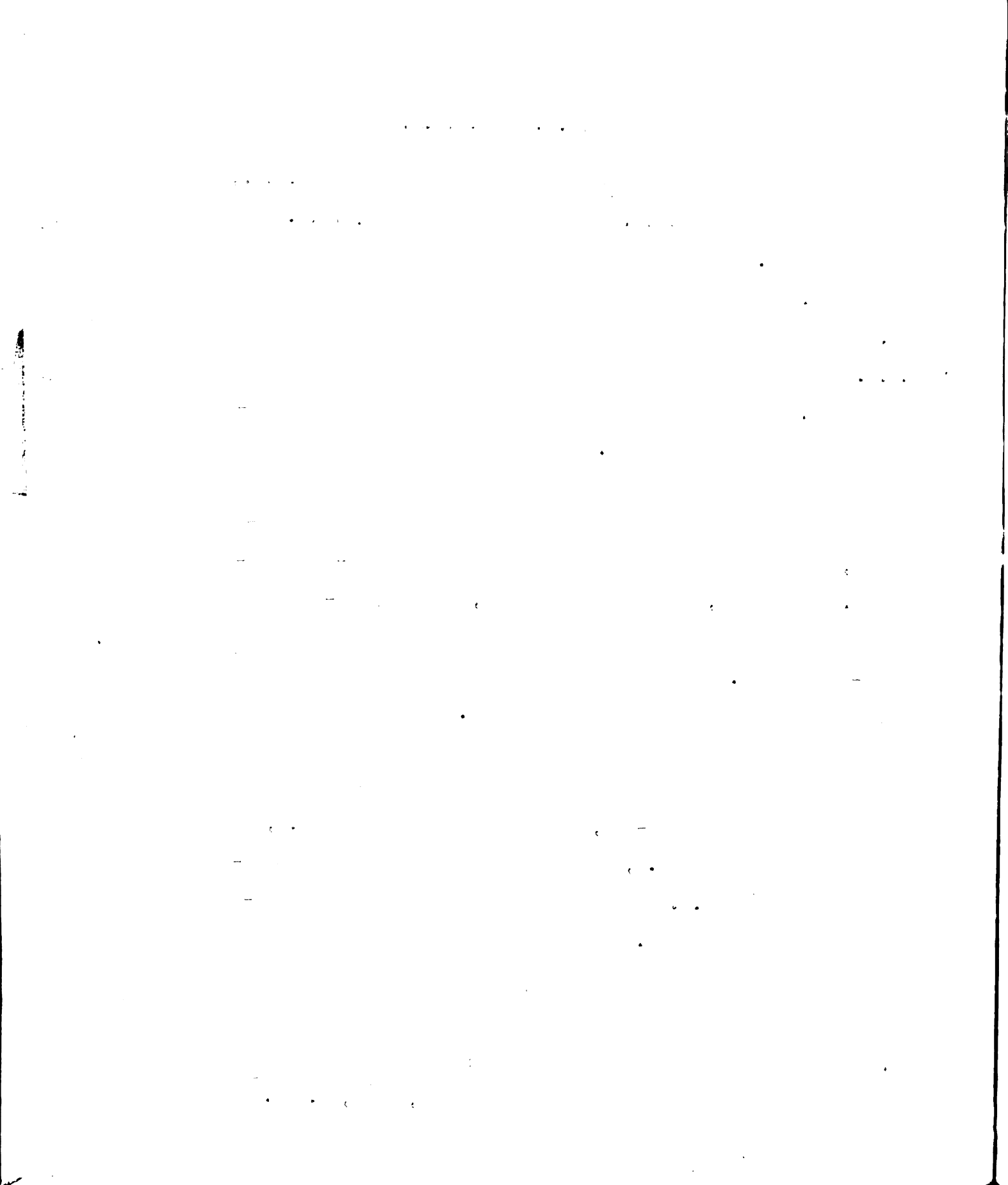
THE ADJUSTMENT OF INMATES COMING DIRECTLY FROM B.V.S. TO S.P.S.M.

Group I includes twenty-five men who have been in B.V.S., have not been in the M.S.R. and have come to the S.P.S.M. for the first time. These men met the requirements specified in Chapter IV. Group I was the smallest selection group available. The difficulty was that many of the boys who had been in B.V.S. had also been in prisons of other States or the Federal government. There had been many boys who had had their juvenile careers in other States. Those boys were not available for this study because their use would have entailed the loss of control over such factors as residence and cultural background, and introduce such complex factors as inter-State mobility. Of the 10,484 records examined, only twenty-seven men could meet the sampling specifications for Group I in a clear-cut manner. Two of these were eliminated in the course of individual matching with other groups.

Age Distribution

The ages of commitment of the men in this group range from seventeen to thirty-two, with an average age of 25.1, a standard deviation of 2.1, and a probable error of the standard deviation⁸⁷ of .2. It is noted that the standard deviation is relatively small. This indicates that the majority of the cases in group I are well within the age limits ar-

87. $\sigma_E = 0.6745 \left(\frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{2N}} \right)$, See Richardson; AN INTRODUCTION TO STATISTICAL ANALYSIS, 1935, p. 95.



bitrarily set for controlling the age factor.

Crimes

The most serious crime represented in this group is robbery armed, for which one man was sentenced. Six men were sentenced for breaking and entering in the night time, and one for breaking and entering in the night time, second felony. Two were convicted and sentenced for violating the narcotic law. One man was sentenced for each of the following crimes; larceny; assault with intent to rape; assault to rob unarmed; assault with intent to rob; larceny of property of over fifty dollars value, second felony; attempted larceny of an automobile; carrying concealed weapons; carrying concealed weapons, second felony; non-support, third offense; robbery not armed; conversion of mortgaged property; larceny from motor vehicle; and assault without a weapon and without intent of felonious assault.

Sentences

The sentences in this group varied from 1 to 1⁸⁸ years for assault without a weapon and without intent of felonious assault to 7½ to 22½ years for breaking and entering in the night time, second felony. The mean minimum sentence was 2 years and 28 days. The mean maximum sentence was 9 years, 6 months, and 7 days. The mean sentence was roughly 2 years to 9½ years.

Nativity and Parentage

All of the men in the group were native-born Americans.

88. A legal "indeterminate" sentence in Michigan for this particular crime.

four of the group were Negroes. Three of the men were of Italian-born parentage. Three were of Polish parentage. One was of Canadian, one of Lithuanian, and one of German parentage. Sixteen of the men, including the four Negroes, were of native American parentage. Of this group, then, 36 per cent are of foreign-born parentage.

Marital Status

Eight of the men in this group had never married. Seventeen men had been married, and of these, two had been divorced, and one separated, by the time of their arrests. Fourteen men of this group were still married at the time of their arrests.

Grade Placement

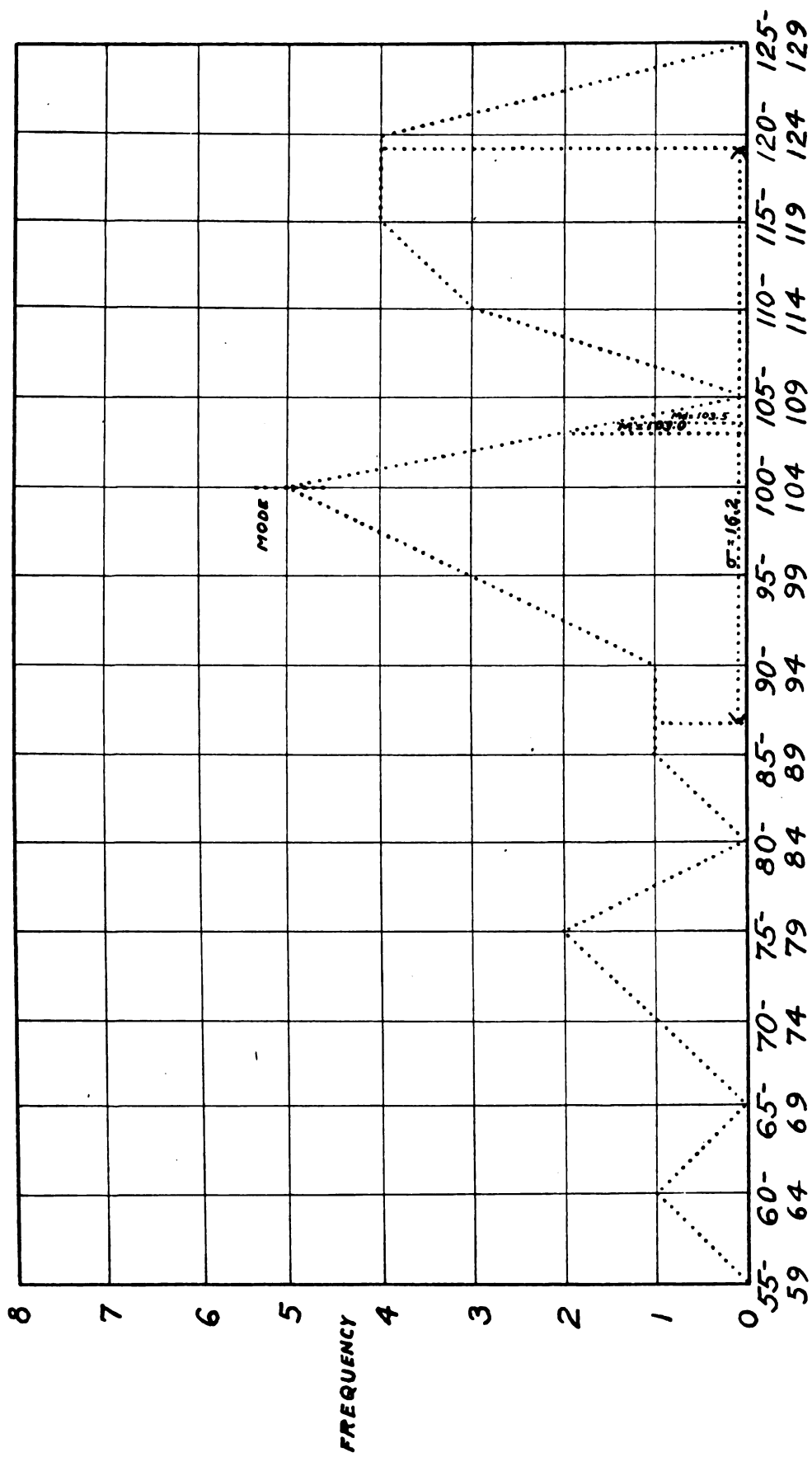
Tests⁸⁹ given by the educational department when the men of group I entered the prison indicated that the mean grade placement was 5.4, or fifth grade. The standard deviation was 2.1 with a probable error of .2. Grade placement and intelligence quotients at S.P.S.M. have shown a coefficient of correlation of ± 0.65 . By controlling intelligence, some control of grade placement has been exercised.

Statistical Analysis of Adjustment Scores

The frequency distribution of the adjustment scores derived from this group is shown in the graph on page 91. Scores in this group range from 64.0 to 123.4, and have been grouped in class intervals of five. It is recognized that the sample

89. Stanford achievement tests.

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTMENT SCORES IN GROUP I



ADJUSTMENT SCORES

of twenty-five cases is small for satisfactory statistical manipulation. For reasons explained in chapter IV a group larger than twenty-five was not available. Statistical and case method combined has been used to find a solution in the present investigation, and so the burden of analysis is not with statistics alone.

The mean adjustment score in this group is 103.0, with a probable error of the mean of 2.2.

The median adjustment score in the distribution is 103.5.

The mode⁹⁰ of this distribution is at 100.0, which indicates that this is the point of maximum frequency. Its proximity to the mean and median is indication that the distribution is fairly symmetrical.

The standard deviation of the frequency distribution of adjustment scores in group I is 16.2, with a probable error of 1.5. The standard deviation in this case is fairly wide, showing broad dispersion.

The frequency distribution is fairly symmetrical. Computed skewness⁹¹ resulted in -.09, or -.1. With negligible skewness, the curve representing the adjustment scores for this group has no extreme values not balanced on the other end of the curve.

The degree of "flat toppedness" of the frequency distri-

90. $Mo = L + \frac{f_2}{f_2 + f_1} \cdot i$

91. The formula $Sk = \frac{3(M - Md)}{\sigma}$ was used to measure skewness.

bution is shown by kurtosis⁹². Computation of kurtosis resulted in a score of $-.74$, or -1 . This computation indicates that the distribution is flat-topped, or platykurtic.

On the basis of the foregoing facts, it may be reasonable to suppose that individuals who have been institutionalized as juveniles tend to react to subsequent institutionalization as shown by their adjustment scores, namely incarceration in prison, in widely divergent manners. In some cases, a better adjustment might be because the man has learned how to live in an institution and get along well. A worse adjustment might be made because of the differences between custodial policies of the juvenile institution and the prison. Further, the juvenile and penal system may be selecting some of those men who are unable to adjust adequately anywhere. At any rate, statistical analysis of group I shows a broad variation in the adjustment scores derived from the institutional records of the cases included in the group.

Case Material

In order to observe some of the processes involved in adjustment in prison after a juvenile institutionalization, two cases have been selected for interviewing. These men were interviewed to find their attitudes toward any experience in B.V.S. and the effect of that experience and attitude

92. In the computation of kurtosis, it was necessary to use a formula involving the use of the moments. The formula used was:

$$\text{Kurtosis} = \beta_2 - 3$$

upon their adjustments at S.F.S.M. Factors outside B.V.S. and S.F.S.M. were not considered, since the purpose of this investigation involves only institutional life.

Inmate "A" was sent to the B.V.S. in November, 1932, at the age of fourteen, for larceny of a bicycle and truancy. Upon his arrival at the B.V.S., he entered the "quarantine cottage", which was managed by a Mr. D. During his thirty days in the quarantine cottage, he learned the sort of regimentation and discipline he was to expect when he was released into the general group. The discipline meted out by Mr. D. was more rigid and stern than any he had experienced at home or school. The effect was an immediate intimidation through fear of consequences.

When inmate "A" was released into the general group, he entered cottage D. He found that the type of discipline used by Mr. D. was used throughout the institution. Although each cottage manager used his own methods, the same general types of punishment were used throughout the entire institution, particularly "standing on the line" and "knee stoops". In "standing on the line" for an offense, the boy stood facing the wall, with his hands folded behind him. He was to stand there all the time he was in the cottage. "Knee stoops" were a series of sitting knee bends. These varied from 50 to 500 stoops, averaging about 300, all done in one series.

