THE EFFECTS OF INCARCERATION IN MEDIUM AND MAXIMUM SECURITY CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS ON INMATE SAFETY AND ESTEEM NEED LEVELS

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF INCARCERATION IN
MEDIUM AND MAXIMUM SECURITY CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS
ON INMATE SAFETY AND ESTEEM NEED LEVELS

By

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It has been argued that the negative rehabilitation factor observed to inherently function within penal institutions is produced because mechanistic dehumanization of inmates assimilated into environments of many correctional institutions deprives inmates of legitimate attainment of psychological needs, reinforces internalization of criminal values, and ultimately synthesizes a criminal personality which is projected into social reality with greater formidable intensity when the inmate is released. While there is obviously some semblance of truth to this observational empiricism, this study was scientifically undertaken to experimentally demonstrate the actual effects of incarceration in medium and maximum security correctional institutions upon inmate personality.

Generally, it shall be shown that incarceration in medium and maximum security institutions has both a positive and negative effect upon the personality perimeters of

inmate safety and self-esteem need levels. The notion shall be verified that after a fixed period of incarceration in a medium security institution, which stresses more humane practices of rehabilitation, esteem scores for the inmates tested significantly increased and their safety scores significantly decreased. However, it shall also be shown that after approximately the same period of incarceration of similar men in a maximum security institution, which emphasizes less humane practices of punitive retribution, inmate safety need levels substantially increased while their esteem need levels significantly decreased. It shall be suggested that perhaps the best explanation for these personality changes is that the intertwining structure and philosophical nature of institutionalization in medium and maximum security correctional institutions is responsible for these effects of incarceration on inmate safety and esteem need levels.

To accomplish the major objective of this study, 34 homogeneous men were randomly selected on the basis of statistical information obtained from the files of the Michigan Department of Corrections. This primary group of inmates was divided into two secondary groups, each composed of 17 men. The first secondary group (numbers 1-17) was confined at the Michigan Training Unit, a medium security correctional institution. The second secondary group (numbers 18-34) was incarcerated at the Michigan Reformatory, Ionia's maximum security institution. The Rotter adult

computed as an index of the effects of incarceration on these psychological needs motivating the behavior of men. Thus, personality changes resulting from incarceration in medium and maximum security correctional institutions were reliably determined by comparing motivational differences indicated by changes in safety and esteem need levels between the primary group originally tested at the Jackson Diagnostic Center and the secondary groups retested after 1 to 1½ years of incarceration in either medium or maximum security institutions. All-in-all, this procedure provides a scientific methodology for valid determination of the effects of incarceration in correctional institutions with dissimilar environments on the personalities of similar men.

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sentence completion test was utilized to delineate the distinction between the development of criminal personality in the first and second secondary groups which are respectively confined at the Michigan Training Unit and the Michigan Reformatory. The Rotter test was adapted to measure an inmate's motivational safety and esteem need levels by scoring it in accordance with the rules and principles of scoring outlined in Dr. Joel Aronoff's A Test and Scoring Manual for the Measurement of Safety, Love and Belongingness, and Esteem Needs.

After the primary group had been selected and divided into the two secondary groups, Rotter tests were administered. There were two testings. The first testing was administered to all 34 men of the primary group at the Jackson Diagnostic Center where they received a one- or two-month orientation to prison life prior to being assigned to either medium or maximum security institutions. The purpose of the first testing was to establish control data for measuring personality differences in safety and esteem need levels after the primary group was divided into two secondary groups which were each sent to their respective medium and maximum security institutions.

The second testing involved retesting the men of the primary group after approximately 1 to 1½ years' incarceration in the medium and maximum security institutions to which they were assigned. The difference between safety and esteem need levels of the first and second testings was

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INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Problem

For centuries scholars and practitioners of the behavioral sciences have realized that periods of incarceration in penal institutions produce a negative effect upon the normative development of inmate personalities. It has consistently been observed that very often men released from prison return to their respective social segments and partake of crimes which are far greater in magnitude than the ones for which they were originally incarcerated. Based only upon this observation, with little or no experimental evidence to support their contentions, authorities have attributed culpability for this negative rehabilitation effect directly to the penal institution from which it appeared to emanate.

When an individual is first introduced into the environment of the maximum security prisons in Michigan, he is oriented to fit the mechanical processes of prison life rather than being processed to adjust to life outside the prison walls. Only recently the government has realized the error of this practice. On February 17, 1972, Governor William G. Milliken in a Special Message to the Legislature

on Corrections acknowledged the fact that mechanistic dehumanization of inmates processed through the maximum security prisons of Michigan deprives them of psychological needs; reinforces the creation of criminal values; and, rather than preventing crime through rehabilitation, makes many men more predisposed toward crime when released:

> Nothing is so deadly as the massive institutionalization and regimentation of an oversized prison such as the State Prison of Southern Michigan. In such a setting it is impossible either to know or to treat people as individuals. Men lose the need and responsibility to make personal decisions. People often emerge from such an environment worse off than they were when they entered because the basic conditions for improvement are lacking.[1]

It has been argued that the negative rehabilitation factor observed to inherently function within penal institutions is produced because mechanistic dehumanization of inmates assimilated into environments of many correctional institutions deprives inmates of legitimate attainment of psychological needs, reinforces internalization of criminal values, and ultimately synthesizes a criminal personality which is projected into social reality with greater formidable intensity when the inmate is released.

If one were to follow an inmate from his arrival at Ionia through the entire process of assimilation into the prison environment, he might get an idea of the effects of

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[1]William G. Milliken, "Special Message to the Legislature on Corrections," Journal of the House of Representatives, XXV (Lansing, Michigan, February 17, 1972), p. 585.

incarceration upon the development of criminal behavioral attitudes and habits. When an inmate arrives at the Jackson Diagnostic Center after being sentenced, the classification process begins. There he is tested and retested to make it possible for treatment and custodial officials to determine his placement in the hierarchy of the prison environment. When he is finally through this process, he is thoroughly oriented for life in prison. He is completely desensitized to the freedom and dignity which is an essential element of human nature. Like a household pet is conditioned to follow orders, rules, and routines, so is he conditioned to insure survival in the mass inmate population behind prison walls.

Dale Foltz, Deputy Warden and Head Custodial Officer at the Michigan Reformatory in Ionia, explained the functional purpose of the Jackson Diagnostic Center as it is related to placement of inmates in the maximum security institution:

> There should not be any institution or state without a reception center. They do several things for me in the area of custody. They run a pretty tight, secure system there. What they're doing is orienting a free person in a strong, tight, maximum system. Inmates are locked up there. They learn when they're supposed to be locked up, that flesh is to be shown, that respect is important, and that sometimes you bite your tongue. On top of that, the counseling staff sits down with the men and discusses their crime and what they want to gain from incarceration.
>
> The psychological report that comes from Jackson is exceptional. I can pull a report from the file, and it will tell what the man

> is like. For example, it might say a man is apt to have fits of anger and should be watched closely. This will give us an idea of what type of program he should be put on. The reception diagnostic people know our programs and will recommend what we should do with him.[2]

On the basis of the recommendation and content of the report developed at the Diagnostic Center, prison treatment and custody staffs work together to classify the inmate according to security risk and to base his treatment program solely upon this criteria. Just as institutions are classified into the types of minimum, medium, and maximum security, so are the men themselves categorized. Those inmates who are ranked maximum security risks are usually segregated from the main prison population because they pose a severe threat to the maintenance of security and the safety of other inmates. If these men are not detected at the Diagnostic Clinic, they are readily discovered when they get to the maximum security institution. They usually display a predisposition toward violence or uncontrolled behavior and are usually placed on disciplinary reports for assault and battery of a guard or fellow inmate. When these men have frequent fits of anger, they are brought before a disciplinary board and segregated from the main population.

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[2]Information obtained from a taped interview with Dale Foltz, Deputy Warden of the Michigan Reformatory at Ionia, January 24, 1972.