After he had been in B.V.S. for a few months, he began to like it. The food was good, he had watched his behavior very carefully, and had avoided punishment of any sort. After

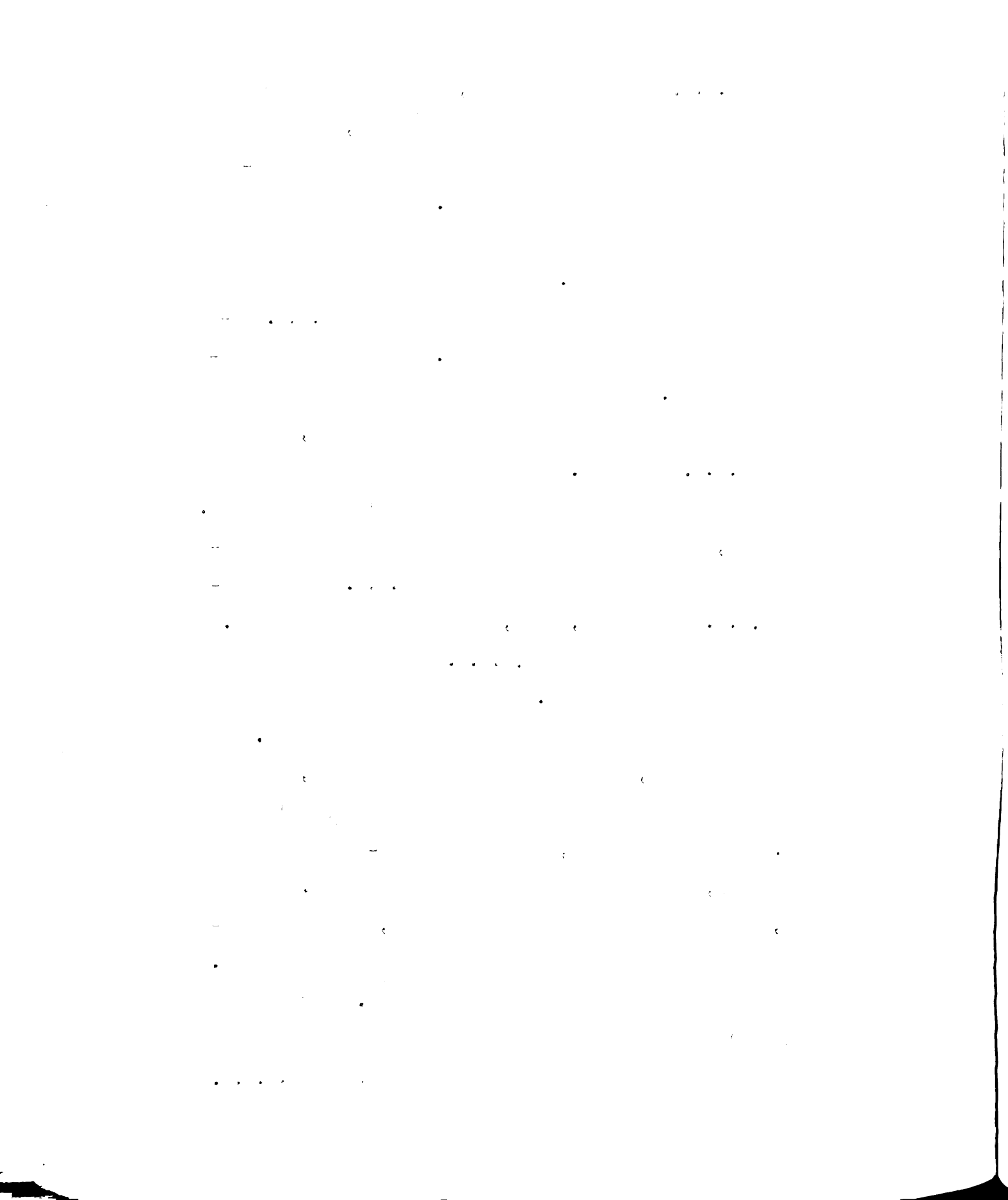
he had been at B.V.S. for nearly a year, he became a "line boy". There were two "line boys" in each cottage, and it was their duty to assist the cottage managers in the discipline and regimentation of the other boys. Inmate "A" said that quite often these duties cause friction between the "line boys" and the other boys.

He did not like the educational facilities at B.V.S. because he could go only to the tenth grade. He wanted to graduate from high school.

Since he accepted the routine without a question, his adjustment at B.V.S. was good. Consequently he was a line boy for only a short time when he was made "officer's kitchen boy". In this capacity, he was in charge of the dining room and kitchen of cottage D for his last two years at B.V.S. He was released from B.V.S. in October, 1935, at the age of seventeen.

Inmate "A" was sentenced to S.P.S.M. in early 1941 to 7½ to 15 years for robbery armed. Upon his arrival in prison, he did not know what to expect in routine and supervision. According to the record, he wanted to learn tailoring, so the classification committee assigned him to the prison's tailor shop. At the same time, he studied part-time in the commercial school, learning typewriting and stenotypy. At his request, after a year and a half in prison, he was assigned to the classification department as an inmate stenographer. His prison adjustment has been evaluated as good.

Inmate "A"'s major observation upon coming to prison was that more responsibility is placed upon the inmate at S.P.S.M.



than upon a boy at B.V.S. At B.V.S. the boy is made to adjust by threat or sheer force. At S.P.S.M. the inmate is merely expected to adjust. This leaves a man with B.V.S. background somewhat at a loss as to how to handle his unexpected freedom. On occasion, infractions of rules have been made before the limitations of the freer institution were firmly in mind.

In one way, inmate "A" feels that his B.V.S. experience has helped him to adjust at S.P.S.M. He found that a large number of boys he knew at B.V.S. were at S.P.S.M. With old associations present, he found adjustment in a new situation much easier.

In some cases, old associations have not been a help in adjustment in prison. In some cases of friction at B.V.S. the friction continues at S.P.S.M. in the form of old grudges. Also, mutual friends from B.V.S. meeting at S.P.S.M., has tended to exaggerate social injustices, and adjustment, in turn, has been influenced.

Inmate "A" placed some emphasis upon the fact that previous experience in an institution of any sort makes a man better oriented to institutional life. He is not so willing to be intimidated in a known situation as he is in an unknown area. Inmate "A" feels that a man coming into prison without previous experience is at a loss to protect himself against exploitation by officials and other inmates, and is easily intimidated.

"A" minimized the factor of selection by the prison of

those who were unable to adjust adequately anywhere, as compared with first termers. He felt that to lay maladjustment to selection was the sociologists' way of diverting attention from the fact that B.V.S. experience did affect in a derogatory manner adjustment in any subsequent institutionalization.

Inmate "B" went to B.V.S. in 1934. He spent thirty days in cottage 3, the "quarantine cottage". His first impression was that the discipline was much more severe than he had ever experienced before. Because of this he developed an intense dislike for Mr. D., the cottage manager.

After leaving the "quarantine cottage", inmate "B" lived in cottage B, where he remained for his entire two years. During the time he worked in the officer's dining room. He feels that the food was all right, but that the "line boy" system was a constant source of friction. On one occasion, he received 80 slaps across the face with the open hand by Mr. S., the cottage manager. He then developed an intense dislike for Mr. S., since he felt the punishment was excessive for violation of the "silence system" used in the cottage. He was released from B.V.S. in the spring of 1936.

Inmate "B" was returned to B.V.S. in the fall of 1936. Having previously gained some knowledge of the discipline of Mr. D., he adjusted a little better in cottage 3, the "quarantine cottage", the second time. During his one-year stay the second time, he worked in the bake shop, and lived in cottage E. On one occasion he was punished for fighting,

and had to "stand on the line". For thirty days, he stood for fourteen hours a day, facing the wall with his arms folded at his back. When he left B.V.S. in 1937, he was filled with resentment not only against B.V.S., but against society as a whole.

Inmate "B" came to S.P.S.M. in February, 1940, for breaking and entering. He made a good record until he graduated from the sixth⁹³ grade, and was placed on a trusty assignment on the Vandercook farm. He escaped from the farm during the fall of 1941, and was gone for two days. Upon his return, he was placed in the punishment cell-block. He was assigned to the textile factory when he was released from punishment in February, 1942. His adjustment for the two months following was unsatisfactory. Since April 1942, however, his general adjustment has been considered satisfactory.

Inmate "B" felt that a man coming from B.V.S. harbors an intense grudge against society and the penal system. He added that any subsequent institutionalization is aggravated in its severity - that it is like scratching open an old wound. This feeling causes an inmate to become irritable, so that he does not adjust as well as he would otherwise.

Some contacts made at B.V.S. tend to make adjustment more difficult. Association with others who harbor the same feelings of injustice and resentment tend to intensify these feelings. The intensification of these feelings interferes with

93. Equivalent to the eighth grade in public schools.

adequate adjustment to the prison's program. Some of the men in S.P.S.M. were "line boys" with whom inmate "B" had difficulty in B.V.S. Although he had thus far ignored them, he felt that trouble with them could easily develop.

Inmate "B" indicated that more responsibility is placed on an inmate at S.P.S.M. than at B.V.S. He felt that B.V.S. "took advantage of kids", but S.P.S.M. treats inmates like men.

When a man has had B.V.S. experience, he does not obey officers without question. B.V.S. experience conditions a man to be more on the defensive, more resentful, and more discriminating as to the type of orders he will obey willingly.

Inmate "B" felt that first-termers were meek and afraid, but men with B.V.S. experience are better oriented. If a man is not meek and afraid, if he knows the "ways of the prison", his adjustment might not look so good to the officials, but the inmate "does easier time".⁹⁴

"B" did not feel that selection of maladjusted individuals as those with previous institutional experience, as compared with first offenders, was a very important factor, and pointed out the fact that some men with previous experience adjust better in prison than many first termers.

Summary

Statistical analysis of the distribution of adjustment

94. Gets along more happily.

scores in Group I indicates a fairly wide diversity in modes of adjustment in prison. Case material tends to show that more responsibility is placed on the inmate at S.P.S.M. than at B.V.S. Adjustment at S.P.S.M. appears to be hindered to some extent by anti-social grudges developed at B.V.S. Some friction caused by the "line boys" system at B.V.S. carries over to the prison when former "line boys" are sent to S.P.S.M., though in most cases does not culminate in violence. Previous institutional experience seems to help an inmate to become oriented though not necessarily well adjusted, to the penal situation, and to make him less easily intimidated by prison officials and other inmates.

Chapter VIII

MEN WITH B.V.S. AND M.S.R. EXPERIENCE WHO HAVE COME TO S.P.S.M.

Group II is the group of twenty-five men who had been in both the B.V.S., and M.S.R., and who were admitted to the S.P.S.M. for the first time. The men in Group II were selected by matching each individual in Group I with an individual from Group II on the basis of residence background, race, religion and intelligence. These men have also met all the primary specifications set up in Chapter IV.

Age Distribution

The ages represented in this group range from 18 to 34. The average age is 24.4 with a standard deviation of 3.3 ~~4.3~~. The small standard deviation indicates a fairly narrow range of ages. Little dispersion is indicated.

Crimes

The most serious crime represented is robbery armed, for which two of this group were sentenced. Seven were sentenced for breaking and entering in the night time, two for Larceny from a store, and two for forgery. One man was sentenced for each of the following offenses; attempted unlawfully driving away an automobile, breaking and entering in the day time, carrying concealed weapons, felonious assault, robbery not armed, forgery, and escape. Nine men were sentenced to the S.P.S.M. for the same type of crime for which they had been previously sentenced to M.S.R. Six of these were breaking and entering in the night time and three were unlawfully driving away an automobile.

Sentences

The sentences in this group varied from one to two years for larceny from a store to fifteen to thirty years for robbery armed. The mean minimum sentence was three years, four months, seventeen days. The mean maximum sentence in this group was ten years, ten months, two days. The mean sentence, then, was found to be three years, four months, seventeen days, to ten years, ten months, two days, or roughly three-and-one-half to eleven years. This rather high mean sentence can be expected, since all men in this group were second offenders, having served previously at the M.S.R.

Nativity and Parentage

All of the men in this group are native born Americans. Of the group, four are negroes. Of the residents of metropolitan Detroit, two are of Polish parents, one Swedish, one Italian, and one of French-Canadian parentage. The remainder of the entire sample are of native born American parentage.

Marital Status

Seventy-two per cent, or eighteen, have never married. Of the seven remaining men who married, only one had a marital adjustment satisfactory enough to have been living with his wife at the time of his arrest. Three were divorced, and three were separated. The high percentage of single men in this group is to be expected, since the men were institutionalized in the B.V.S. during their early or middle adolescence, incarcerated in the S.P.S.M. during their early manhood. The average age of men committed to the prison within this group

being 24.4, and having one previous incarceration, and one previous juvenile institutionalization, few men would have had time to progress through courtship and marry.

Grade Placement

According to tests when the men entered the institution, the mean grade placement was 5.5, or fifth grade. The standard deviation is 1.8, with a probable error of .17. Grade placement in this group ranged from second to tenth.

Statistical Analysis of Adjustment Scores

The frequency distribution of the adjustment scores derived from the records of the men in group II is shown in the graph on page 104. Scores in this group range from 80.5 to 120.5.

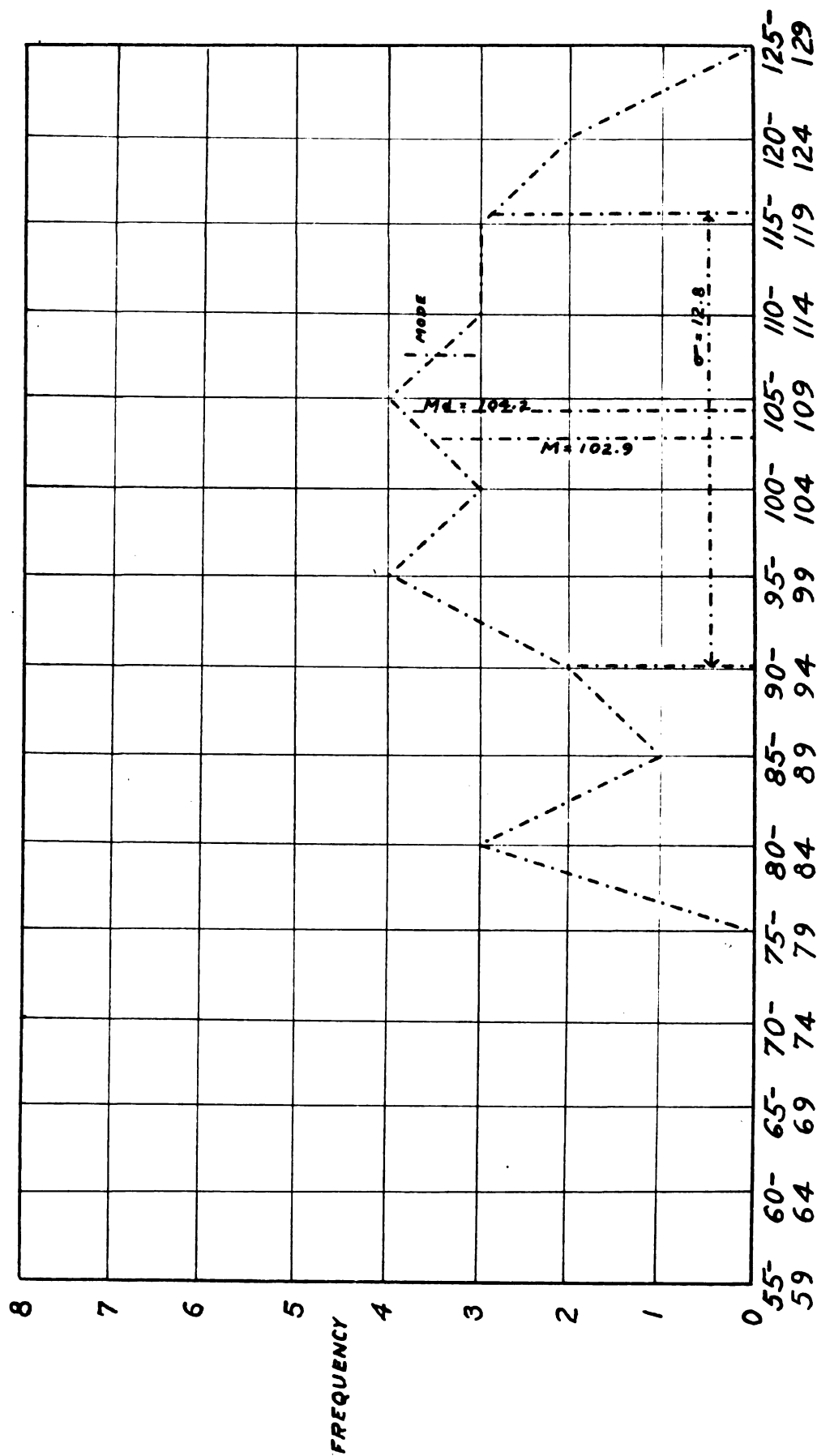
The mean adjustment score in this distribution is 102.9, with a probable error of the mean of 1.5.

The median adjustment score in the distribution is 104.2. The median is shown on the graph as a vertical line labelled Md.

The mode ⁹⁵, or point of maximum frequency, of this distribution is at 107.5. This indicates a grouping of scores 4.6 units above the mean.

95. $M_o = L + \frac{f_2}{f_2 + f_1} \cdot i$ It is noted that in the frequency distribution are two highest points of equal value. The use of the moments indicated that the mode was at 108.5. Although this is the more accurate value of the mode, it was not used mainly because the moments above the second one are unstable, as compared with mean and standard deviation, in samples below 100. The result of the computation were used, however, in the location of the more accurate modal class in determining the mode by the latter method.

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTMENT SCORES IN GROUP II



ADJUSTMENT SCORES

The standard deviation of the frequency distribution of adjustment scores in group II is 12.8, with a probable error of 1.3.

The distribution is somewhat skewed to the left, as is indicated by the computed skewness of $-.3$. This indicates that there is a tendency for a few low scores to exist without equivalent high scores.

Computation of kurtosis shows that the distribution is flat-topped, or platykurtic, to the extent of -1.1 . This indicates that the scores do not tend to gather about the point of maximum frequency.

This distribution is rather smooth when compared with the others. Aside from this, and the fact that the dispersion is not so wide, the curve is somewhat like that of group I.

Case Material

Inmate "C", a Negro, was sent to B.V.S. when he was fifteen years of age, in February, 1937, for breaking and entering a building. He spent his first thirty days in the reception cottage, Cottage 3. Mr. D. the cottage manager, was a difficult man to get along with, for his discipline was rigid. Inmate "C" felt that Mr. D. was interested in boys' futures, however, and prepared them adequately for the regimentation they were to experience in the general group.

After leaving the quarantine cottage, he went to cottage E, and worked in the print shop. He went to school and worked on alternate days with the exception of Sundays. Discipline in

cottage E was rigid at that time. Inmate "C" said that on one occasion he had been "beaten with a chair" for disobeying orders. On several occasions for minor offenses he had been made to "stand on the line", facing the wall, and arms folded at his back. When his arms drooped, light weights were placed in his hands. If he turned his head, as he did once, a wastepaper basket was inverted over his head. When he hunched his shoulders to take the weight off his head, specially made weights had been added to the basket.

The food at B.V.S. was considered good. The rigid regimentation and discipline, however, was not conducive to mental contentment. During his stay at B.V.S., inmate "C" developed the determination to "get even with society". He left B.V.S. in August, 1937.

Inmate "C" was sentenced to the M.S.R. in the early part of 1940 for contributing to the delinquency of a minor. He spent a "quarantine period" at the receiving depot at S.P.S.M. before being transferred to M.S.R. When he arrived at M.S.R., he noted that the food was poorer than at B.V.S., that the G-Ward used for "Quarantine" was old-fashioned, and that he had developed a gloomy and depressed feeling, although the discipline was less rigid at M.S.R. than at B.V.S.

After being released into the general group, he was locked in I block⁹⁶, tier 4. He went to school for four months, after which he worked in the extension department of the school

96. Cell-block designated by the letter I, and fourth tier of cells.

for about a year. After making a satisfactory adjustment, he was released in the summer of 1941.

Inmate "C" was sent to S.P.S.M. in the summer of 1942, for breaking and entering a building. After spending about a month in "Quarantine", he was placed on the textile factory assignment. His adjustment has been average during his stay at S.P. S.M.

He feels that the discipline is much more lax at S.P.S.M. than in B.V.S. or M.S.R. He felt that M.S.R. was a compromise between the rigid regimentation at B.V.S. and the loose discipline at S.P.S.M. He feels that the looser control of the inmate body allows the "prison politicians" to operate among the inmate body. These inmate "prison politicians" often hold, or control in some underhanded manner, the "key" inmate clerical positions. The men in these "key" clerical positions can obtain special details, good or bad reports, and in other ways control a phase of inmate life by reporting as needs their opinions or desires to the civilian supervisor. When these needs are filled, or the report on a man is made, the influence of the "prison politician" is felt. This influence can be bought with "packs"⁹⁷ or by innumerable other means. This system of inmate politics and "conniving"⁹⁸ gives rise to the

97. Packages of cigarettes.

98. "Conniving" is prison slang used to describe an inmate who gains his ends by participation in the system of "inmate politics" or by approaching selected civilian employees, expressing noble, unselfish, and untrue reasons to gain his ends. Possible ends could be some special privilege.

statement frequently heard in the inmate body that "the officials work at the prison, but the 'cons' run the joint".

That this system of prison politics is learned by prison experience is indicated by the fact that few first-termers without previous experience are in the key positions. Inmate "C" said that this system is learned to some extent at M.S.R., and by the time a man reaches S.P.S.M., he has developed into a "conniver" or one who participates in the system. Continued participation in this system develops a feeling among the officers and supervisors that an inmate is "unreliable", although usually nothing more tangible than this is reported. Generally poorer adjustment according to the records, however, appears to be quite often the result, especially in instances where the "politicians" and/or "conniver" attempts to exert influence to such an extent that it is discovered by an official.

Inmate "D" was sent to B.V.S. in 1931, at the age of fifteen, for stealing a canoe. Upon his arrival, he was placed in cottage 7, then the reception cottage. His first impressions were that the discipline was unnecessarily severe. During his thirty days at the reception cottage, he developed an intense fear and hatred for Mr. D., the cottage manager.

After leaving the reception cottage, he was placed in cottage E. He found that the discipline used by Mr. D. was used throughout the entire institution, and was even intensified by Mr. J., cottage manager of cottage E. He felt that the administration was trying to scare the boys. He said that he

was frightened at first, but then began to acclimate himself to the B.V.S. and "didn't scare worth a d--n". He had to "stand on the line" on several occasions for not sleeping on his back with his hands outside the covers, and was punished on other occasions by being forced to do knee stoops. He was particularly shocked at the extent of the homo-sexual activities which prevailed at B.V.S. Inmate "D" said that much more homo-sexual activities were practiced at B.V.S. than at M.S.R. or at S.P.S.M., and added that many boys learn the practice at B.V.S.

During his stay at B.V.S., inmate "D" worked on "Dakin's line", doing farm labor every other day. On the alternate days, he went to machine shop for vocational training.

His adjustment at B.V.S. was not good. He was often truant from the institution. Frequently he "stood on the line" for various offenses. On one occasion, he spent seven months in the disciplinary cottage for truancy. Inmate "D" felt that B.V.S. was too severe, and that the boys were worked too hard. "Ridiculous" rules were said to be abundant.

In spite of all this, inmate "D" felt that life at B.V.S. was not as difficult as it probably was in many other institutions. The food was good, and there was enough of it. His main criticism was that life in B.V.S. was too drab--too routine. He added that he violated rules for excitement. He was released from B.V.S. in 1933.

Inmate "D" was sentenced to eight months to five years in the M.S.R. in 1934 for unlawfully driving away an automobile.

He spent fourteen days in G-ward during the quarantine period. He accepted this incarceration in a matter-of-fact manner, having become accustomed to institutionalization in the juvenile school. He was locked in J-block, and worked on the outside lumber gang as a trusty. He said that he "took the time in stride", made a good adjustment, and M.S.R. had no effect upon him the first time. He was paroled after a six-months' stay, receiving his special good time off for good behavior.

Inmate "D" was again sentenced to M.S.R. to one to fifteen years in 1935 for breaking and entering in the night time. He spent another fourteen-day period in G-ward for quarantine. This time, he said he did not "take it in stride". He associated with the other prisoners more intimately, and learned the ways of the reformatory.

He was locked in E-ward, and worked in the rag shop this time. In the rag shop, each man had to "make task", or produce a set quota of production. If an inmate failed to "make task", he had to "stand on the line". If he failed to "make task" three times, he was placed in solitary confinement for thirty days on a limited diet. During his period of stay in the rag shop, the act was passed by the State legislature prohibiting the sale of prison-made commodities on the open market. He became very vindictive when he related how "the officials sneaked stuff out" for sale on the open market after the law became effective, and kept the profit. He added that the offenders were caught, and a change of wardens was effected.

Inmate "D" worked for a year on "Kelley's clean-up gang", and was locked in I-block. This work was hard and tedious. During his last three months at M.S.R., he worked outside the walls at the greenhouse. After twenty-six months in the reformatory, he was paroled in 1937.

He began to see the beginnings of "prison politics" at M.S.R., but the situation was not bad. Supervision at M.S.R. was nearly as rigid as that at B.V.S., but the treatment at B.V.S. was wholly group treatment. At M.S.R., however, there were the beginnings of individualized treatment. Inmate "D" said that one notable difference between B.V.S. and M.S.R. was that the inmates "had to bribe the custodial officers at M.S.R. with cigarettes, hand-made articles", or other media of exchange, in order to be allowed to enjoy any special privileges unmolested.

Inmate "D" was sent to the S.P.S.M. for the remainder of his natural life in early 1938 for robbery armed. After spending one month in the vocational school, he worked in the central stores, where he remained for two years. In the summer of 1940, he began to work at the identification bureau of the prison. He took an interest in fingerprinting and identification in 1941 to such an extent that by 1943 he had developed a simplified system of fingerprint classification, and had a contract with a Chicago publisher for a book.

Inmate "D" said he had developed an intense hatred for the administration at B.V.S., and had identified with it general society. He had developed an intense hatred for society

and disrespect for law that was not to be overcome for eight years. The inequalities and injustices of society were magnified in his adolescent mind. He feels that he harbored this intense anti-social bitterness for a long while. By the time he had had experience at M.S.R., these grudges had dulled somewhat in their intensity, and he had become more cynical than bitter. His M.S.R. experience taught him to accept these social injustices, and make the best of an unfortunate situation.

Inmate "D" was particularly impressed by the lack of rigid supervision at S.P.S.M. As compared with B.V.S. and M.S.R. he termed S.P.S.M. a "playhouse". Because of the less rigid supervision, men are able to violate rules more frequently without being caught than they were able to at B.V.S. or M.S.R. Previous institutional experience helps the inmate to recognize this situation, and he usually takes advantage of it. First-termers, he said, are "dazed", and don't do anything wrong because "they don't know the score".

At S.P.S.M., inmate "D" said that the inmate generally has to deal with other inmates in key positions to advance anywhere, or to get a good job, special detail, or special privileges. These transactions are usually enhanced by offers of cigarettes, currency, or some personal service. This type of transaction has been termed "conniving".

Inmate "D" said that his experience at M.S.R. convinced him that the parole board does not consider a man's record seriously. If he has a bad record, then he has not adjusted well enough to be paroled. If his conduct record is clear,

he said the parole board feels the inmate is "stir-wise"⁹⁹. For this reason, inmate "D" felt that men with reformatory experience do not consider their records seriously. First-termers, however, "are always pussyfooting around about their records", so that they can impress the parole board favorably.

Summary

Statistical analysis indicates a fairly wide diversity of adjustment scores in that the distribution is platykurtic to the extent of -1.1. The dispersion is not as wide as that of group I. The case material tends to show that the adjustment pattern of the members of group II is probably based more upon orientation to penal life than the more highly emotionalized and idealistic foundations for adjustment found in group I. It is noted that both factors are present in Group II. The one does not replace the other, but, rather, complements it.

99. Well enough oriented in the prison routine so that he has become a "prison politician" or "conniver".

Chapter IX

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF GROUP III

Group III is the group of twenty-five men who have not been in the B.V.S., who have been incarcerated in the L.S.R., and who have come to the S.F.S.M. for the first time. The cases in group III were matched with those in groups I and II on the basis of residence background, race, religion, and intelligence. They had previously met the requirements prescribed in chapter IV.

Age Distribution

The ages represented by this group run from eighteen to thirty-five. The average age is 23.1, with a standard deviation of 7.7. The standard deviation has a probable error of 2.3. This standard deviation is exceptionally wide as compared with those in groups I and II. A broad dispersion of ages is indicated. It is reasonable to suppose that the age distribution in this group is considerably affected by the arbitrary limits set.

The wide standard deviation indicates that the sample does not represent well the age group of the men without B. V.S. experience, with reformatory experience, and later committed to prison. It means that as far as age is concerned, the limits for the group have been set arbitrarily without consideration of the actual age range.

Crimes

The most serious crime represented in the group is second degree murder, for which one man was sentenced. Five of

the men were sentenced for robbery armed. All six of these men sentenced for the more serious crimes are residents of metropolitan Detroit. One man was sentenced for assault with intent to rob armed. Four men were sentenced for unlawfully driving away an automobile. Two were sentenced for breaking and entering in the night time, second felony. Four were sentenced for breaking and entering in the night time, and one receiving a concurrent sentence for larceny in a building. One was sentenced for attempted breaking and entering in the night time. One was sentenced on two concurrent sentences for larceny in a building. One man was sentenced for each of the following: larceny from a dwelling, larceny from a store, assault with intent to rape, felonious assault, and unlawfully driving away an automobile without intent to steal. Because two of the men were sentenced on two concurrent charges, there are twenty-seven sentences in this group rather than twenty-five. Ten of the men were sentenced to the S.P.S.M. for the same type of charge for which they were sentenced to the M.S.R.

Sentences

The sentences in this group varied from one to two years for unlawfully driving away an automobile without intent to steal to fifteen to thirty years for second degree murder. The mean minimum sentence was four years, six months, and four days. The mean maximum sentence was twelve years, one month, and twenty-nine days. The mean sentence, then, was roughly four-and-a-half to twelve years. The rather high

mean sentence is to be expected, since all men in this group are second offenders, having served previously at the M.S.R. and since second-termers are given longer sentences by statute.

Nativity and Parentage

All of the men of this group are native-born Americans. Of the group, four are Negroes. Of the residents of metropolitan Detroit, two were of Polish parentage, and one of Italian. The remainder of the group had American-born parentage. Eighty eight per cent of the men of group III were of native American parentage.

Marital Status

Fourteen, or fifty-six per cent, of the group had never married, although two, both Negroes from metropolitan Detroit, had been living in common-law relationship. Eleven men had been married. One of this group was separated, two divorced, and eight enjoyed marital relationships sufficiently congenial to be still living with their wives at the times of their arrests.