Dale Foltz, Head of the Disciplinary Board at Ionia Maximum Security Reformatory, describes how the Board functions:

> As chairman of the Disciplinary Board, I have eliminated the concept of the "hole." This has been replaced with what I call the adjustment center, which has four grades. To get away from prison jargon, this is no longer called a "segregation unit" or the "hole." A man who commits a serious infraction of the institution rules is immediately moved into grade one. The Disciplinary Board is made up of a treatment staff member who is usually a counselor, a correctional officer or guard, and the deputy warden. We meet Monday, Wednesday, and Friday to determine what is to be done to change the violator's attitude and conduct.
>
> If the infraction is serious, as in the case of a willful assault, this man is put in grade two. This is a segregation unit. In this grade, a man's case is reviewed every thirty days. If, after thirty days, a review of his record in grade two is good, we may move him to grade three. If his conduct after another thirty days is good, he then moves to grade four. He is then held there or moved to the general population.
>
> Thus, in grade one a man has nothing. He is given coveralls and two meals a day. If he is excessively violent or uncontrollable, he may be placed in a "slammer" [a padded, soundproof cell] until he calms down. His case is then immediately handled by the Disciplinary Board, and he can either be placed back into the population or receive thirty to ninety days in a segregation unit depending upon the grade he is given.[3]

His threshold of provoked violence is the distinguishing feature between the medium and maximum security inmate. That is, the maximum security inmate may strike

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[3]Taped interview with Dale Foltz.

out with no or very little provocation from a guard or fellow inmate. However, the medium security inmate's threshold of provocation is extremely high, and he will only resort to violent behavior when he is intensely provoked. Usually the medium security inmate is given sporadic disciplinary reports but is not dealt with as severely as the maximum security confinee. His discipline for severely assaultive behavior is confinement in grade one for thirty days; or at most, he is advanced to grade two and released after thirty days. This lenient disposition is practiced because it is realized by the Disciplinary Board that the medium security inmate is more likely to show improvement and take advantage of the prison's rehabilitation programs if he is undisturbed by others.

The minimum security inmate poses no security risk. The criterion for making the determination for this category is the frequency of disciplinary reports filed on the inmate. The minimum security inmate is the ideal prisoner because he has no disciplinary reports or severe reprimands for fourteen to eighteen months after his confinement. Usually, these men are given trustee status and are allowed to become members of the "honor block." Dale Foltz describes the structure and function of the "honor block" at Ionia as follows:

> We grade everything in our institution. We try to set up incentives for a man to get to the next step in his incarceration. When a man first arrives at the Michigan Reformatory, he is placed in the general population in a

> cell block. We have an honor block, which used to be called the "hole." It was called the "hole" because, as one passes through its dimly lighted corridors to the 24-cell ward, he gets the eerie feeling that he is crawling through a subterranean tunnel opening into a large, hollow hole under the earth. Ten years ago a man being disciplined would do 30 days in the "hole" where he was deprived of natural sunlight and confined in a single cell.
>
> The "hole" has now been converted into an honor block. The way a man gets into the honor block is by maintaining an exceptional record in the institution. The man on a work assignment doesn't get disciplinary reports and generally does a good job before he may submit his name for the honor block. The treatment staff then screens the applicant who submits his name for consideration. When he is judged deserving, he is moved down here. Custody very seldom comes here. They only make a routine check once in a while; but these 24 men are, for the most part, living on their own. They can shower at any time, which is unusual. They can leave their cells any time they want. They have their own bathroom facilities down here and their own television. But, they also have responsibilities to meet in conjunction with earning this degree of freedom. They are responsible for getting down to the main control center five times a day to get their flesh counted. They are responsible for getting to work on time without being told. Thus, these men are living in an honor area. Since this area was opened in 1971, only one man has lost his honor-block status.[4]

While the concept of the "honor block" appears to be successful, Dale Foltz believes that it is too early to ascertain whether it should be expanded to include 103-men blocks:

> Jackson Prison has an honor block. I am going to make an honor floor. If an inmate meets the same criteria as in the honor

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[4]Taped interview with Dale Foltz.

> block, he can be moved to the honor floor. On an honor floor, which includes 103 men, a minimum security inmate would have a television and could recreate on this floor. We would provide pool tables, card tables, etc. The men on this floor will also be subject to the same rights and duties as the inmates in an honor block.[5]

Generally, one of the most promising ways to enhance community security is to prevent the frequent occurrence of crime by rehabilitating offenders. Logically, such rehabilitation protects society because a rehabilitated criminal will not commit future crimes. However, mechanical processing of inmates through maximum security institutions precludes this objective. Rather than promoting rehabilitative crime prevention, these institutions stress measures centered around strict custodial practices which are punitive in nature and are exercised at the expense of effective treatment operations.

Once an inmate is integrated into the prison population, he is subjected to constant shakedowns. Dale Foltz indicated that the shakedown is an effective custodial device for maintaining security:

> We shake down lines and cells constantly. The only way to maintain security in a system of this size is to constantly shake down cells and lines to make sure contraband is not introduced into the institution.[6]

The constant shakedowns and counts are not the only earmarks of retribution which are punitive in nature. As one is

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[5]Taped interview with Dale Foltz.

[6]Ibid.

assimilated into the prison environment, he is physically restrained by high walls and is under the constant threat of harm symbolized by the presence of gun towers. While this strict handling of inmates achieves the immediate goal of securing the community from the possible crimes incident to the occurrence of escapes, it fails to accommodate rehabilitative crime prevention which would protect the community and society as a whole from the long-term ravages of crime.

The mechanistic process of mass handling of prisoners in a large maximum security prison is indeed dehumanizing and contrary to the rehabilitation process. Dale Foltz described how this mechanistic security process accounts for internalization of criminal values and development of the negative rehabilitation factor:

> Men get an uneasy feeling in this setting. They are jointly told what to do, what not to do, what they can have, what they cannot have, where they can go, and where they cannot go. Many are fearful of this massive treatment. Because we cannot give the numerous men in our prison population individual treatment, the young, first offender in a depressed state may be influenced by the rest of the population to the point where he regresses rather than improves. He is in with vicious, aggressive-type people; and he could end up twice as hard as when he came in. I honestly believe that if most men were released after spending two days in the Jackson Diagnostic Clinic, they would have seen enough of prison to avoid returning. Our 50 per cent recidivism rate would be much less.[7]

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[7]Taped interview with Dale Foltz.

The psychological effects of this mechanistic process, which is characteristic of the maximum security prison environment, are ironically very similar to the effects of environmental defects originally causing the individual to partake of crime. That is, the inmate in this setting is deprived of legitimately gratifying his psychological needs. There is empirical data which indicates that the psychological needs of safety and self-esteem are affected by the prison environment to reinforce criminal values. Roebuck and Cadwallader, in a study of 32 Negro armed robbers, indicate that prior to and after incarceration these men displayed personalities low in safety need gratification:

> As a group the robbers appeared to be physically strong and in very good health. . . Generally they were sharply critical of other people including relatives and friends. They criticized established social institutions: the family, marriage, the church, the economic system, the courts, and law enforcement machinery. . . They rationalized away their past difficulties by placing the "blame" for their mistakes on others. They expressed bitterness toward police and the courts for their present sentence.[8]

Thus, the personality profiles of these men held in maximum security institutions seem to validate the notion that this type of incarceration does nothing to change the criminal values at the base of their personalities. Quite the contrary, the prison environment deprived them of legitimate

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[8]Julian B. Roebuck and Mervyn L. Cadwallader, "The Negro Armed Robber as a Criminal Type: The Construction and Application of a Typology," Pacific Sociological Review, IV (Spring, 1961), 25.

safety need gratification. This made them as much or more predisposed toward crime than when they were first incarcerated.

Dr. Fred Pesetski, Director of the Michigan Correctional Psychiatric Clinic at Jackson, indicates that, before corrections will be successful in changing the criminal behavioral attitudes and habits of men confined in maximum security institutions, prisons must devise the means for establishing rather than destroying self-esteem in inmates:

> It's not a country club type of experience we are interested in promoting in a prison. It is a more humane type of place heading toward the one thing that has been found significant in studies of human change in juvenile delinquents and criminals--the development of self-esteem.
>
> Self-esteem in an individual makes it possible for him to blunt himself against the negative aspects of the numerous variables in his environment. He will be able to withstand things. But most of the programming in prisons and probably the most objectionable part of prisons is that most are designed to tear down self-esteem.
>
> When the offender comes to prison, we tell him what time he has to go to bed, what time he has to get up, where he is going to work, what kind of work he is going to do, who can visit him, who cannot visit him, and who he can write letters to. Some institutions even censor what he can get and dictate what kind of magazines he can subscribe to, what kind of reading he can do, and how much toilet paper he can use. He has all of this outlined for him. All of the institutional programs we have move into the type of approach where everybody is trying to help somebody; and in the

process, they end up crippling him by robbing him of his own self-esteem and dignity.9

Purpose and Hypotheses

While there is obviously some semblance of truth to the foregoing observational empiricism, this study was scientifically undertaken to experimentally demonstrate the actual effects of incarceration in medium and maximum security correctional institutions upon inmate personality. Generally, it shall be shown that incarceration in medium and maximum security institutions has both a positive and negative effect upon the personality perimeters of inmate safety and self-esteem need levels. However, the specific hypotheses to be proved in this study are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: After approximately 1 to 1½ years' incarceration in a medium security institution, which stresses more humane practices of rehabilitation, esteem scores for the inmates tested significantly increased and their safety scores significantly decreased.

Hypothesis 2: After approximately 1 to 1½ years' incarceration of similar men in a maximum security institution, which emphasizes less humane practices of punitive retribution and deterrence, inmate safety need levels substantially increased while their esteem need levels significantly decreased.

9Information obtained from a taped interview with Dr. Fred Pesetski, Director, Michigan Correctional Psychiatric Clinic, Jackson, Michigan, February 14, 1972.

It shall be suggested that perhaps the best explanation for these personality changes is that the intertwining structure and philosophical nature of institutionalization in medium and maximum security correctional institutions is responsible for these effects of incarceration on inmate safety and esteem need levels.

Methodology

To accomplish the major objective of this study, 34 homogeneous men were randomly selected on the basis of statistical information obtained from the files of the Michigan Department of Corrections. This primary group of inmates was divided into two secondary groups, each composed of 17 men. The first secondary group (numbers 1-17) was confined at the Michigan Training Unit, a medium security correctional institution. The second secondary group (numbers 18-34) was incarcerated at the Michigan Reformatory, Ionia's maximum security institution. The Rotter adult sentence completion test was utilized to delineate the distinction between the development of criminal personality in the first and second secondary groups which are respectively confined at the Michigan Training Unit and the Michigan Reformatory. The Rotter test was adapted to measure an inmate's motivational safety and esteem need levels by scoring it in accordance with the rules and principles of scoring outlined in Dr. Joel Aronoff's

A Test and Scoring Manual for the Measurement of Safety, Love and Belongingness, and Esteem Needs.

After the primary group had been selected and divided into the two secondary groups, Rotter tests were administered. There were two testings. The first testing was administered to all 34 men of the primary group at the Jackson Diagnostic Center where they received a one- or two-month orientation to prison life prior to being assigned to either medium or maximum security institutions. The purpose of the first testing was to establish control data for measuring personality differences in safety and esteem need levels after the primary group was divided into two secondary groups which were each sent to their respective medium and maximum security institutions.

The second testing involved retesting the men of the primary group after approximately 1 to 1½ years' incarceration in the medium and maximum security institutions to which they were assigned. The difference between safety and esteem need levels of the first and second testings was computed as an index of the effects of incarceration on these psychological needs motivating the behavior of men. Thus, personality changes resulting from incarceration in medium and maximum security correctional institutions were reliably determined by comparing motivational differences indicated by changes in safety and esteem need levels between the primary group originally tested at the Jackson Diagnostic Center and the secondary groups retested after

1 to 1½ years of incarceration in either medium or maximum security institutions. All-in-all, this procedure provides a scientific methodology for valid determination of the effects of incarceration in correctional institutions with dissimilar environments on the personalities of similar men.

Review of the Literature

A. H. Maslow in his book, Motivation and Personality, argued that an individual's behavior is motivated according to his ability to satisfy a set of five organismically based psychological needs. These needs are arranged in an ascending hierarchy of five need levels: (1) physiological, (2) safety, (3) love and belongingness, (4) self-esteem, and (5) self-actualization. Rather than being separate groups of motives capable of expression in any random order, Maslow's need hierarchy is based upon the notion that before an individual can operate on a higher need level the prior needs must be relatively well satisfied.[10]

This study focuses on the measurement of safety and self-esteem need levels to ascertain the effects of incarceration on the motivational development of criminal personality. Many techniques have been used in the measurement of these motives. They include both objective forced-choice tests and objective scoring processes for free-response

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[10]A. H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1970).

projective tests. However, in this study the sentence completion form of testing has been employed because it combines the strengths of the forced-choice and free-response projective tests. The sentence completion test was utilized in this study because it is easily adapted to measure safety and esteem need motivation levels, the language presented in it is a true objectivation of the tested subject's construction of reality, many divergent responses may be elicited, and the test is easily scored by categorizing the differing responses according to common themes expressed at a particular need level.

The major obstacle to be overcome in applying the sentence completion test to measurement of motives is that the response can be too short, too specific, and too ambiguous to give a clear indication of the responder's meaning. Joel Aronoff, Doctor of Psychology at Michigan State University, has developed a test and scoring manual which has attempted to capitalize on the strengths of this method while providing instruction on how to avoid the problems of interpretation or scoring to improve reliability.[11]

The basic technique of this study in utilizing the sentence completion method of measuring motives was to adapt Aronoff's principles of scoring to the Rotter incomplete sentences form given to inmates when they were first

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[11]Joel Aronoff, Ph.D., A Test and Scoring Manual for the Measurement of Safety, Love and Belongingness, and Esteem Needs, (Unpublished Manual, Michigan State University, East Lansing, December, 1971), p. 2.

indoctrinated into the correctional system at the Jackson Diagnostic Center. The inmates chosen for this study were asked to complete forty stems in writing (See Appendix A for Rotter form). Using Aronoff's rules or criteria for evaluating each sentence, the responses were categorized and subcategorized into either safety or esteem responses. Each need level scored in accordance with Aronoff's criteria was divided into three subsidiary categories. Safety needs were subdivided into the following categories: (1) insecurity, mistrust, and withdrawal, (2) dependency, and (3) incompetence. Esteem needs were divided into the following subsidiaries: (1) gratified esteem needs, (2) need for esteem gratification, and (3) low self-esteem.[12]

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[12]Aronoff, p. 3.

CHAPTER I

PRIMARY GROUP TESTING

Definitions and Scoring Criteria

When the 34 subjects of this study were sentenced to serve time in the Michigan correctional system, they were sent to the Diagnostic Center at the Southern Michigan State Prison. In this clinic the men were extensively screened to ascertain which of the Michigan correctional institutions would most benefit them. In addition to being personally interviewed by staff counselors and categorized according to rehabilitation potential and security risk, the men were extensively tested. The Rotter adult sentence completion form was among the battery of psychological tests administered them. These tests were obtained for the subjects studied and scored to ascertain safety and esteem need levels before the men were sent to their respective medium and maximum security institutions.