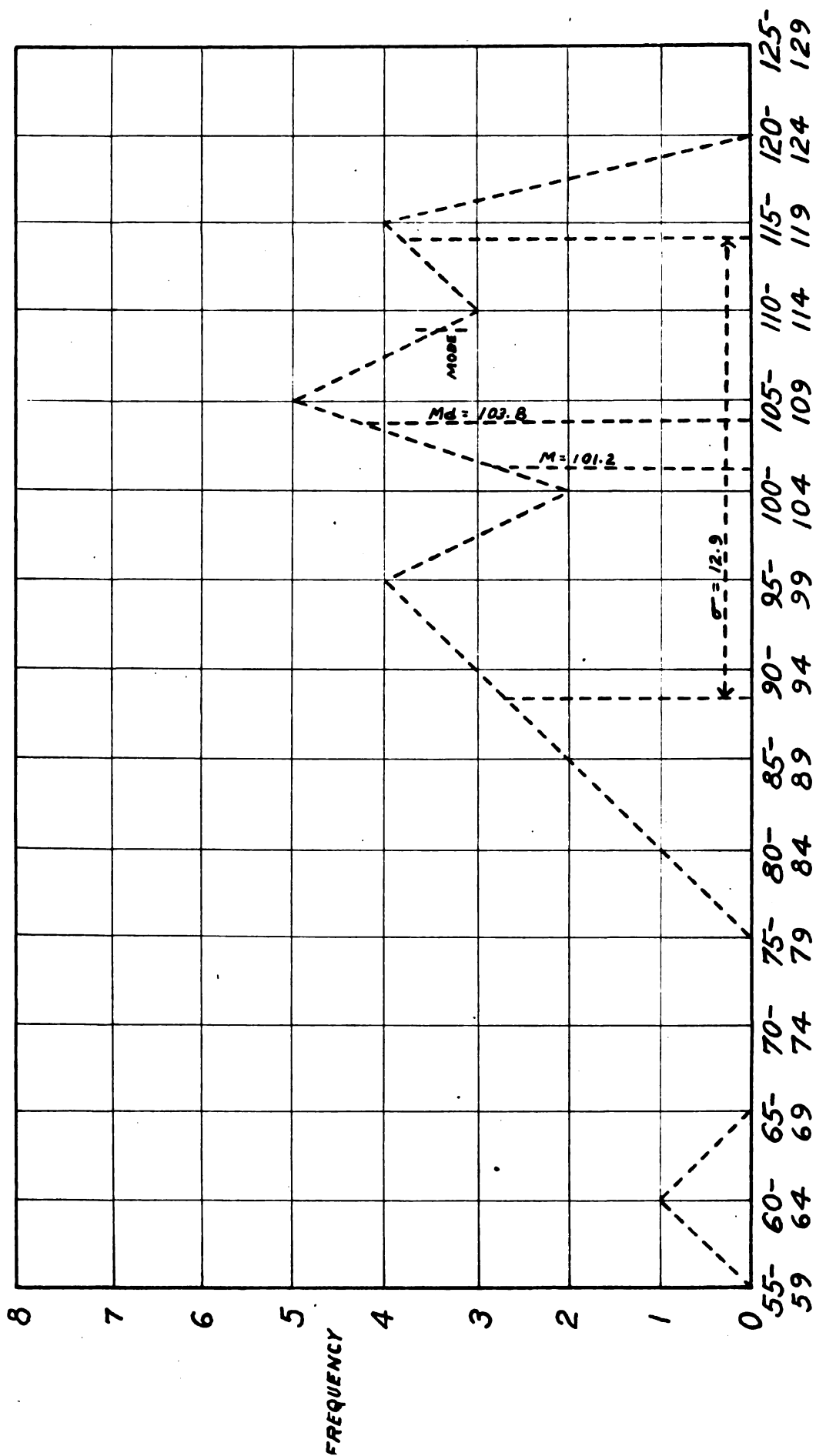
Grade Placement

The average grade placement of the men in group III, according to the educational tests, is 5.7, or fifth grade. The standard deviation is 1.9, with a probable error of .2. The grades range from third to tenth.

Statistical Analysis of Adjustment Scores

The frequency distribution of the adjustment scores derived from group III are shown in the graph on page 117. The

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTMENT SCORES IN GROUP III



ADJUSTMENT SCORES

scores in this group range from 61.9 to 118.0.

The mean adjustment score in this group is 101.2, with a probable error of the mean of 1.7.

The median adjustment score in the distribution of adjustment scores of group III is 103.8.

The mode of this frequency distribution is at 108.0. This indicates that there is a tendency for the scores to group 6.8 units above the mean.

The standard deviation of the frequency distribution of adjustment scores in group III is 12.9, with a probable error of 1.2.

Computation of skewness of the adjustment scores of group III show a tendency to skew to the left to the extent of -.2.

The kurtosis of the frequency distribution of adjustment scores in group III is 1.0. This indicates that the distribution is peaked, or leptokurtic, and that the degree of concentration about the point of maximum frequency is high.

This is a curve in which a large number of cases gather around the point of maximum frequency. The dispersion is average. An extremely low score is found at the lower end of the scale, but other than this, the distribution is fairly smooth.

Case Material

Inmate "E" was sentenced to the M.S.R. to 1½ to 5 years for unlawfully driving away an automobile, in 1936. Upon his arrival at M.S.R., he was placed in G-ward for a thirty day quarantine period. During this time he was given medical and

psychological tests.

Inmate "E" was afraid of penal incarceration when he went to Ionia. The old-fashioned, gloomy, two-tier cell-block called G-ward met with his expectations of prison. The "silence system" found throughout M.S.R. seemed depressing.

After the quarantine period was over, he was released into the general group, and locked¹⁰⁰ in I-5¹⁰¹. I-5 was known to the inmate as "Hollywood", or the block and tier of cells set aside for the younger men, referred to by the inmates as "beautiful boys and punks"¹⁰². He did not like to lock in this block because of the segregation. He felt that he was able to cope with his own adjustment problems in M.S.R.

Inmate "E" attended school for four months. At the end of that time the educational department had wanted him for a teacher. He refused because his inmate supervisor would have been a man commonly known as "a rat, a fingerer, a stoolie"¹⁰³.

He worked in the print shop for two months, but his work was considered unsatisfactory, and he was removed from the assignment. He worked as a Hall Boy in I-block, 4th

100. "Lock" in prison parlance is a verb designating the cell where an inmate lives or is locked.

101. I-block, 5th gallery. "I" is the letter designating the cell-block. "Gallery" is the number assigned to the tier of cells in a cell-block.

102. "Beautiful boys and punks" were those young men considered as potential or actual passive partners in homosexuality.

103. An inmate who informs prison officials of the illegitimate activities of other inmates.

gallery for 1 month. Textile and Kitchen workers locked on the 4th gallery of I-block. Because of stricter custodial officers on I-4¹⁰⁴ than on I-5¹⁰⁵ adjustment was unsatisfactory and he was removed from the assignment.

He moved to J-block, locking on 5th gallery, where the officers were considered good, in that supervision was less stringent. He worked in the chair factory under maximum supervision. "Task" was allotted in the chair factory, and if one did not "make task", he would "stand on the floor". Task was usually figured on the basis of best performance in the day. Standing on the floor because of failure to make task, meant standing facing the wall with hands folded at the back, through the supper hour and after supper until bed time. The inmate being punished did not get the evening meal. Inmate "E" spent six months in the chair factory. During his stay at M.S.R., he had one misconduct report for shouting and one for failure to make task. His general adjustment was not satisfactory, a condition which inmate "E" attributes to his failure to like regimentation. All of his time in M.S.R. was scheduled. The most monotonous routine was the ball game every Sunday which all inmates were required to attend. He was released on parole in 1938.

Later in 1938, he was sentenced to S.P.S.M. from Ingham County, for robbery armed, for a period of 5 to 10 years, with an accomplice. After leaving quarantine, he worked in

104. 4th gallery of I-block.

105. 5th gallery of I-block.

the laundry for six months, with an unsatisfactory record. Because of this, he was removed from the assignment. He remained idle for nine months. At this time, he entered the commercial school, and learned shorthand and typewriting. His first year of adjustment was unfavorable, but his conduct, work record, and general adjustment has continued to improve from his second year until the present time.

Upon his arrival at S.P.S.M. his impressions were that the supervision was far less stringent than at M.S.R. He feels that his M.S.R. experience made him more cautious, and taught him how to avoid work assignments which have maximum supervision. He felt he was a better "prison politician or conniver" because of his M.S.R. experience. He considered the heaviest supervision at S.P.S.M. even less stringent than the light supervision at Ionia. The racial question seemed more serious at S.P.S.M. than at M.S.R. because M.S.R. segregated colored men by all tiers, although they are found in every cell block. At S.P.S.M. there is no segregation, and at times this question interferes with adjustment. Inmate "L" pointed out that the "sex game of wolves and punks"¹⁰⁶ is far more intensified at S.P.S.M. than at M.S.R. He said, that Ionia teaches many inmates the art.

The discipline at S.P.S.M. is different from Ionia. At Ionia the discipline consists mainly of "standing on the floor". For a major offense, the "bull pen", or solitary confinement

106. Homo-sexual practices.

is used. Two slices of bread and a cup of water, called "cake and wine" by the inmates, were fed to the men in the "bull pen", or solitary confinement, for the first 5 days. On the fifth day and thereafter one meal a day is served. The maximum period of sentence in the "bull pen" at M.S.R. was twenty-one days. At S.F.S.M. the maximum period of sentence in the "bull pen" was ninety days, bread and water is sometimes served the first three days, and one meal per day served thereafter. Sometimes one meal a day is served throughout, and occasionally three meals a day. For minor offenses a man is "top-locked"¹⁰⁷ in his own cell.

Inmate "E" felt that the main reason for the difference in adjustment of men with and without M.S.R. experience, is that those with M.S.R. experience are better oriented in prison routine and are less easily intimidated by the officials and other inmates. He added that many of the men he knew at M.S.R. had come to S.F.S.M., and his association with them tends to place undue emphasis upon social injustices, and tends to create resentment, which, in turn, affects adjustment at S.F.S.M.

Inmate "F" was sentenced to M.S.R. in 1936 to one to fifteen years for breaking and entering in the night time. He spent about two weeks in G-ward, this constituting his "quarantine" period. During this time medical and psychological

107. "Top-locked" is where the mechanism is adjusted so that a man cannot open his cell door, while other men on the same tier can leave their cells.

examination were given him. His reaction to the quarantine block was merely that it was "strange", and nothing like anything to which he had been accustomed.

When he was released into the general group, he locked on I-5. This was known as "Hollywood". He worked at the powerhouse during his entire stay at M.S.R. Much of the time was spent locked in his cell. Discipline was strict, regimentation was rigid, and food was unsatisfactory to the inmate. He played ball on Sundays with the M.S.R. team when it played teams from outside the walls. He was released from M.S.R. in the latter part of 1938.

Inmate "F" was sentenced to S.P.S.M. for breaking and entering in the night time, second felony, in the latter part of 1941. After leaving quarantine, he worked in the shoe factory one month. He worked two months in the textile plant, and eleven months at the gymnasium. His adjustment in prison was average.

Inmate "F" mentioned that many more boast of their long criminal records at S.P.S.M. than at M.S.R. There were older men at S.P.S.M., as well as younger men who were not considered by the classification committee as being "reformatory material". As a result, the inmate body of S.P.S.M. is made up of cases whose prognoses are generally less favorable than those at M.S.R.

Inmate "F" found that the supervision at S.P.S.M. was much less stringent than at M.S.R. He felt that the inmate was allowed too much time outside his cell at S.P.S.M. Ever

since his arrival, he has been impressed by the immense size of the prison. This he felt is the reason for the lax supervision. He said that S.F.S.M. is so large it is crumbling by its own weight through inability of the custodial force to supervise the program adequately. In order to get a good inmate job, he felt that a man must buy the influence of the inmate clerks or the "prison politicians". Some of this was done at M.S.R., but he said that was "merely a spring warm-up" compared to conditions at S.F.S.M. The men who have had previous penal experience are better at playing inmate politics and at "conniving" than the first-termers. The more experienced inmate, the "conniver", gets the good jobs. This influences the inmate body to develop slyness, treachery, and cunning. This, of course, leads to maladjustment as far as the officials are concerned when an inmate is caught.

Inmate "F" felt that at M.S.R., the inmate body was well supervised, and each inmate was advanced in the reformatory according to his merit. At S.F.S.M., however, inmate "F" felt that the supervision was so lax that it was a case of every man for himself. Those with previous institutional experience tended to recognize the situation quicker, take advantage of it, and either get an "easy go"¹⁰⁸, or carry it so far that the situation is recognized by the prison officials. Inmate "F" said that first-termers do not get into trouble because of "conniving", for they do not know the situation

108. Good job.

as well as the more experienced men.

Summary

The case material indicates that the difference between S.P.S.M. and M.S.R. are the direct or indirect results of size and the more hopeful types of cases sent to M.S.R. Both men minimized the importance of the factor of selection, and emphasized the opinion that difference of adjustment in prison between various groups of inmates may be attributed to differences in the quantity and quality of past institutional experience.

Chapter X

FIRST OFFENDERS WITHOUT JUVENILE INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Group IV is the group of twenty-five men who had come to the S.P.S.M. for the first time, without having been in either the B.V.S. or the M.S.R. The men of Group IV were selected by individual matching with cases of Groups I, II, and III on the basis of residence background, race, religion, and intelligence.

Age Distribution

The ages represented by the group range from nineteen to thirty-four. The mean age is 26.1, with a standard deviation of 7.8. The standard deviation has a probable error of 2.3. This is a very wide standard deviation as compared to Groups I and II. It is very close to that of Group III. The wide standard deviation indicates that the sample is controlled only by arbitrarily set limits, and does not represent the actual age range.

Crimes

The most serious crime represented in this group is second degree murder, for which one man was sentenced. Five men were sentenced for breaking and entering in the night time, one of whom was also sentenced for rape. One other man was sentenced for rape only. Two men were sentenced for larceny by conversion. One man was sentenced for each of the following crimes; breaking and entering in the day time, attempted larceny from the person, leaving scene of an accident, larceny in a store, possession of stench bomb, felonious assault, as-

sault with intent to do great bodily harm less than the crime of murder, robbery not armed, robbery armed, pandering, breaking and entering an automobile, unlawfully driving away an automobile, receiving stolen property of the value of \$75.00, keeping gaming table, lewd and lascivious cohabitation, and cruel and unlawful punishment of children. There are twenty-six sentences, one man having been sentenced for breaking and entering in the night time and rape, concurrently.

Sentences

The sentences in this group varied from one to one year¹⁰⁹ for lewd and lascivious cohabitation to fifteen to thirty years for rape. The mean minimum sentence is three years, six months, and seven days. The mean maximum sentence is ten years, one month, five days. The average is roughly three-and-a-half to ten years. These men are first-termers, but they are, on the average, older men. The rather low mean maximum sentence and the medium mean minimum sentence may be caused by legal statute setting the maximum, and judges setting the minimum, thereby allowing judges to accommodate their sentencing with their idea of what should be done with those persons "old enough to know better".

Nativity and Parentage

All of the men of this group are native-born Americans. Of this group four are Negroes. Of the residents of metropol-

109. Legal "indeterminate" sentence in Michigan for this particular crime.

itan Detroit, one is of Polish parentage and one is of Italian-born parentage. One of the men from Michigan's "second" cities was of Canadian-born parentage. The remaining twenty-two cases in this group, including the four Negroes, had American-born parentage.

Marital Status

Sixty-four per cent, or sixteen, of the cases in Group IV had never married, although one of the Negroes from metropolitan Detroit had been living in common-law relationship. Nine of the men had been married. Of these nine, two were separated, and one was widowed by his crime. Six of the men were married, and had maintained relationships sufficiently congenial to be still living with their wives at the time of their arrests.