The scoring process involved adapting the Rotter responses to Aronoff's principles of scoring. Thus, the following definitions and scoring criteria were rigidly observed to increase the reliability of this research:

Safety Needs. Safety needs are identified by the individual's intense desire to fulfill his requirement for a predictable, secure, and orderly world.[13] Maslow parallels the objectivation of safety needs into social reality as the externalization of behavior or verbal responses reflecting a need for "security; stability; dependency; protection; freedom from fear, from anxiety and chaos; need for structure, order, law, limits; /and/ strength in the protector."[14] Thus, when these needs are not satisfied, the individual will perceive other people, himself, and the world as unsafe, unjust, inconsistent, unreliable and will seek or create areas of life offering more stability and protection. These perceptions can be ascertained not only from the individual's physical responses but from his verbal responses to sentence completion tests as well.

According to Aronoff, safety needs are identifiable within the bounds of the following three subcategories: (1) insecurity, mistrust, and withdrawal, (2) dependency, and (3) personal incompetence. Aronoff has defined the characteristics of these categories. The first category may be scored at a safety level when the subject's response deals with the following three issues:

1. insecurity: The person is uncertain of his ability to handle social relationships, situational events or personal feelings. He may also indicate a desire to set up

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[13]Aronoff, p. 5.

[14]Maslow, p. 39.

external structures that will do the job for him. The emphasis here is on a personal subjective state of confusion, disorientation, helplessness or anxiety.[15]

2. mistrust: The person feels that other people or the world in general are threatening in some way or else unpleasantly undependable. The person shows a belief that he cannot rely on other people or on institutions, which leads to a general orientation of mistrust.[16]

3. withdrawal: Possibly because of beliefs such as those expressed above, the person withdraws from transactions with other people. While this is particularly clear in the case of attack or situational pressure, more usually on the test it is shown as a general characteristic without the overt presence of a specific event.[17]

Aronoff has determined the limits within which a safety score on the dependency subset level may be made.

> A person may move somewhat beyond the simple stating of his feelings of insecurity or inadequacy by demanding a relationship in which someone else will care for him in some way, or give him help to meet the problem. These needs may be stated straightforwardly (e.g., "I need help") or else by the desire for a relationship which will provide care (e.g., "being married," or "loyalty"). However, in the statement of such relationships it is important that the relationship be stated either neutrally (e.g., "marriage") or else that the emotion be directed to the person (e.g., "someone loving me"). A dependent relationship exhibits no positive and reciprocal peer emotional response to the union. Many responses will indicate a desire to return to home or childhood either directly (e.g., "become a child again") or

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[15]Aronoff, p. 6.

[16]Ibid., p. 7.

[17]Ibid., p. 9.

> by childish moralizing (e.g., "it's important to be neat and clean") or else by a more symbolic statement of childhood pleasures (e.g., "the best food is ice cream"; "I want a pet dog."). Other responses indicate a retreat from the world into food, sleep, drugs, or warmth.[18]

A safety score for personal incompetence may be made under the following circumstances:

> On a test such as this, the stem often presents a challenge to the person which he is forced to meet in some way. This category is scored when the person cannot meet positively the task or challenge posed to him by the stem. In attempting to respond, the person may variously indicate his failure, his reluctance to engage himself in overcoming the problem, portray himself as inadequate to the task, or state a feeling of dislike for himself. In general, there is no indication of a desire to fight back or to overcome the problem. It is important to note in scoring this category that this is, basically, the indication of failure without a desire to do or be better. There is no presentation of an internalized standard against which he is measuring himself. When the sense of inadequacy is coupled with an indication to do better, or seen as brought about by the failure to meet a higher standard or goal, then it should be scored in the low self-esteem category.[19]

Self-esteem Needs. The need for self-esteem is objectivated as behavior which gives one a high sense of self-worth and is internalized by the receipt of self-esteem from others. Maslow defines these needs as two distinct categories. Firstly, there are "the desires for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for mastery and competence, for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence

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[18]Aronoff, p. 10.

[19]Ibid., pp. 12-13.

and freedom. Secondly, . . . the desire for reputation or prestige (defining it as respect or esteem from other people), status, fame and glory, dominance, recognition, attention, importance, dignity or appreciation."[20] Aronoff indicated that, in addition to these characteristics, the need for self-esteem may be manifest or expressed as "the desires for self-reliance, self-acceptance, power, confidence, competition, trust in one's own abilities or self, leadership, and autonomy."[21]

For scoring purposes, Aronoff categorizes the need for self-esteem into the three following major classifications: (1) gratified esteem needs, (2) need for esteem gratification, and (3) low self-esteem.[22]

Gratified esteem needs is a category "in which the individual successfully functions in the present at the esteem level."[23] According to Aronoff, it is subdivided into the following two orientations which are the criteria for identifying it from responses given on the sentence completion tests:

> 1. competence: Competence is scored when the person considers himself able to perform a particular task, or portrays a successful accomplishment to the task or challenge presented by the stem. There is a reasonably clear indication that

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[20]Aronoff, p. 20.

[21]Ibid., p.20.

[22]Ibid., p. 3.

[23]Ibid., p. 21.

> the individual has either done this or similar tasks in the past and feels reasonably confident of his performance in the future. Included in this area are items which denote genuine or unusual achievements, but the expectation of achievement or success must be within the bounds of reason and plausibility. Extraordinary ambitions or claims are much more likely to be the sort of fantasies scored under the need for esteem gratification. Similarly wanting success is not scored (it is the need for esteem gratification) but expecting success is.[24]

2. self-acceptance, self-assurance, pride in self: These responses indicate the positive quality of the individual's self-evaluation. The person seems to compare himself with what he ideally wants to be and is satisfied or pleased. He likes and approves of himself and sees others as liking and approving him too. Similarly, he may see himself as a model for others.[25]

The need for esteem gratification is defined as follows:

> In this category fall most of the direct expressions of the many dimensions of the esteem needs discussed earlier. In general, the quality that characterizes them is the sense that a sufficient degree of self-worth is not yet attained, that it is in the future, and so through the sentences the means for such proof is presented, or the lack of sufficient certainty is explicitly or implicitly stated.[26]

For the purposes of scoring, the need for esteem gratification seems to cluster around the following three subcategories:

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[24]Aronoff, p. 21.

[25]Ibid., p. 23.

[26]Ibid., p. 24.

1. dominance and derision: Responses of this type show that the individual achieves a sense of worth through creating a hierarchy between himself and another and demonstrating his superior position by the use of power, influence, control or derision of others.[27]

2. competition: Responses of this type are based similarly on the individual's validation of self through his relative position with others. However, rather than harming or controlling someone, as with the previous type, the person here is concerned with expressing a direct competition with others and his emerging superior or triumphant.[28]

3. demands for esteem gratification: This is the most frequent orientation and deals primarily with the individual's evaluation of himself either in terms of some internal standard or else expressions of personal hopes for future achievement. In this group fall statements covering the range of characteristics noted by Maslow in his presentation of esteem needs. Issues that are commonly found are expressions of becoming proficient at a skill or career, boasting, desires for wealth and fame, social mobility, autonomy and freedom, the hope for discovery of self or fulfillment in life, claims of unrealistic or extravagant goals, and desires for more respect, or a sense of personal insult. In general, the characteristic that distinguishes this sub-category of the need for esteem gratification from the gratified esteem needs category, particularly when careers and competence are being discussed, is its concern with future achievements rather than present abilities.[29]

The final major classification for esteem needs is low self-esteem. Aronoff explains how this category can be identified for scoring responses on sentence completion tests:

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[27]Aronoff, p. 24.

[28]Ibid., p. 26.

[29]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

> As noted above, this category does not deal with the absence of esteem concerns, but rather with expressions of disappointment with self for failing to possess abilities or attributes which the person would like to have. Statements which simply indicate failure or incompetence are to be scored under the incompetence category. The central discriminating feature of this category is that the person sees a difference between what he is and what he would like to be and is troubled. Although this discrepancy may be implicitly presented by posing the contrast or stating it simply, many sentences of this kind include strongly self-critical references.[30]

In addition to strictly observing the above definitions and substantive principles of scoring when evaluating the Rotter tests of the 34 subjects of this study, reliability was further increased through practice of Aronoff's 19 procedural rules on the mechanics of scoring (see Appendix B).[31]

Validity and Sample Homogeneity

To increase the validity of this research and more accurately test the actual effects of incarceration on inmate safety and esteem need levels, other variables which affect an individual's personality were held relatively constant. The variables controlled to minimize this interference are as follows: race, sex, frequency of institutionalization in Michigan correctional facilities, age group, I.Q., achieved educational level, crime

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[30]Aronoff, pp. 29-30.

[31]Ibid., pp. 33-39.

presently confined for, sentence, and the period of incarceration between first and second testings. All 34 subjects selected for this study were Negro males incarcerated in the Michigan correctional system for the first time. They were from 18 to 24 years of age, had achieved between the fifth and twelfth grade school level, and had I.Q.'s measuring from 90 to 119. All the subjects were serving a minimum of 1½ to a maximum of up to 50 years in prison for committing the crime of armed robbery or the closely related offense of assault with intent to rob and steal armed. The period of incarceration between first and second testings was approximately 1 to 1½ years.

Table 1 and Table 2 on pages 27 and 28 are composed of information gathered from the files of the Research and Planning Division of the Michigan Department of Corrections and are an individual breakdown by institution of the above-mentioned controlled personality variables.

A summary of these two tables shows that the average subject of this study was a Negro male approximately 20 years of age who was incarcerated in the Michigan correctional system for the first time. He was serving an average sentence of 7½ to 15 years for armed robbery or the closely related crime of assault with intent to rob and steal armed. His I.Q. was around 95; and while he had completed up to the ninth or tenth grade in high school, he placed at the 6½ to 7th grade level on achievement tests.

Table 1

Statistical Factor Analysis Chart
For Subjects (Nos. 1-17) Sent To
The Michigan Training Unit

Subject	Age	I.Q.	Average Grade Level	Sentence and Date	Crime		Approx. Period Between Testings
					Armed Robbery	Assault W/Intent To Steal Armed	
1	24	90-109	7	2-5,6/71	X		13 mos.
2	20	90-109	7	2-5,8/71	X		12 mos.
3	19	90-109	8	5½-20,9/71	X		11 mos.
4	20	90-109	6	2-5,11/71	X		9 mos.
5	18	110-119	11	2-5,10/71	X		10 mos.
6	18	110-119	7	5-15,9/71	X		11 mos.
7	20	90-109	6	2-5,8/71	X		12 mos.
8	19	90-109	8	5-10,6/71	X		14 mos.
9	18	90-109	7	4-10,11/71		X	9 mos.
10	21	90-109	6	3-15,10/71		X	10 mos.
11	21	90-109	8	4-15,9/71		X	11 mos.
12	20	90-109	9	3-10,9/71		X	11 mos.
13	22	90-109	6	3½-15,7/71		X	13 mos.
14	20	90-109	8	3-15,7/71		X	13 mos.
15	20	90-109	5	4-10,3/71		X	17 mos.
16	21	90-109	7	3½-10,5/71		X	15 mos.
17	21	90-109	7	3½-10,3/71		X	17 mos.

Table 2

Statistical Factor Analysis Chart
For Subjects (Nos. 18-34) Sent To
The Michigan Reformatory

Subject	Age	I.Q.	Average Grade Level	Sentence and Date	Crime		Approx. Period Between Testings
					Armed Robbery	Assault W/Intent To Steal Armed	
18	22	90-109	6	10-20,9/71		X	11 mos.
19	22	90-109	5	3-10,10/71		X	10 mos.
20	21	90-109	6	7½-15,9/71		X	11 mos.
21	19	90-109	6	15-30,6/71		X	14 mos.
22	24	90-109	8	5-15,4/71		X	16 mos.
23	19	90-109	7	7-15,1/71		X	19 mos.
24	19	90-109	7	6½-10,2/71		X	18 mos.
25	22	110-119	8	3-15,1/71		X	19 mos.
26	23	110-119	6	15-25,3/71	X		17 mos.
27	18	90-109	12	10-50,12/71	X		8 mos.
28	20	90-109	5	18-25,9/71	X		11 mos.
29	20	90-109	6	6½-15,6/71	X		14 mos.
30	19	90-109	7	7½-15,7/71	X		13 mos.
31	20	90-109	6	7-20,8/71	X		12 mos.
32	21	90-109	7	10-20,10/71	X		10 mos.
33	21	90-109	6	2½-10,1/71		X	19 mos.
34	20	90-109	5	5½-20,6/71	X		14 mos.

Note: The categories of sex, race, and number of times incarcerated in the Michigan correctional system were omitted from this chart because they lacked any variability (i.e., all the subjects studied were male Negroes who were incarcerated in the Michigan correctional system for the first time).

The most apparent distinction revealed through study of the above demographic data is that most of the men confined at the Michigan Reformatory were initially sentenced to a term of five or more years, while those sent to the Michigan Training Unit possessed sentences less than five years in duration. The reason for this disparity is that it is the policy of the Michigan Department of Corrections to assign men with a minimum five-year sentence to a maximum security institution and conversely to assign similar men with less than a five-year minimum sentence to a medium security institution. According to William Kime, Director of the Program Bureau of the Michigan Department of Corrections, this policy is followed because of the high escape risk involved with the offender who is confronted with serving a long sentence and because of the need to segregate the hardened criminals from the less formidable ones.[32] Thus, it is tragic that because the length of sentence is determinative of the type of institution to which an offender is assigned, men similar to those sent to the Michigan Training Unit may be arbitrarily incarcerated in a maximum security institution simply because they possess a minimum sentence of five years or more.

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[32]Information obtained from an interview with William Kime, Director, Program Bureau, Michigan Department of Corrections, Lansing, Michigan, April 1972.

Findings of the Primary Group Testing

The first measurement of esteem and safety need levels which reflects inmate personality was administered to the primary group at the Jackson Diagnostic Center before it was divided into secondary groups which were sent to their respective medium and maximum security institutions. Tables 3 and 4 on pages 31 and 32 show the findings of the first testing for the subjects (numbers 1-17) who were later sent to the Michigan Training Unit, a medium security institution, and those subjects (numbers 18-34) who were later sent to the Michigan Reformatory, a maximum security institution. These results were used as control data for measuring personality differences in safety and esteem need levels after the primary group was divided into two secondary groups which were each sent to their respective medium and maximum security institutions.

A study of Tables 3 and 4 supports the conclusion that the personalities in terms of safety and esteem need levels of the 34 subjects tested were not significantly different before they were incarcerated in either medium or maximum security correctional institutions. The mean safety score for the primary group subjects (numbers 1-17) who were later sent to the Michigan Training Unit, a medium security institution, was 19.4. For the primary group subjects (numbers 18-34) who were later sent to the Michigan Reformatory, a maximum security correctional

Table 3

Primary Group Safety and Esteem Need Scores for Subjects (Nos. 1-17) Later Sent to The Michigan Training Unit

Subject	Safety	Esteem	Total Responses
1	17	12	29
2	18	18	36
3	22	13	35
4	17	13	30
5	22	11	33
6	21	16	37
7	18	13	31
8	16	8	24
9	18	20	38
10	23	12	35
11	19	13	32
12	20	19	39
13	17	15	32
14	25	11	36
15	23	14	37
16	11	20	31
17	24	12	36
Totals	331	240	571

Table 4

Primary Group Safety and Esteem Need Scores for Subjects (Nos. 18-34) Later Sent to The Michigan Reformatory

Subject	Safety	Esteem	Total Responses
18	13	11	24
19	20	17	37
20	14	23	37
21	17	20	37
22	8	8	16
23	17	18	35
24	17	16	33
25	20	17	37
26	20	18	38
27	25	14	39
28	17	23	40
29	23	12	35
30	23	14	37
31	12	16	28
32	21	16	37
33	13	4	17
34	17	18	35
Totals	297	265	562

institution, the mean safety score was 17.6. This represents a difference of only 1.9 in the groups' safety scores. Thus, there was no significant difference in the safety need levels for the men of the primary group who were later sent to the Michigan Training Unit and the Michigan Reformatory respectively.