Grade Placement

The average grade placement of the men in Group IV upon their admissions is 5.8, or fifth grade. The standard deviation is 2.1, with a probable error of .2. The grade placement ranged from first to ninth.

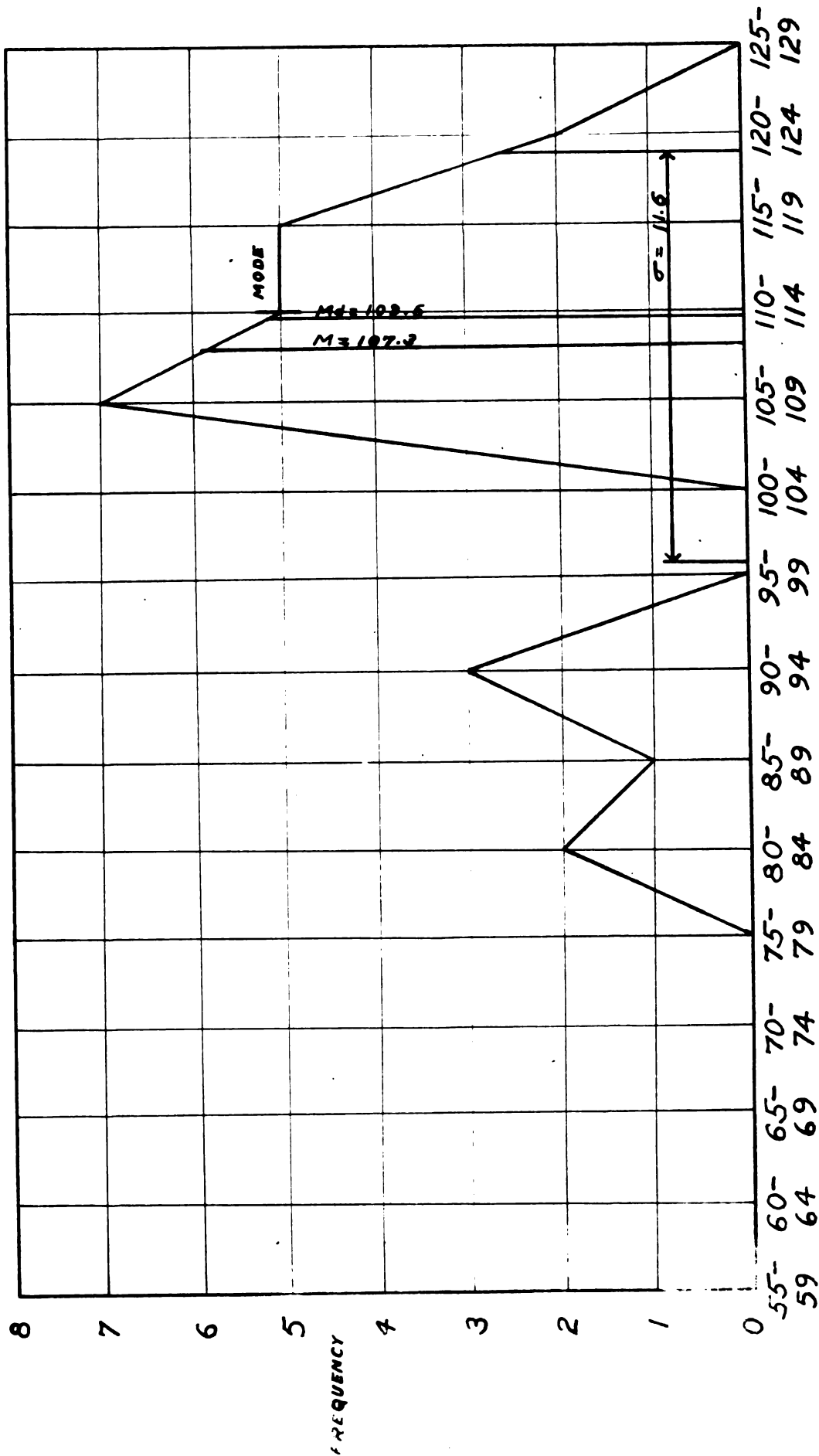
Statistical Analysis of Adjustment Scores

The frequency distribution of the adjustment scores derived from the records of the men of Group IV is bimodal, as shown in the graph on page 129. Scores in this group range from 82.6 to 124.6.

The mean adjustment in this group is 107.3, with a probable error of 1.6.

The median adjustment score in this distribution is 109.6. This would indicate a slightly symmetrical distribution when

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTMENT SCORES IN GROUP IV



ADJUSTMENT SCORES

compared with the mean.

The mode of this entire distribution is at 110.0. This shows a tendency for the scores in this group to gather 2.7 units above the mean, and is indicative of an asymmetrical curve, negatively skewed.

The standard deviation of the frequency distribution of adjustment scores in Group IV is 11.6, with a probable error of 1.1. This dispersion is a little narrower than the other groups.

Computation of skewness shows that the distribution is skewed to the left to the extent of $-.6$. This is indicative that the curve is significantly skewed to the left.

Kurtosis of the adjustment scores is $-.4$. This indicates that the distribution is mesokurtic, or that the incidence of cases occurring at the point of maximum frequency is about average.

This is a bimodal curve, the two parts of which are separated by two entire class intervals. In the lower curve are six cases of poor adjustment which bring the mean of the entire distribution down appreciably. At the other extreme, the curve representing the better adjusted group, every one of the nineteen cases represented have higher adjustment scores than the mean or median adjustment score of any of the other three groups. This would indicate that there are at least two distinct modes of reaction as to adjustment in prison among those men without previous institutional experience. The reasons for this variation may be involved in individually

different mental sets and adaptabilities when coming to prison.

Case Material

Inmate "G" sentenced to S.F.S.M. in the latter part of 1940, for grand larceny. He spent thirty days in "quarantine", during which time he went through the educational, medical, and psychological examinations. When he was classified, he was assigned to work as a stenographer in the classification department, where he remained during his entire period of incarceration.

Prison was not as he imagined it. When he came, he was surprised at the freedom from inhumane punishment, general freedom in the prison yard and unusually congenial treatment from the officers, prison authorities, and the inmates. Rather than being placed in lock-step and regimented severely, as he had expected, he was placed on his own responsibility from the time he came in. The contrast between what he had expected and what he experienced after coming to prison reconciled him to reciprocate by making a good adjustment.

He felt that some of the factors which contribute to varying adjustments may be involved in selection. The men with previous institutional experience might probably be those who were unable to adjust in their own community, unable to adjust in juvenile institutions, or reformatories. This maladjustment becoming a habit, it would be continued in the S.F.S.M. or any other prison.

One hindrance he found in prison is the inability to take

orders without resentment, after having managed his own affairs for so many years on the outside.

Inmate "G" was of the opinion that first-termers adjust better than inmates with previous experience because of a genuine attempt to return cooperation for the unexpected humane treatment received in prison. He felt that the better orientation of the repeater prepared him to expect humane treatment anyway, and so he would not be as much disposed with cooperation as would the first-termers.

Inmate "H" was sentenced to S.P.S.M. in the latter part of 1941 for robbery armed. After spending forty-seven days in "Quarantine", he was released into the general group. He worked in the kitchen for thirteen months. Inmate "H" worked in the classification department as a clerk for eleven months. He then returned to the kitchen.

Inmate "H" expected severe discipline and rigid regimentation in prison. Upon his arrival, however, he was surprised at the freedom within the walls. As he became better acquainted, he was shocked at the prevailing homo-sexual activities found in the inmate body, particularly in the colored group. He said that pocket knives and currency were in abundance within the walls of the prison.

To inmate "H", the most surprising activity was the system of "prison politics", in which inmates buy the influence of other inmates in key positions. An inmate clerk can make out an order for a privilege, inform his supervisor that the privilege is needed for some reason or other, and the supervisor signs it. Upon the word of the supervisor, the deputy

warden signs the order, and it becomes valid. On one assignment, for example, a prevailing rate had been five packages of cigarettes for an "eight fifteen detail"¹¹⁰, eight "packs"¹¹¹ for a nine-thirty detail, and a carton for an eleven o'clock detail.

Inmate "H" was surprised that many things had to be bought among inmates. Haircuts cost one "pack", for example. The payments have been usually in "packs". Sometimes currency has been used. Currency has been valued more highly than "packs" because it is more scarce. The ratio of exchange has been one "pack" as equal to ten cents in currency. On occasion illicit gambling debts have been paid by personal homosexual services.

Because of these practices within the prison walls, inmate "H" felt that many first-termers have been figuratively dazed with surprise at not finding what they had expected in prison. Many first-termers have been bewildered, frightened, and lost in the large prison. The men with previous institutional experience are better oriented.

Inmate "H" pointed out that many of the men with B.V.S. experience have developed strong feelings of resentment against society in general. These feelings of resentment have intensified greatly with subsequent incarcerations. The first-termer, however, usually has not developed this resentment until

110. An eight-fifteen detail means that the inmate does not have to be in his cell for periodic counts until the one at eight-fifteen.

111. Package of cigarettes.

he has been incarcerated for two or three years.

Sometimes, inmate "H" added, a first-terminer has "tried to act like an experienced criminal", becomes surly, and is in general maladjusted. This has occurred in only a few cases.

Inmate "H" felt that first-termers are more concerned about their records than are those men who have had B.V.S. and/or M.S.R. experience. He felt that the group from B.V.S. have been particularly careless about their records. Some of the men with M.S.R. experience consider their records seriously because they may not know that the parole board is interested in good records. First-termers, however, inmate "H" felt, are fairly universally considerate of their records.

Summary

The case material indicates that first-termers have been surprised by the difference between what they had expected to find in prison and what actually existed. Both cases interviewed for this chapter were affected significantly by this difference between mental set and actual conditions. Both were impressed by the freedom in the modern prison. One expressed a determination to reciprocate cooperation for the humane treatment he had received in prison. The other said he had been dazed and bewildered by the difference. In either case, the result was improved adjustment to the prison program.

Chapter XI

EFFECT OF REFORMATORY EXPERIENCE

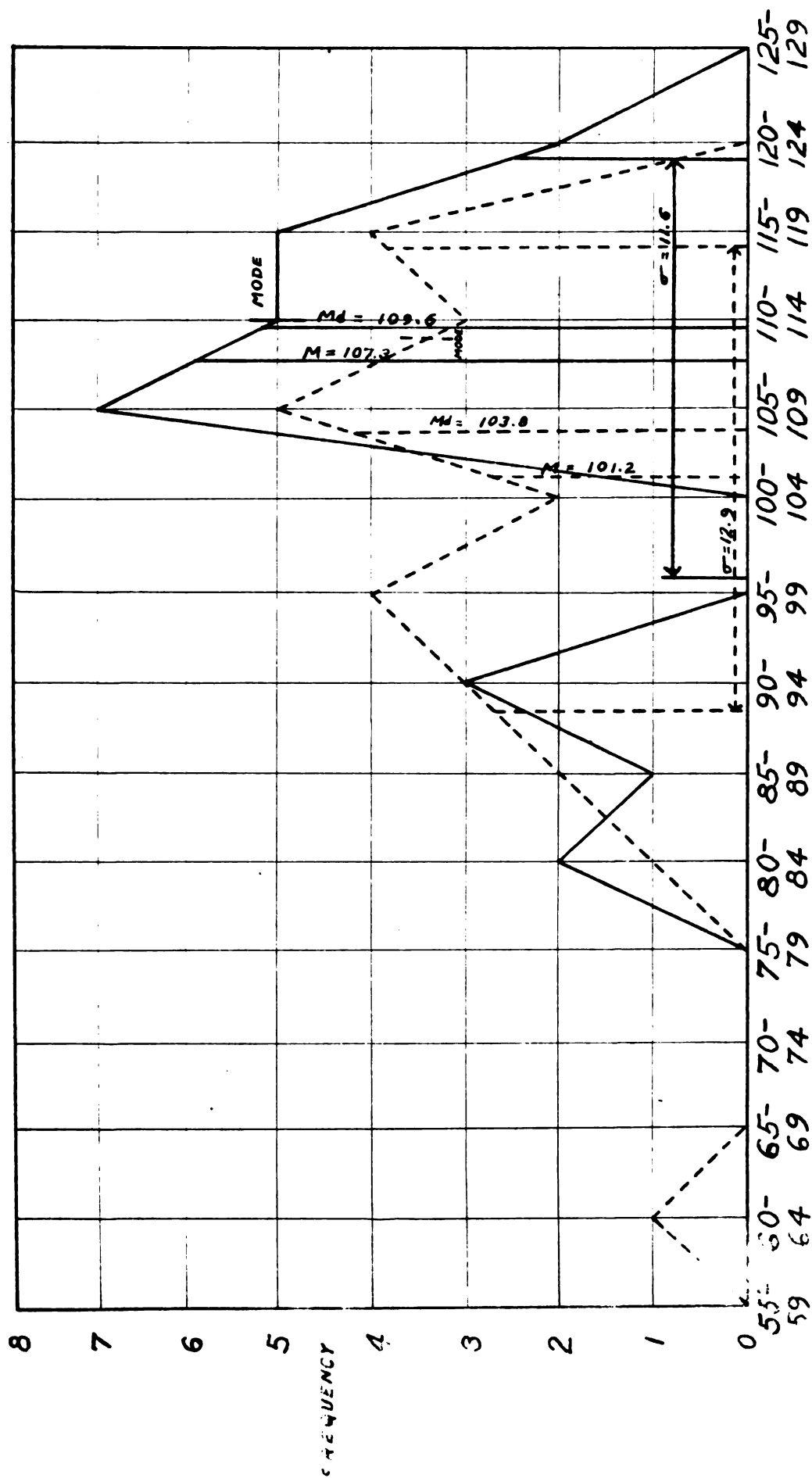
The effect of the intermediate reformatory experience upon the adjustment of an inmate in prison was investigated in order to compare it with the effect of juvenile incarceration alone upon the adjustment in prison. The essential differences and similarities between the effects of juvenile institutionalization and reformatory experience can be found on the basis of this information. In this way the influences which are peculiar to the juvenile institutionalization and to the reformatory experience could be somewhat isolated, and a more objective and true idea of the effect of juvenile incarceration could be found. To determine the effect of reformatory experience taken by itself upon the adjustment of an inmate in prison. Groups III and IV were studied comparatively, and cases with M.S.R. experience have been discussed.

Statistical Comparison of Groups III and IV

The frequency distributions of the adjustment scores of Groups III and IV are depicted on the graph on page 136.

The mean adjustment score of Group III is 101.2. The mean score of Group IV is 107.3. The critical ratio between these two means is 1.7. This critical ratio probably represents a significant difference because it approaches closely to 2.0 despite the smallness of the sample. It was noted that this seemingly low critical ratio is fairly high when compared to the critical ratios between the means of Groups I, II, and III. Each of the critical ratios between the mean

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTMENT SCORES IN GROUPS III AND IV



--- III
--- IV

ADJUSTMENT SCORES

of Group IV and that of any other group is relatively high. Critical ratios between the mean Group IV and that of each of the other groups range from 1.1 to 1.7, as compared with the range from 0.0 to 0.4 which represents the critical ratios between any two means of Groups I, II, and III. For these reasons, it was felt that the difference between the mean adjustment scores of Groups III and IV are consistently, if not significantly, different.

The median adjustment score of Group III is 108.8, as compared with a 109.6 median score for Group IV. This difference appeared fairly wide.

The mode of the Group III distribution was 108.0. The mode of the Group IV distribution was at 110.0. This indicates a tendency in both distributions for scores to gather above the mean.