Likewise, no significant difference was found in the esteem need levels of the primary group subjects later sent to the Michigan Training Unit and the Michigan Reformatory. The mean esteem score for subjects of the primary group (numbers 1-17) who were later sent to the Michigan Training Unit was 14.1. For the subjects of the primary group (numbers 18-34) who were later sent to the Michigan Reformatory, the mean esteem score was 15.6. This represents an insignificant difference in the esteem need levels between these groups of only 1.5. Thus, there was no significant difference in the esteem need levels for the subjects of the primary group who were later incarcerated at the Michigan Training Unit and the Michigan Reformatory respectively. All-in-all, these primary group test findings have established appropriate controls for measuring personality differences in terms of the changes in safety and esteem need levels motivating the behavior of similar men after they have been incarcerated for 1 to 1½ years in their respective medium and maximum security correctional institutions.

CHAPTER II

TESTING OF SECONDARY GROUPS

Retest Findings

After their orientation at the Jackson Diagnostic Center, the subjects of the primary group were divided into two secondary groups. Subjects 1-17 composed the first secondary group which was assigned to serve time at the Michigan Training Unit, a medium security correctional institution. The second secondary group was composed of subjects 18-34 and was incarcerated at the Michigan Reformatory, a maximum security correctional institution.

The subjects of each of these groups were retested by the same method after they had been incarcerated in the medium and maximum security institutions to which they were respectively assigned. The difference between safety and esteem need levels of the first and second testings was computed as an index of the effects of incarceration on these psychological needs motivating the behavior of men. Thus, personality changes resulting from incarceration in medium and maximum security correctional institutions were reliably determined by comparing motivational differences indicated by changes in safety and esteem need

levels between the primary group originally tested at the Jackson Diagnostic Center and the secondary groups retested after approximately 1 to 1½ years of incarceration in either medium or maximum security institutions.

Tables 5 and 6 on pages 36 and 37 not only show the safety and esteem scores for the subjects retested in their respective institutions, but also demonstrate the simple effects of incarceration on similar men confined for approximately 1 to 1½ years in medium and maximum security correctional facilities.

The Effects of Incarceration

From Tables 5 and 6 one can see that incarceration in medium and maximum security institutions has both a positive and negative effect upon inmate personality. It is apparent that after approximately 1 to 1½ years of incarceration in the Michigan Training Unit, a medium security correctional institution which stresses more humane practices of rehabilitation, esteem scores for the inmates tested significantly increased ($p < .01$) and safety scores significantly decreased ($p < .05$). The mean safety score after the men had been confined at the Michigan Training Unit for approximately 1 to 1½ years dropped 4.6 points from 19.4 at the Jackson Diagnostic Center to 14.0. This represents a substantial decrease in safety of 23%. It is indeed encouraging that the mean esteem score

Table 5

Changes in Safety and Esteem Need Scores
For Subjects (Nos. 1-17) Retested After 1 to 1½ Years
Incarceration at the Michigan Training Unit

Subject	Safety	Esteem	Change in Safety	Change in Esteem
1	16	15	-1	+3
2	17	20	-1	+2
3	18	16	-4	+3
4	9	14	-8	+1
5	16	18	-6	+7
6	13	17	-8	+1
7	19	18	+1	+5
8	16	17	0	+9
9	11	28	-7	+8
10	11	19	-12	+7
11	9	22	-10	+9
12	13	23	-7	+4
13	8	21	-9	+6
14	19	14	-6	+3
15	22	15	-1	+1
16	7	24	-4	+4
17	14	19	-10	+7
Totals	238	320	-93	+80

Table 6

Changes in Safety and Esteem Need Scores
For Subjects (Nos. 18-34) Retested After 1 to 1½ Years
Incarceration at the Michigan Reformatory

Subject	Safety	Esteem	Change in Safety	Change in Esteem
18	22	11	+9	0
19	22	13	+2	-4
20	21	15	+7	-8
21	14	20	-3	0
22	30	5	+22	-3
23	19	11	+2	-7
24	16	15	-1	-1
25	24	9	+4	-8
26	24	13	+4	-5
27	26	9	+1	-5
28	23	13	+6	-10
29	20	8	-3	-4
30	20	14	-3	0
31	20	14	+8	-2
32	21	15	0	-1
33	25	7	+12	+3
34	19	14	+2	-4
Totals	366	206	+69	-59

increased by about the same degree as the safety score declined. The mean esteem score for the subjects incarcerated for approximately 1 to 1½ years at the Michigan Training Unit increased 4.7 points from 14.1 to 18.8. This represents a 33% increase in esteem need level. These figures strongly indicate that the effect of incarceration in medium security institutions like the Michigan Training Unit is to change inmate personality by completely displacing high levels of safety motivation with a greater level of self-esteem.

However, the above tables also show that after approximately 1 to 1½ years' incarceration of similar men at the Michigan Reformatory, a maximum security institution which emphasizes less humane practices of punitive retribution and deterrence, inmate safety need levels substantially increased ($p < .10$) and their esteem need levels significantly decreased ($p < .01$). The mean safety score after the subjects (numbers 18-34) were incarcerated at the Michigan Reformatory for approximately 1 to 1½ years increased 4 points from 17.5 at the Jackson Diagnostic Center to 21.5. This represents a substantial increase in the need for safety of 23%. It is truly tragic that self-esteem levels dropped about the same amount by which safety needs increased. The mean esteem score for the subjects at the Michigan Reformatory decreased 3.5 points from 15.6 at the Jackson Diagnostic Center to 12.1. This represents a decrease in self-esteem of 23%. The displacement theory

is negatively functional at the Michigan Reformatory. That is, the statistical findings of this study indicate that maximum security correctional institutions like the Michigan Reformatory have a negative effect upon the development of inmate personality because they tend to produce a diminished level of self-esteem and substantially increase the motivational safety need level.

Thus, the effects of incarceration on safety and esteem need levels of inmates held in medium security facilities are opposite the effects of incarceration on the safety and esteem need levels of inmates confined in maximum security correctional institutions. While the subjects in the medium security institution were afforded the opportunity to satisfy their need for a predictable, secure, and orderly world, the inmates in maximum security were not. Thus, unlike the inmates held in the maximum security institution, the studied inmates of the medium security institution were less apt to return to crime in a desperately futile attempt to seek and create areas of life affording more stability and protection when they are finally released.

Likewise, in contrast to the maximum security correctional institution, this study demonstrates that the medium security institution has more successfully instilled a sense of self-esteem in its inmates. Differing from the inmates studied in maximum security, those subjects studied in the medium security institution displayed a progressive increase in esteem need levels tending toward ultimate

internalization of gratified esteem needs. As opposed to the subjects studied in the maximum security institution, the inmates of the medium security institution pose the greater potential for being rehabilitated. This is true because their behavior will be objectivated as reflecting the impetus for strength, achievement, adequacy, mastery, and confidence to face the world when their strongly desired craving for independence is realized and they are finally released from prison. Unlike the inmates studied in maximum security who experienced a decrease in self-esteem, the subjects studied in medium security are likely to grasp the advantages and rewards of living a productive life when released.

Interjudge Reliability

Because all the data was gathered before the first and second tests were scored, the complete scoring process was accomplished within a one- to two-week time interval. For this reason the interjudge reliabilities as measured by the Pearson product-movement correlations were computed on the sum total of scores obtained from the first and second testings. The interjudge reliabilities for the paired scorers of this study were .70 for safety needs and .82 for esteem needs.

Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance

Esteem Scores. The mean of each of the coders paired judgments was used as the basic data and subjected to a 2 (type of correctional institution: medium or maximum security) x 2 (length of incarceration: approximately 1 to 1½ years) repeated measures analysis of variance. Table 7 summarizes the results for esteem scores. The significant effect of incarceration for type of correctional institution indicates that the inmates tested were significantly different in their esteem scores after approximately 1 to 1½ years of incarceration. The significant effect of incarceration for the length of incarceration indicates that they also differed in level of esteem from admission to reevaluation approximately 1 to 1½ years later. Further inspection of Table 7 reveals a significant interaction between the type of correctional institution and the length of incarceration upon inmate esteem scores.

Table 7

Analysis of Variance of Type of Correctional Institution x Length of Incarceration for Esteem Scores

Source	df	ms	F
Between	31		
Type of Institution (A)	1	225	7.28*
Subjects within	30	30.90	
Within	32		
Length of Incarceration (B)	1	28	22.05*
A x B	1	256	
B x Subjects within	30	1.27	201.57*

*$p < .01$

As predicted by Hypotheses 1 and 2 on page 12, tests of simple effects confirmed that there were significant changes in the mean esteem scores after approximately 1 to 1½ years' incarceration. The mean esteem score for the medium security inmates (19.75) was significantly higher than for maximum security inmates (12.00) ($F = 5.63$, $df = 1,30$; $p < .05$). Furthermore, the increase in the esteem scores for the medium security inmates was also significant ($F = 177.95$, $df = 1,30$; $p < .01$) as was the decrease for inmates under maximum security ($F = 45.67$, $df = 1,30$; $p < .01$). However, there were no significant differences in esteem scores at the time of admission. Table 8 summarizes the mean esteem scores for inmates at their respective medium or maximum security institution.

Table 8

Mean Esteem Scores for Inmates at Medium and Maximum Security Correctional Institutions

Correctional Institution	Mean Esteem Score	
	Admission	1½ Yrs.
Medium	14.44	19.75
Maximum	14.68	12.00

Safety Scores. Table 9 on page 43 summarizes the results for safety scores which were also subjected to 2 (type of correctional institution: maximum or medium security) x 2 (length of incarceration: approximately 1 to 1½ years) repeated measures analysis of variance. The

significant effect for type of correctional facility indicates that the inmates were significantly different in their safety scores after approximately 1 to 1½ years of incarceration. Further inspection of Table 9 reveals a significant interaction between type of correctional facility and length of incarceration upon the safety scores.

Table 9

Analysis of Variance of Type of Correctional Institution x Length of Incarceration for Safety Scores

Source	df	ms	F
Between	31		
Type of Institution (A)	1	272	111.93*
Subjects within	30	2.43	
Within	32		
Length of Incarceration (B)	1	6	< 1
A x B	1	281	9.77*
B x Subjects within	30	28.77	

*$p < .01$

As predicted by Hypotheses 1 and 2 on page 12, tests of simple effects indicated that there were significant changes in the mean safety scores after approximately 1 to 1½ years of incarceration. Inspection of Table 10 on page 44 shows that there was a significant decrease in the safety scores for inmates at the medium security prison ($F = 6.43$, $df = 1,30$; $p < .05$) and a marginally significant increase at the maximum security institution ($F = 3.51$, $df = 1,30$; $p < .10$). Further, after approximately 1 to 1½ years of incarceration, the difference in the safety scores for the

inmates at the respective institutions was also highly significant ($F = 36.15$, $df = 1,30$; $p < .01$). However, there were no differences in the mean safety scores at the time of admission to the correctional system.

Table 10

Mean Safety Scores for Inmates at Medium and Maximum Security Correctional Institutions

Correctional Institution	Mean Safety Score	
	Admission	1½ Yrs.
Medium	17.62	12.81
Maximum	17.50	21.31

The Nature of Institutionalization and the Effects of Incarceration

Michigan prisons, under the central control of the Department of Corrections, are classified into three distinct types depending upon the degree of custody and control allotted each inmate. These three prison types include minimum, medium, and maximum security institutions. Minimum security reformatories possess the least restrictive security system and require that "trustees" only be periodically, randomly spot-checked. In medium security penal institutions, men are allowed to work outside and move freely without custody officers being with them at all times. The Michigan Training Unit in Ionia is an example of a medium security institution because the guard-inmate ratio is only approximately fourteen to one (14:1). At maximum security

institutions like the Michigan Reformatory at Ionia and Southern Michigan State Prison at Jackson, the system of control is tightest. One guard is responsible for controlling the movement of seven men, and behavior of the men is strictly regulated with the threat of disciplinary measures.

Perhaps the best explanation for the personality changes presented in this study is that the intertwining philosophical and structural nature of institutionalization in medium and maximum security correctional institutions is responsible for production and perpetuation of these changes. One of the important findings of this study is that similar men confined at the Michigan Training Unit, a medium security correctional institution, for approximately 1 to 1½ years experienced a personality change in which their self-esteem need level was significantly increased by about one-third and their need for safety was significantly lowered by approximately one-fourth. The reason why this change occurred is probably because the physical facilities of the Michigan Training Unit are structured to accommodate a practical philosophy of rehabilitation in which all staff efforts and programs are focused upon instilling a sense of self-esteem in the inmate.

By giving the inmate a marketable trade which he may practice when released, it is within the nature of institutionalization at the Michigan Training Unit to not only develop the offender's self-esteem, but also to make continued esteem gratification possible by providing the

necessary economic support for its maintenance. For example, in addition to an excellent academic background, the inmates at the Michigan Training Unit are privileged with the opportunity to learn trades like auto mechanics and auto body repair, air conditioning service and repair, computer programming, and many other trades which are demanded and readily saleable on the American labor market when the inmate is released. Not only are these numerous educational and vocational training programs offered, but they are taught in a campus-like setting by well qualified instructors and on the most modern equipment produced. Given a trustee-like status, the inmate is allowed to move freely within the institutional structure as long as he abides by the rules and fulfills his responsibilities. It is easily understood why an inmate who completes a term at the Michigan Training Unit has at least an 80% chance of not returning to prison and experiencing a significant increase in self-esteem and a significant decrease in his safety need levels.

In contrast to the Michigan Training Unit, the Michigan Reformatory is not physically structured to perpetuate a philosophy of rehabilitation. Instead, the Michigan Reformatory is a maximum security institution which is structured to promote philosophies of punitive retribution and deterrence. This is the primary reason it was found that the effects of incarceration on subjects studied in the maximum security institution were to substantially

decrease their level of self-esteem needs and significantly increase their need for safety.

Generally, one of the most promising ways to enhance community security is to prevent the frequent occurrence of crime by rehabilitating offenders. Logically, such rehabilitation protects society because a rehabilitated criminal will not commit future crimes. However, mechanical processing of inmates through maximum security institutions precludes this objective. Rather than promoting rehabilitative crime prevention, it was shown in the introductory chapter of this composition that these institutions stress measures centered around strict custodial practices which are punitive in nature and are exercised at the expense of effective treatment operations.

Unlike the inmate at the Michigan Training Unit who has a wide degree of freedom to move within the institutional structure to achieve a higher education and vocational training, the inmate incarcerated at the Michigan Reformatory has very little freedom to move independently through the facilities. As he is integrated into the prison population, security is constantly with him and he is subject to constant shakedowns. If he is taught a trade, the chances are very poor that it will be marketable when he is released. Assimilated into the maximum security prison environment, the inmate is physically restrained by high walls and drained of the self-esteem which comes with the realization of freedom and autonomy. The constant threat

of harm symbolized by the presence of gun towers and a highly intimidating prison social structure contributes to the inmate's feelings of insecurity and accounts for his high safety need level. In contrast to the guards of the Michigan Training Unit who are clad in sports clothes and act as counselors, the custodial officers at the Michigan Reformatory are dressed in gestapo-like uniforms and regulate the inmate's every movement. While this strict handling of inmates achieves the immediate goal of securing the community from the occurrence of escapes, it fails to accommodate rehabilitative crime prevention which would protect the community and society as a whole from the long-term ravages of crime.