The standard deviation of the frequency distribution of adjustment scores in Group III is 12.9, as compared with a standard deviation of 11.6 in Group IV.

Both distributions are skewed to the left group III to the extent of -0.2, and Group IV to -0.6.

Group III's distribution is leptokurtic to the extent of 1.0. The Group IV scores are mesokurtic, having a computed kurtosis of -0.4. This indicates that the scores in Group III have a greater tendency to gather about the point of maximum frequency.

This statistical analysis shows that the shape of the frequency distributions of Groups III and IV tend to be similar,

with the exception of skewness. Statisticians do not generally expect a skewness of more than 1. In view of this, the difference in skewness of $-.2$ and $-.6$ for groups III and IV, respectively, may be significant. The adjustment values representing group IV, however, are consistently higher, the difference approaching a significant critical ratio despite the smallness of the sample.

The four-fold Chi-square method of determining significance¹¹² gave a Chi-square value of 4.536 with one degree of freedom. The Chi-square value was computed by comparing the adjustments scores of 105 and above with those below 105 in each distribution. Each distribution was compared with the other. This resulted in a P of about .04, signifying that there existed but four chances out of one hundred that the difference in the frequency distribution was due to chance. The four per cent level of significance is considered reliable, even in random and unmatched samples. The Chi-square test, then, indicated that a significant difference exists.

Processes Involved in Differential Adjustment

The case material indicated rather definite processes in the adjustment of inmate in prison on the basis of conditioning in the reformatory. These processes have been summarized in this section with the intent of discovering some reasons for the generally poorer adjustment of those inmates with previous reformatory experience.

112. J.P. Guilford; PSYCHOMETRIC METHODS, 1936, p. 354-7.

It is acknowledged that some of this differential adjustment must be due to selection of cases which are constantly maladjusted wherever they may be. This factor is, of course, minimized by most inmates for obvious reasons. They would not want to class themselves in a category of the chronically maladjusted. It cannot be known at this time the extent to which the factor of selection is operating, but it is felt that it does not constitute a large enough proportion of the sample used to negate the findings of this investigation.

A notable observation of inmates with reformatory experience is that the S.P.S.M. is so large that supervision of the inmate body is of necessity far less rigid than supervision at M.S.R. One of the cases interviewed, and other inmates in friendly conversation, have referred to S.P.S.M. as a "playhouse", or the "Cooper Street Country Club", for this reason. In the opinion of the inmates in general, S.P.S.M. is known as "an easy place to do time". The food has been considered better than at M.S.R. More privileges are available at S.P.S.M.

The laxity of custodial supervision at S.P.S.M. leads to the system of "inmate politics" and "conniving". In this system, inmates in key clerical positions have been able to influence the granting of details and special privileges. One of the cases interviewed for this investigation indicated that through lax custody, S.P.S.M. allows some inmates to intimidate other inmates for various purposes - often homosexual.

This may be done in numerous ways. Threat of physical violence has been used, the victim being intimidated because he thinks his potential assailant would have ample opportunity to make good his threat. Because work and school supervisors often depend upon inmate clerks or teachers to report to them other inmates' adjustments when reports are to be written, intimidation has been done in this manner. Grades in school and reports have been known to be bought with cigarettes and personal services of varying natures.

This system of "inmate politics" is not flagrantly open in S.P.S.M. for it is repressed by the custodial force in all areas where it is discovered. Being a hidden and undercover system, it is not generally recognized readily in its full perspective by first-termers during the first few months of incarceration. Men with M.S.R. experience, having had some previous knowledge of a less stable system of "inmate politics", recognize the situation more quickly, and many begin to participate in it. Frequently, participants in the system to any appreciable extent are regarded as "unreliable" by the custodial officers. Though the evaluation is often intangible, it finds its way into the record through various reports.

More widespread practice of homosexual activities seems to exist at S.P.S.M. than at M.S.R. Much of it has been learned at M.S.R., but the practice is apparently more intensified at S.P.S.M. One inmate has said that some long-termers, who are not ordinarily homosexual, indulge in homo-

sexual practices because they are resigned to the idea that all of their possible heterosexual relationships are past, and they might as well take advantage of the nearest substitute.

Reformatory experience acclimates a man to prison routine. This tends to allow the inmate to take his attention away from the routine and follow it automatically. In this way more effort can be applied to improving his status among the inmates and to get to the easiest position in prison that he can. M.S.R. experience tends to make inmates wary of some work assignments. They avoid, if possible, work assignments where the supervision is rigid. Most of the work assignments at S.P.S.M., however, are considered easier than those at M. S.R. There is no "task" system at S.P.S.M., and the supervision is generally less rigid.

Men with M.S.R. experience are well oriented in the penal situation, and are less easily intimidated by prison officials and other inmates. They are always on the defensive, refusing to be exploited. Slowing down in their work, physical violence, or irritability may be overt manifestations of this attitude. These conditions find their way into the various reports, and influence the man's measured and evaluated adjustment.

A noticeable difference between first-termers and inmates with reformatory experience is in their attitudes toward their records. First-termers tend to pride themselves on a clear record, while men with previous experience tend to minimize

their records. This may be explained on the basis of rationalization on the part of the inmate with the poorer record, namely the repeater. It has been more often explained by repeaters in terms of their idea of the reaction of the parole board¹¹³. It has been indicated that men with previous penal experience feel that the parole board passes by the men with poor records as being maladjusted in prison - having made a poor institutional adjustment. On the other hand, the claim has been made that the parole board has failed to honor clear institutional records by attributing the clear record to being "stir-wise", or being a good "conniver". This differential attitude toward their records would tend to influence the adjustment in prison of inmates with and without the conditioning reformatory experience.

Summary

In conclusion, it is noted that the statistical analysis indicates that M.S.R. experience is associated with poorer adjustment of an inmate in prison, as compared with first-terms. The case material suggests that adjustment of an inmate in pris-

113. The investigator felt that these are cases where inmates have participated in the system of "inmate politics", and have been considered "unreliable" by the custodial force or work supervisors. These evaluations have been reported, and included in the progress reports to the parole board. The parole board acted as it deemed wise, and the inmate felt wronged because his record has been clear of actual misconduct reports. The result was that he came to minimize the value of the record, not realizing that his participation in the "inmate political" system and his "conniving" had not gone by entirely unnoticed.

on is affected in a derogatory manner by reformatory experience. A major basis for the difference in adjustment seems to be that reformatory experience orients men to the penal situation. As a result, the inmate is less easily intimidated and refuses to be exploited. He also recognizes the system of "inmate politics" more readily, and is prone to participate in it. He minimizes the importance of his record while the first-termers generally tries hard to maintain a good institutional record.

Chapter XII

REFORMATORY INFLUENCES UPON EFFECT OF JUVENILE INSTITUTIONALIZATION

In determining the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon the adjustment of an inmate in prison, the modifying effect of the intermediate reformatory incarceration must be considered. There is no doubt that a reformatory experience modifies somewhat the influences of the juvenile institutionalization. The extent of this modification is the consideration of this chapter.

Comparison of Adjustment Scores of Groups I and II

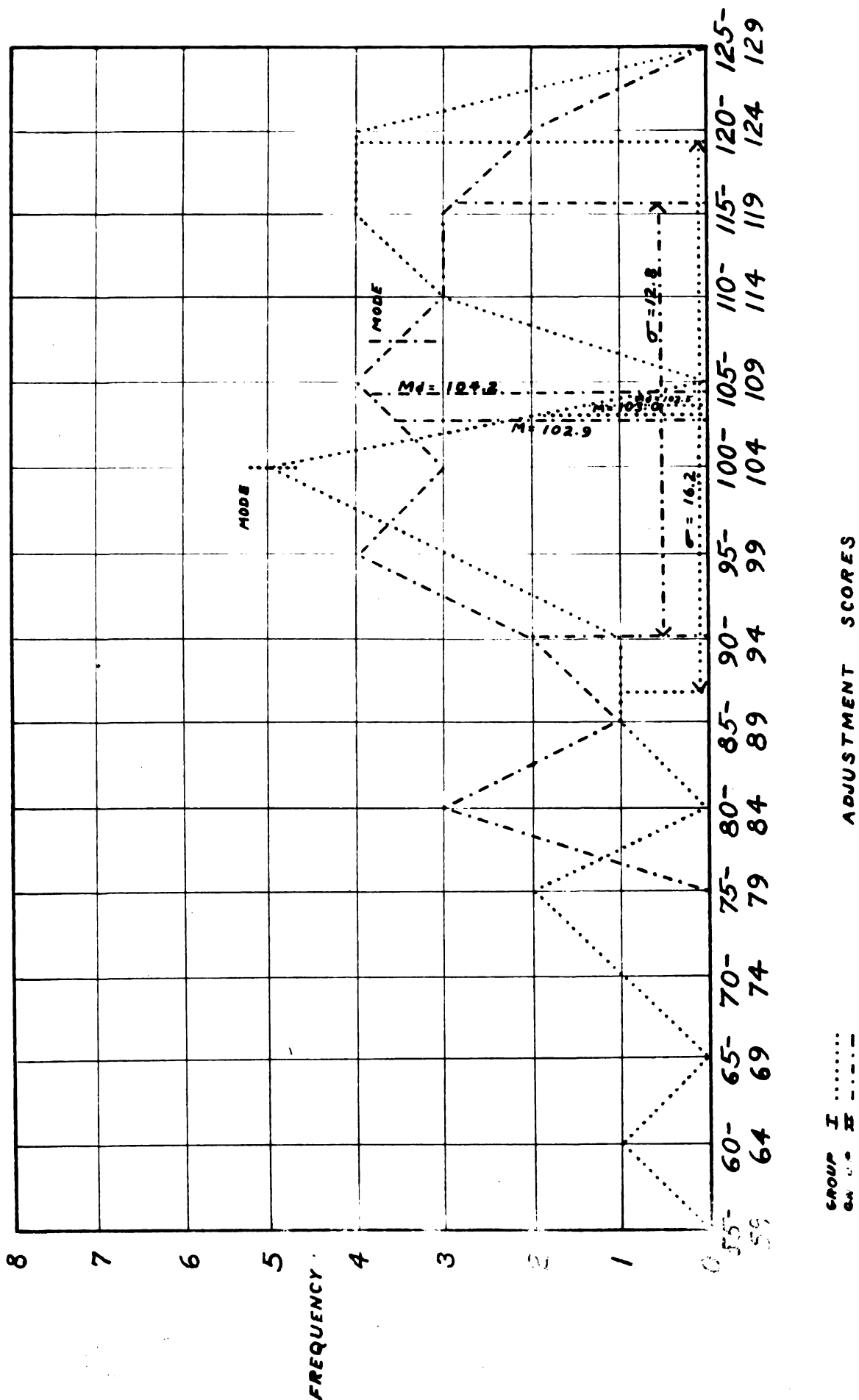
The adjustment score distribution of Groups I and II have been compared in an effort to determine whether or not reformatory experience significantly modifies the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon adjustment in prison. This comparison was justifiable since both groups had had juvenile institutionalization, and but one had experienced reformatory incarceration. The differences in adjustment scores and mode of adjustment may be attributed to the modifying influence of the reformatory experience.

The frequency distributions of adjustment scores for Groups I and II are shown on page 145.

The mean adjustment score for Group I is 103.0, as compared with a mean score of 102.9 for Group II. The critical ratio of 0.0 between the two means indicates that no significant quantitative difference exists.

The median adjustment score of Group I is 103.5. The

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTMENT SCORES IN GROUPS I AND II



median of Group II is at 104.2.

The mode of the Group I distribution is at 100.0, as compared with the Group II mode at 107.5.

Some difference may be indicated in the wider dispersion of the Group I scores. The standard deviation of the Group I scores is 16.2. This is a somewhat wider dispersion than is indicated by the Group IV standard deviation of 12.8.

Group I and II distributions are slightly skewed to the left, to the extent of -0.1 and -0.3, respectively.

Both frequency distributions of adjustment scores are platykurtic. Group I shows a kurtosis of -1.0, as compared with the group II kurtosis of -1.1.

A Chi-square value of .0704 was computed between these two distributions according to the fourfold Chi-square test of significance, P is .79. In seventy-nine cases out of a hundred, any difference between the frequency distributions of groups I and II would be due to chance. This indicated that the distributions are similar, and that no significant difference exists.

The statistical analysis of groups I and II indicate that there is a similarity in the respective frequency distributions of adjustment scores. No significant statistical difference is shown by the critical ratio of 0.0 between the two means nor by the Chi-square test of significance.

Processes Involved in Modification

The statistical analysis tends to indicate that reformatory experience does not quantitatively modify to any ap-

preciable extent the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon the degree of adjustment of the prison inmate. There are no significant quantitative differences between the mean adjustment scores of Groups I and II. The case material suggested, however, that a difference does exist, though perhaps not in degree of adjustment as measured or evaluated. The difference appears to be in the reasons for, or processes involved, in differential inmate adjustment to the prison program.

It is noted that the cases with B.V.S. experience tended to emphasize the emotional aspects of personality in their explanations of adjustment.

Men with M.S.R. experience tended to attribute difference in adjustment to orientation. The boys at B.V.S. become apprehensive of gross social inequalities of wealth and opportunity. They develop intense anti-social grudges. These feelings of bitterness tend to evolve into attitudes of cynicism and resignation by the time the boy experiences reformatory incarceration.

These changes may be due to maturation. The Gluecks maintained that improvement of conduct and improving anti-social attitudes is chiefly due to physical and mental changes that comprise the natural processes of maturation¹¹⁴. The changes may be due to the individual's becoming accustomed to anti-social feelings, and the feelings in turn, losing some

114. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck; JUVENILE DELINQUENTS GROWN UP, 1940, p. 264.

of their intensity.

It is noted that all of the cases with B.V.S. experience who were interviewed at least mentioned the anti-social feeling developed at B.V.S. It is further noted that the inmates interviewed who did not have B.V.S. experience failed to mention these anti-social grudges. Whether this alteration of emphasis is the result of maturation or of conditioning in a correctional or penal institution, the fact remains that the change exists.

This apparent improvement in social attitude is offset by the orientation to penal programs and the introduction to "inmate politics" offered by the reformatory. In the processes of orientation to the penal programs lay the modifying influences of the reformatory experience. When a man with previous juvenile institutionalization is incarcerated in the reformatory, he tends to lose their highly emotionalized anti-social feelings. They become resigned to prison routine and many are introduced to "prison politics". Being fairly well oriented in prison routine, they are less easily intimidated when they are sent to prison.

Summary

Statistical comparison by critical ratio and by Chi-square test of the adjustment of Groups I and II shows that there is no significant difference between their respective quantitative adjustments. The case material indicates that the modifying influence of the reformatory factor upon the effect of juvenile institutionalization apparently is in changing attitudes and

introduction to penal routine. The highly emotionalized anti-social feelings developed at B.V.S. are rendered less intense at M.S.R., the attitude changing to one of futility, cynicism, and resignation. Better orientation to penal practices at M.S.R. makes an inmate more difficult to intimidate than first-termers when they arrive at S.P.S.M.

Chapter XIII

EFFECT OF JUVENILE INSTITUTIONALIZATION

The primary purpose of this investigation was to determine the effect of a juvenile institutionalization on the degree of adjustment of the prison inmate. For this purpose, the two best control groups are those in which the reformatory factor is eliminated, and in which no institutionalization occurs except in the juvenile institution and the prison. Group I includes those men who have been in B.V.S., have not had reformatory experience, and have come to the S.P.S.A. for the first time. Group IV includes those men who have come to the S.P.S.A. for the first time, without having had previous institutional experience of any sort.

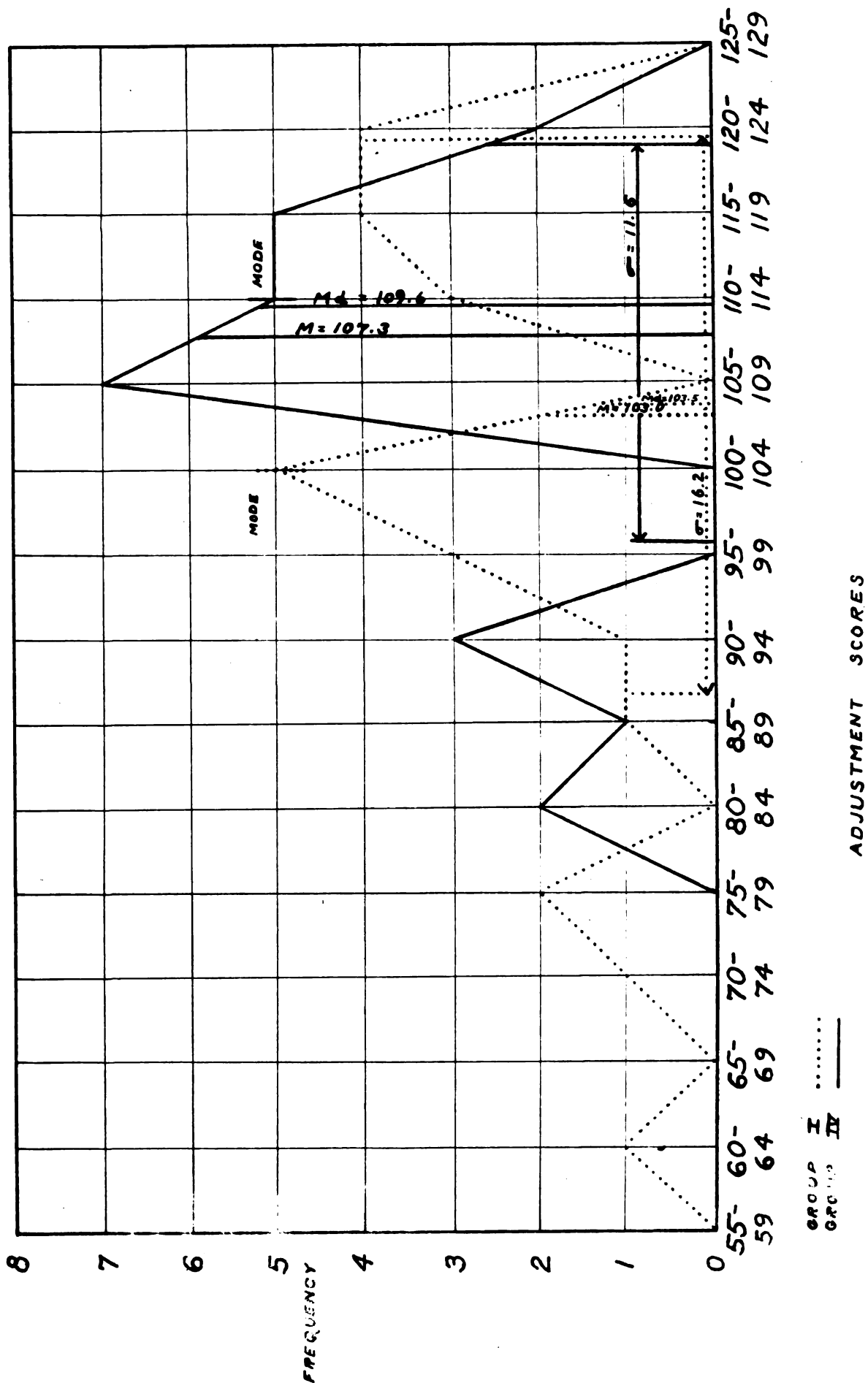
Statistical Analysis of Groups I and IV

The comparative frequency distributions of adjustment scores made by the men of Groups I and IV are shown on page 151.

The mean adjustment score of Group I is 103.0. The mean of Group IV is 107.3. The critical ratio between the two means was but 1.1.

It was noted that the critical ratio between the mean of Group IV and the mean of the combined Groups I, II and III, was 1.7. Since the difference between the means or any combination of means of Groups I, II and III were not significantly different, but some noticeable difference was found between Group IV and the other groups, it seemed reasonable to suppose that the low critical ratio between the means of

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTMENT SCORES IN GROUPS I AND IV



Groups IV and the other groups may be due to the small number of cases involved in the computation, and actually may be indicating an underlying difference in adjustment.

In order to determine whether the low critical ratio of 1.1 was due to lack of any significant difference in adjustment, or whether it was due to the smallness of the sample, the question was tested, by further computation. Two hundred additional cases which met all specifications for Group IV, but which were not individually matched, were tabulated. Adjustment scores were derived for each of these cases. These adjustment scores were added to the twenty-five scores already included in Group IV. The mean and standard deviation of this group was not significantly different from those of the original twenty-five¹¹⁵. The critical ratio between these 225 Group IV scores and the twenty-five Group I scores was found to be only 1.4, and therefore the difference could not be considered statistically significant. Probably the reason for a critical ratio no higher is the very fact that the cases in this new sample are unmatched.

The critical ratio between the mean of the 225 Group IV type adjustment scores and the mean of Groups I, II, and III was found to be 2.9. This high critical ratio indicated that there is a statistically significant difference between the prison adjustments or first-termers and adjustment of

115. The mean of 225 cases was 107.6, as compared with 107.3 for the original twenty-five. The standard deviation of the 224 cases was 11.9, as compared to 11.6 for the original twenty-five.

inmates with previous juvenile institutionalization and reformatory experience.

Since the critical ratios between any two means from Groups I, II, and III does not exceed ¹¹⁶0.4, it seemed reasonable to suppose the group of men having records of juvenile institutionalization was fairly representative, with respect to adjustment of the entire group having previous juvenile institutional experience. If this were true, as it is shown to be by the extremely low critical ratios, then a statistically significant difference has been shown to exist between the prison adjustments of those groups with and without previous juvenile institutionalization.

The critical ratios between any of the means of Groups I, II, and III are only 0.4, and lower. The critical ratios between the means of Group IV and each of the means of Groups I, II, and III are 1.1 and higher. The critical ratio between the means of large numbers of adjustment scores of men without previous correctional and penal experience and those with that experience shows a statistically significant difference. For these reasons, the difference in adjustment in prison between those with and without juvenile institutionalization have been considered significant.

F. Stuart Chapin contended that a small sample, with various factors controlled by the method of identity through individual matching, will demonstrate better the degree of real

116. This is the critical ratio between the means of Groups I and III.

relationship¹¹⁷. The significance of a critical ratio is enhanced by the fact that the smaller, matched sample is relatively pure. Chapin said that the test for significance of difference was devised to determine whether two large unmatched samples were random selection from the same universe or from different universes. Under conditions of uncontrolled variables, it was essential that the five per cent level of significance (a critical ratio of 2.0) be achieved in order to give assurance that the difference was reliable. With matched samples, he contended, we no longer have random samples, but "refined" or "pure" ones, with many of the variables and indirect influences removed by the very process of sampling. Chapin reasoned that, under such circumstances, it was quite likely that critical ratios of considerable less than 2.0 (probably 1.5), or levels of significance greater than the five per cent level, could be considered as representing a reliable difference.

The median adjustment score of Group IV was 109.6, as compared with the median score of 103.5 for Group I.

The mode of the adjustment scores of Group IV was at 110.0. The mode in Group I was at 100.0.

The standard deviation of the Group I frequency distribution is considerably wider than that of Group IV, being 16.2 and 11.6, respectively. This indicates a wider dispersion of

117. F. Stuart Chapin; "Design for Social Experiments", American Sociological Review, Vol. 3, December, 1938, pp. 794-5.

adjustment scores in the Group I distribution than in Group IV. A wider variation in the patterns of adjustment in the cases of inmates with previous juvenile institutionalization is indicated.

There is greater skewness shown in the case of Group IV than in Group I. The Group I distribution is skewed only slightly to the extent of $-.1$, while the Group IV distribution is skewed to the extent of $-.6$. Although both are negative skewnesses, the difference is greater than that between any other two groups.

The Group I frequency distribution of adjustment scores is platykurtic to the extent of $-.7$, or approximately -1 . The Group IV distribution is mesokurtic, having a kurtosis of $-.4$, or 0 . The difference being but $.3$, it was not considered significant. It does suggest, however, that there is a slightly greater tendency in Group IV for the scores to gather around the point of maximum frequency than in Group I. The tendency in both distributions, however, is toward platykurtosis. A fairly significant difference is shown between the mean adjustment scores, the difference being in favor of the Group IV distribution.

A valuable comparison of the groups on the basis of percentage distributions show some difference which reach the five per cent level of significance. The following table shows in class intervals of ten the grouped frequencies of adjustment scores in terms of number of cases and percentages.

Group	<u>Number</u>				<u>Per Cent</u>			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
55-64	1	0	1	0	4	0	4	0
65-74	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
75-84	2	3	1	2	8	12	4	8
85-94	2	3	5	4	8	12	20	16
95-104	8	7	6	0	32	28	24	0
105-114	3	7	8	12	12	28	32	48
115-124	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>28</u>
	25	25	25	25	100	100	100	100
Proportion of scores below 85					16	12	8	8
Proportion of scores below 95					24	24	24	24
Proportion of scores 105 or above					44	48	48	72

It is noted that the scores below 85 show differences, but that they are not wide enough to be significant. All the scores below 95 are the same. For scores grouped into those above 105, or, on the other hand, below 105, there are significant differences between Groups I and IV and between Group IV and the other three groups combined. Even the comparison of Group IV and II, and IV and III show critical ratios which approach the five per cent level. The critical ratios are as follows:

Critical ratio between Groups I and IV - 2.02

Critical ratio between Groups II and IV - 1.75

Critical ratio between Groups III and IV - 1.75

Critical ratio between Groups I, II, III
combined, and IV - 2.16

The fourfold Chi-square test of significance shows a val-

ue of 5.334, indicating a significant difference between the distributions of adjustment scores of Groups I and IV. With P at .02, this difference between the two distributions would occur by chance only two times out of one hundred. This two per cent level is considered to be very significant.

This analysis is indicative of a significant difference between the degrees of adjustment in prison of men with and without previous institutional experience, especially previous juvenile institutional experience. It has therefore been shown by this investigation that inmates without previous institutional experience tend to adjust better to prison program than do inmates with previous juvenile institutionalization.

Processes Involved in Differential Adjustment

The case material has been considered at this point to find some of the processes involved in the differential adjustments, and to determine to some extent the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon the degree of adjustment of an inmate in prison.

There is the possibility that there is a selective factor in operation which is conducive to differential adjustments. It may be that some men were unable to adjust in their own communities, were unable to adjust in the juvenile institution, and have been unable to adjust in prison. These men may have been "selected" for juvenile institutionalization because of their inability to adjust, and continue their maladjustment later in prison. It may be that the first offenders violated the law while under severe duress, and would ordinarily have

adjusted adequately anywhere. The inmates tend to minimize this factor of selection, but it does without doubt contribute to some extent to the explanation of the differential prison adjustments of inmates with and without previous juvenile institutionalization.

It was noted that the standard deviations of the age distributions of Groups I and II were narrower than those of Groups III and IV. The ages of the Group I and II representatives seemed to be well within the arbitrarily set age limits. The age distribution of the Groups III and IV, however, seemed to be controlled only by the arbitrarily set age limits. This would suggest that juvenile institutionalization tends to precipitate further anti-social behavior fairly early - at least enough so that an arbitrary limit set in the middle thirties does not seem to affect it significantly.

One explanation for this may be that while boys are confined in the B.V.S., the interaction of young delinquents is conducive to the exchange of ideas as to the injustices and inequalities in society. According to inmates of S.I.S.M. who have been in B.V.S. there is less discussion of plans for future anti-social acts at B.V.S. than might be expected. Most of the undesirable exchanging of ideas at B.V.S. appears to be the intensification of resentment against society in general for its injustices and inequalities.

The one definite type of learning which some inmates have pointed out is that some men have learned homosexual activity at B.V.S. There was conflict in reports and opinion

expressed by the men interviewed as to the extent of homosexual practices at B.V.S. Even so, it is apparently less frequent than many prison workers would like to believe. Of the fifty cases in this investigation with B.V.S. experience, there is evidence that only one began any sort of homosexual activity at B.V.S. Homosexual practices seemed to be far more intense at S.P.S.M. than at B.V.S.

Previous contacts made at B.V.S. influence later adjustment in prison. Friends made at B.V.S. sometimes come to the S.P.S.M. In many instances, friends made at B.V.S. help to make adjustment easier at S.P.S.M. Orientation in a new situation is usually much easier when it is based upon old associations.

Sometimes, old enemies made at B.V.S. later come to S.P.S.M. Occasionally these animosities have been forgotten in mutual incarceration. Often when these animosities have existed, they have continued at S.P.S.M. The most noticeable category of animosities between inmates have been those which had developed between "line boys" and the other boys at B.V.S. At S.P.S.M. the former "line boys" have been regarded by other former inmates of B.V.S. as having been disloyal to his group. Friction in S.P.S.M. then continues, and on occasion has become even more intense, though generally does not become overt.

More responsibility for his own adjustment has been placed upon the inmate at S.P.S.M. than at B.V.S. At B.V.S. the institution has forced the boy to adjust by definite routine and

close supervision. At S.P.S.M. the inmate has been merely expected to adjust, since the supervision has been noticeably looser. Men with B.V.S. experience know how to adjust to routine better than first-termers. On occasion, however, men with previous B.V.S. experience take advantage of the lax supervision at S.P.S.M., and do many things they could not have done without detection at B.V.S. Because they have been prone to take more chances, their conduct is sometimes suspected by the custodial force. Sometimes their work is affected. At any rate, the general poorly adjusted pattern frequently finds its way into the record.

Inmates have pointed out that men with B.V.S. experience are somewhat better oriented in an institutional situation than are the first-termers. Men who are better oriented are generally not as easily intimidated as are those not so well oriented. Many men who have been in B.V.S. are continually on the defensive. They refuse to be placed willingly in any situation where they feel they will be "exploited by the prison officials". Sometimes they slow down on their work assignments - physical violence has been known to occur - sometimes the work, school, or block report merely reflects as intangible and general aspect of the man's behavior pattern. Men with B.V.S. experience tend to recognize the "prison politician" and "conniving" situation more rapidly than first-termers. Their participation in this system leads the prison officials to regard them as "unreliable" or as a "con-niver". This opinion finds its way into the record, and is

used by sociologists as a partial index as to the inmates institutionalization adjustment.

B.V.S. experience has tended to make inmates more resentful against society than first-termers have been. Boys who have been sent to B.V.S. in many cases have become interested in the inequalities and injustices in society. On occasion, they have developed feelings of martyrdom, of being the "underdog", and resentment against society develops. This resentment or anti-social grudge leaves its impressions more indelibly on the personality in the formative years during a juvenile institutionalization than it would during a later incarceration when the personality is more mature and stable. Subsequent incarceration in a reformatory or prison tends to aggravate this resentment. As expressed by inmate "B", it is "like scratching open an old wound". This feeling of resentment and frustration influences an inmate's adjustment in prison.

A notable characteristic of this type of resentment is that the individual usually has a highly developed defense based on rather adolescent concepts. He tends to be unable to accept the organismic theory of society - that he is a part of the society he resents. The result is that he is aware only of his own personal and adolescent interpretations of what he considers the issue at hand - "the lot that society handed him". He is apparently unable to accept the responsibility for his own misconducts or for his own betterment to any appreciable extent.

The case material indicates that first-termers are surprised when they do not find prison as they had expected it. Because of this difference between mental set and actual findings, some first-termers are bewildered and confused. As inmate "H" expressed it, he was "dazed". First-termers are not well oriented to institutional life, and some are frightened because of the incarceration. These confused and frightened states make the first-terminer more easily intimidated, and therefore more easily adjusted to the prison program. Moreover, first-termers are prone to observe to see what the others do, and then conform more nearly to the prison-accepted mode of behavior.

Summary

The statistical material shows that a significant difference exists between the frequency distributions of the adjustment scores of Groups I and IV. The fourfold Chi-square test indicates that this difference is as great as the two per cent level of significance.

It is fully realized that juvenile institutionalization does not have a definite and inflexible effect upon the adjustment of an inmate in prison. It is further appreciated that the difference between groups of inmates with and without previous juvenile institutionalization are group tendencies, and not universal differences found when any two individuals from the respective groups are compared.

The case studies have shown, however, a significant difference in their reaction to the adjustment question. First-termers tend to relate adjustment to the results of the differences

between their mental sets and what actually existed in prison. Inmates with previous juvenile institutionalization tend to relate adjustment to resentment and anti-social grudges developed because of their previous institutionalizations. Both have agreed that orientation is a factor which is, rather paradoxically, favorable to the first-termers.

Chapter XIV

CONCLUSION

This investigation was concerned with the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon the degree of adjustment of the prison inmate. The tentative or working hypothesis was that inmates with previous juvenile institutionalization tend to adjust to the prison's program more poorly than inmates without that previous institutional experience. It was assumed that adjustment in prison could be measured objectively on the basis of the existing prison records. It was further assumed that some agreement exists between the adjustment of a prison inmate to the prison officials and program and his adjustment to his fellow inmates in the prison community. "Adjustment" was considered to be the process of maintaining satisfactory relationships between the inmate and the prison's program with a minimum of irritation and a maximum of cooperation.

A review of the literature in the general field of criminology revealed little or no material pertaining to the effect of juvenile institutionalization and its influence upon the adjustment of an inmate in prison. As far as the writer can discover, this investigation has directly attacked this particular problem for the first time.

Summary of Procedure

Beginning with 10,484 new commitments received at the State Prison of Southern Michigan during a period nearly four-

-and-a-half years in length¹¹⁸, a process of refining the sample was undertaken. All men who had received minimum sentences of less than one year were eliminated. From the remaining group, those who had been retained at the State Prison of Southern Michigan for one year less special good time¹¹⁹ were kept for study. All men who had been committed after their thirty-sixth birthdays were eliminated in order to control the age factor. Of the remaining group, only those retained who had resided in the State of Michigan since their twelfth birthdays.

Economic status was controlled by selecting only laborers and apprentice tradesmen. Cases of psychosis and those under mental observation during the first year in prison were eliminated. The study was limited to non-hospitalized cases. All cases were eliminated except those having experience in Boys Vocational School, the Michigan State Reformatory, and the State Prison of Southern Michigan; these representing the juvenile institution, reformatory, and prison, respectively. In this manner, the institutional backgrounds of different men within the same grouping as to institutional experience were made comparable.

Of the original 10,484 cases, 884 had had juvenile records of some sort -- 581 of them had been in Boys Vocational School. After meeting the primary screenings, they were divided into two groups--those who had come directly to the

118. July 22, 1937 until December 31, 1941.

119. Not less than nine months.

prison, and those who had experienced an intermediate reformatory incarceration before coming to the prison. Of the first group, only twenty-seven cases were found who met all of the requirements. This group was designated as Group I. The second group, which had experienced the intermediate reformatory incarceration, was designated as Group II. A third group was selected, called Group III, including all men who had met the primary requirements, who had had reformatory experience, no juvenile institutionalization, and had come to prison for the first time. Group IV included first-termers who had met all the primary requirements, but had had no previous institutional experience whatsoever.

In order to make these groups as nearly comparable to each other as possible, they were matched individually as to residential background, race, religion, and intelligence. These individual matchings were based upon the characteristics of the members of Group I, because of the smallness of that group. In the course of the matching, two men could not be matched in one other group, and had to be eliminated. This left twenty-five men in each group, individually matched as to residential background, race, religion, intelligence, and all of the primary qualifications discussed previously in this section.

After the sample was determined, a scale for measuring adjustment was constructed on the basis of the existing prison records. Tests for reliability and validity indicated that the scale measured the adjustment of an inmate in prison fairly

well, comparing favorably with sociologists' evaluations. Each of the one hundred men in the final sample were given an adjustment score derived from his record on the basis of the adjustment scale.

With rigid control of many factors, and individual matching of others, the final samples were small. Every effort was made to make it well refined, however, so that the findings and conclusions would be fairly well founded, free from outside influence. The final four groups of twenty-five cases each, totalling one hundred cases were statistically analyzed to determine whether differences in adjustment scores between the various groups existed. Case material was included to determine the nature of some of these differences.

Findings and Conclusions

The adjustment scores of Group IV, the group of men without previous juvenile institutionalization or reformatory experience averaged higher than those of any other group. The means were as follows:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Adjustment Score</u>
I	103.0
II	102.9
III	101.2
IV	107.3

Critical ratios between the mean of Group IV and the means of any of the other groups ranged from 1.1 to 1.7. Further investigation revealed that these ordinarily low critical ratios were due to the smallness of the sample. It was shown that the critical ratio between the mean adjustment score of the seventy-five cases with previous B.V.S. and L.S.R. exper-

ience and the mean adjustment score of 225 first-termers meeting the primary requirements of Group IV was 2.9. This fairly high critical ratio is indicative that a significant difference exists between the larger groups. Considering the smallness of the sample, it seemed reasonable to suppose that the ordinarily low critical ratio of 1.1 between the means of Groups I and IV tended to show a difference which might be considered significant. In view of the fact that critical ratios between any two of the means of Groups I, II, and III does not exceed 0.4, the critical ratio of 1.1 between Groups I and IV seemed to assume significance. The conclusion may be that there tends to be a difference in degree of adjustment in prison between with juvenile institutionalization and those without that experience. Further, first-termers tend to adjust better on the average than inmates with reformatory experience.

Analysis of the different groups on the basis of percentage showed quite definitely that a difference existed between frequency distribution of adjustment scores of Group IV and each or all of the distribution of the other groups. A significant difference was shown especially between Groups I and IV, indicating that men without previous institutional experience tended to adjust better in prison than those with previous juvenile institutionalization.

By using the four-fold Chi-square test of significance, it was found that no appreciable difference existed between Groups I, II, and III. Significant differences existed, however, between Group IV and each of the other groups. The dif-

ference between the distribution of adjustment scores for Groups I and IV reached the two per cent level of significance, which is considered very reliable.

The frequency distributions of the adjustment scores of Groups I and II, the groups with juvenile institutionalization, are platykurtic. The distribution representing Group III scores is leptokurtic, and the Group IV distribution is mesokurtic. The standard deviation of the group I scores is fairly wide¹²⁰. The standard deviations of the Groups II and III distributions are medium¹²¹, and the Group IV standard deviation is relatively narrow¹²². This statistical data is indicative of the wider dispersion of adjustment scores found in the groups with juvenile institutionalization. The conclusion may be that inmates with juvenile institutionalization tend to adjust to a prison's program in manners more widely divergent than first-termers or those with reformatory experience.

One of the reasons for the difference in the adjustment of first-termers and inmates with previous juvenile or reformatory experience may be the factor of selection. Persons who are unable to adjust anywhere often find themselves in juvenile institutions, reformatories, and prisons. Frequently, their adjustment in institutions is not good. The extent to which the correctional and penal institutions "select" these

120. 16.2

121. Group II standard deviation is 12.8.

. Group III standard deviation is 12.9

122. 11.6

maladjusted men is not known. The inmates themselves minimize the selection factor, but it does without doubt have its effect upon the differential adjustment.

The case material indicates that the processes of adjustment in prison have been conditioned by previous institutionalization. Some inmates mentioned that experience in B.V.S. taught them how they were supposed to adjust to penal routine. After experiencing the rigid discipline and regimentation at B.V.S., they were unable to accept the orders of prison custodial officers without question, and without at least mild resentment. One inmate indicated that juvenile institutionalization aggravates the severity of subsequent prison incarcerations. He likened it to the scratching open of an old wound.

This feeling is typical of the highly emotionalized temper of the conditioning experienced during juvenile institutionalization by various inmates. Inmates with previous juvenile institutionalization mention frequently the anti-social grudges developed at B.V.S. While at B.V.S., these persons have visualized and discussed the gross inequalities and injustices of society. The feelings against these inequalities and injustices were intensified at B.V.S. Emotions and attitudes in the young adolescent boy are more intense than those in adulthood. Conditioning during the early adolescent period may be considered, then, more indelible than that in almost any other later developmental period of equal length. This may be a partial explanation of the fact that inmates with juvenile institutionalization tended to stress the emo-

tional factor in adjustment.

The critical ratio between the mean adjustment score of Group I and that of Group II is 0.0, and the Chi-square test shows a P of .79. This indicates that no significant difference exists between the adjustment in prison of inmates with juvenile institutionalization only, and those with juvenile institutionalization and reformatory experience. It may be reasonable to conclude that reformatory experience does not significantly modify the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon the degree of adjustment of the prison inmate, with respect to quantitative measurement.

Although the case material indicated that reformatory experience does not modify appreciably the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon the degree of adjustment, it indicated that reformatory experience does modify the manner in which it affects adjustment. The highly emotionalized feelings, which were considered important in the adjustment processes as a result of juvenile institutionalization, become less intense with reformatory experience. An attitude of futility and resignation seemed to be substituted. When reformatory experience is present, adjustment processes in prison tend to be less emotional, and based more upon orientation.

The immense size of S.P.S.M. necessarily makes for more lax supervision on the part of the custodial force than exists in B.V.S. and M.S.R. Less rigid custodial supervision places more responsibility for conduct upon the individual inmate. This situation is apparently conducive to the opera-

tion of a system of "inmate politics", where inmates in key clerical positions become influential with one or more civilian employees, and who sell their influence to other inmates. This system is suppressed by the custodial force wherever it is found. For this reason, it is hidden, and not readily recognizable to the first-terminer. With previous B.V.S. and, especially, M.S.R. experience, this situation is more easily recognized. Participation in this system of "inmate politics" and "conniving" is sometimes partially recognized by the custodial officer or work supervisor, who may consider the inmate "unreliable" or "suspicious". In this way his prison adjustment as measured may be affected.

It was mentioned frequently that first-terminers are easily intimidated by the prison employees and by other inmates. Inmates who are better oriented by virtue of previous B.V.S. or M.S.R. experience are not so easily intimidated. This unwillingness to be intimidated or exploited tends to become a source of friction on occasion in ordinary prison routine, and affects the measured or evaluated adjustment of an inmate.

One further reason for the differential adjustment may be in the attitude of different inmates toward their prison records. The first-terminers seem to be careful of their prison records. Men with previous experience, particularly reformatory experience, tend to minimize more than first-terminers the value of a good prison record as far as the parole board is concerned.

It was noted that one aspect of adjustment, that of "con-

niving", enters only qualitatively into decisions by the classification committee, parole board, and custodial officials. It is not very adequately measured by the adjustment scale developed in Chapter VI. Serious consideration should be given this aspect in any future developments of the scale. The investigator is at present unable to suggest any objective method of measurement because the practice is hidden, and is suppressed by the custodial force whenever and wherever it is discovered. The successful "conniver" is not caught, and eludes detection for purposes of applying any scale for measuring adjustment. With further study, perhaps a better method of indirect measurement could be approached.

It is noted that these findings concerning the influence of juvenile institutionalization relate, of course, only to such an institution as Boys Vocational School; that is, one characterized by considerable repression and lack of individualization.

Recommendations

On the basis of this investigation it is evident that a social service department should be established in juvenile correctional institutions. Efficient functioning of such a department would serve to reduce the intensity of the anti-social feeling which apparently develops among boys in juvenile institutions. The social service departments should include case workers who are able to discuss the problems of each boy individually, and work with him individually. This would help to allay the feeling many boys in juvenile insti-

tutions hold that they are being categorized as bad boys--as young bandits--and are being treated in a group as such. Individual case work with the adolescent would give the boy a new pattern of behavior by building up a conscience--the super-ego¹²³.

The discipline in the juvenile institution should be made uniform. In the case of B.V.S., it apparently should be made less severe, or at least better interpreted to the boy. Serious behavior cases should be the problem of the case worker and the social service department, and the use of physical violence upon adolescent boys should be minimized.

The State Prison of Southern Michigan is much too large and unwieldy for efficient prison administration and rehabilitative work. In accordance with the ideal prison size of 1200 population set by the Osborne Association¹²⁴, the prison should be divided into four sections. A wall could be built directly through the center of the prison running east and west, and another running north and south. The original plan was that these walls were to be included, but the scheme was abandoned as being too costly to build and to operate as four distinct units. This plan, however, might increase the efficiency of the rehabilitative program by segregating the "improvable" from the "unimprovable"¹²⁵, and allowing the clas-

123. Helen Ross; "The Case Worker and the Adolescent", The Family, Nov., 1941, p. 233-4.

124. Austin MacCormick: SURVEY OF MICHIGAN PENAL INSTITUTIONS, 1940.

125. Walter Reckless; "An Experimental Basis for the Revision of Correctional Programs", Federal Probation, Jan.-Mar. 1942, p. 37.

sification committee to place more effort upon the group most likely to respond to rehabilitative treatment.

Segregation of the first-termers who have had no previous institutional experience, juvenile or adult, seems indicated by the results of this investigation. The first-termers are, as the inmates say, more easily "intimidated and exploited". They are more concerned about their records than are men with previous institutional experience. Conversely, the adult offender who has had "juvenile institutionalization" should be segregated as well as those with previous reformatory experience. In general, the first-termers are better able to accept the rehabilitative program than are inmates better oriented in penal routine by having had previous correctional institutional experience.

Already, some juvenile correctional institutions--including Michigan's Boys Vocational School--are in the process of establishing a department to perform some case work functions. Disciplinary functions are becoming more centralized and more uniform. Segregation of offenders on the basis of improvability through the prison's rehabilitative program has been introduced by Morris N. Winslow¹²⁶ and Walter Reckless¹²⁷. These recommendations are not new ones. In this investigation, they have merely a new basis--one involving the effect of juvenile institutionalization upon differential adjustment of men within the prison, and the use of the knowledge of this process for the development of a better and more efficient prison program.

126. Morris N. Winslow; "The Incarcerated Offender", THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, Indianapolis, 1937.

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1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. This section also outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, ensuring that the information is reliable and up-to-date.

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9. The ninth part of the document discusses the organization's social impact and the steps being taken to promote social responsibility. It provides an overview of the various initiatives being implemented to support the community and the steps being taken to monitor progress.

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