Thus, the nature of institutionalization in a large maximum security prison like the Michigan Reformatory is indeed dehumanizing and contrary to the rehabilitation process. It is certainly conceivable why an inmate who serves his sentence in an institution like the Michigan Reformatory only has a 50% chance of not returning to prison when released and experiences a significant decrease in self-esteem as well as a significant increase in his need for safety.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSION

Accomplishment of Purpose

This study has scientifically, through empirical experimentation, demonstrated the actual effects of incarceration in medium and maximum security correctional institutions upon inmate personality. It has been shown that incarceration in medium and maximum security institutions has both a positive and negative effect upon the personality perimeters of inmate safety and self-esteem need levels. The notion was verified that after a fixed period of incarceration in a medium security institution, which stresses more humane practices of rehabilitation, esteem scores for the inmates tested significantly increased and their safety scores significantly decreased. It has also been shown that after approximately the same period of incarceration of similar men in a maximum security institution, which emphasizes less humane practices of punitive retribution, inmate safety need levels substantially increased while their esteem need levels significantly decreased. Finally, it has been suggested that perhaps the best explanation for these personality changes is that

the intertwining structure and philosophical nature of institutionalization in medium and maximum security correctional institutions is responsible for these effects of incarceration on inmate safety and esteem need levels.

Recommendations for the Future

Corrections in Michigan must expand its capacity to negate the negative rehabilitation factor presently affecting the inmate population of its maximum security institutions. To accomplish this end, it is essential that custodial and treatment staffs have the means to effectively formulate programs to achieve rehabilitative crime prevention. This means is presently available in the form of presentence investigation reports.

G. G. McFarlane gives a relatively accurate definition of the presentence investigation report:

> The presentence report or social inquiry as it is sometimes called, is basically a fact finding instrument for the court's use in classifying and sentencing offenders. Ordinarily it contains an inventory of positive and negative facts in the offender's background and current situation assembled in a manner so as to highlight traits, patterns of behavior, strengths and weaknesses in the subject's personal and social situation.[33]

Thus, for making evaluations in developing treatment programs to negate the inherent negative rehabilitation

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[33]G. G. McFarlane, "Theory and Developments of Presentence Reports in Ontario," Canadian Journal of Corrections, VII (April, 1964), p. 201.

factor in prison environments, the presentence investigation report is the source of information from which the offender's previous behavior, reasons for it, and circumstances surrounding it can be ascertained. More specifically, the report reveals the offender's relationships with his environment.

> The subject of the investigation is the man himself within his environment. This latter comprises external surroundings and the personal situation. The external surroundings include economic and social status, home and neighborhood, employment, and the use of spare time. The personal situation is a man's position among his fellows, in the family, among friends and companions; the state of his affections, abundant or lacking; his status in the eyes of himself and others, superior or inferior; his popularity or unpopularity; his emotional condition, jealous, indifferent or repressed, with or without proper outlets and compensations. The main source of information is the man's own story and his reactions to the social worker's approach, together with the impressions the worker gets from home visits and talks with members of the family.[34]

The presentence investigation report is useful in helping the skilled observer ascertain the environmental defects motivating criminal behavior so he can prescribe the appropriate treatment program to eradicate or regulate them. From this information, the correctional worker can determine whether the cause of the criminal activity is environmentally oriented, emotionally oriented, or both. If he determines that the criminal behavior is caused as

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[34]Charles Lionel Chute and Marjorie Bell, Crime, Courts, and Probation (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), pp. 144-145.

the result of psychosis or neurosis, the correctional worker can refer the offender to the proper medical authorities. However, if the presentence investigation report reveals that the deviant behavior has resulted from environmental defects and the complete criminal history indicates a high probability that the criminal will repeat criminal activity, then the case worker can formulate an effective treatment program aimed at offsetting these defects and thereby prevent future crime by rehabilitating the offender.

Nonetheless, while the presentence investigation report can be utilized to practice rehabilitative crime prevention in the prison system, two basic reasons exist why this report is not currently being used for this purpose. Firstly, the behavioral data contained in the presentence investigation report has not been computerized and stored for quick retrieval. Such collection would enable correctional workers to effectively diagnose the causes of criminal behavior and prescribe appropriate treatment for its remedy. However, presently the greatest obstacle to implementation of effective treatment is that data on individual offenders is not readily accessible. This substantially limits the treatment staff member's decision-making ability and makes it more difficult for him to accurately determine the cause and develop treatment programs essential to remold the behavioral attitudes and habits of specific offenders. The Michigan Criminal Justice Information System Steering Committee found that:

> All categories of behavioral science data /both effect and causal elements of criminal behavioral attitudes and habits/ . . . are already regularly collected by 80% to 90% of the /Michigan/ probation and parole agencies queried. . . . /However,/ Data is presently collected and stored in a form which minimizes its utilization for research purposes.[35]

The resolution of this problem as viewed by the Criminal Justice Information System Steering Committee is, in effect, that the data already collected by autonomous agencies should be standardized, collected on every defendant in the criminal justice system, and stored in computerized form to which all agencies involved in disposition would have access. The members of the Criminal Justice Information System Steering Committee agree that standardization, collection, and computerization would relieve agencies of needless duplication of already collected data and allow for ready access and quick retrieval. They further suggest that this would aid the behavioral scientist in his long-term studies to determine the following: "1) the utility of various rehabilitation approaches; 2) the etiological factors which preclude criminal behavior; and, 3) means by which predictions about subsequent offender behavior can be made."[36]

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[35] Criminal Justice Information System Behavioral Sciences Study (Lansing, Michigan: Unpublished report prepared by members of the Criminal Justice Information System Steering Committee, September 1, 1970), p. 12.

[36] Ibid., p. 13.

Secondly, even if this information were readily available to the proper decision-making authorities, the philosophical aims and structural organization of Michigan's maximum security prisons are not adequate to accommodate the broad scope of treatment programs necessary for ultimate success in changing criminal behavioral attitudes and habits. Governor William G. Milliken, in his Special Message to the Legislature on Corrections, supported this notion and indicated what structural and philosophical changes are necessary:

> Michigan's correctional system is among the most progressive in the Nation, but its problems are enormous. Its buildings are overcrowded; its staffs spread too thin; its rehabilitative facilities need improvement. . . . Older, larger institutions must be broken up into smaller units or replaced. . . . [Thus,] Michigan's three maximum security institutions should be renovated to accomplish several objectives: reduction of the population through subdivisions and/or conversion of housing; provision of adequate educational and treatment facilities; elimination of negative environmental features; improvement of inmate and staff safety and welfare.[37]

If these changes were implemented in Michigan's maximum security institutions, authorities could more effectively achieve rehabilitative crime prevention.

If Corrections ever wishes to minimize the negative effects of incarceration indicative of maximum security institutions and more uniformly substitute the positive effects of incarceration characteristic of medium security

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[37]Milliken, pp. 583-585.

prisons, they must restructure their physical facilities to accommodate a philosophy of rehabilitation rather than the current philosophies of punitive retribution and deterrence. Mechanistic processing and mass handling of prisoners in a tight, maximum security environment must end; and a flexible, more humanistic process like that of the Michigan Training Unit must be adopted. Only then will the inmate incarcerated in maximum security correctional institutions like the Michigan Reformatory develop and maintain a high degree of self-esteem and no longer experience the intense need for safety. Then, and only then, will Corrections ultimately achieve its long-term objective of insuring public security through rehabilitative crime prevention.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE TEST AND SCORE SHEET

INCOMPLETE SENTENCES BLACK - ADULT FORM

Name_____ Sex_____ Age_____ Marital Status___

Place_____ Date_____

Complete these sentences to express your real feelings. Try to do every one. Be sure to make a complete sentence.

1. I like _____
2. The happiest time _____
3. I want to know _____
4. Back home _____
5. I regret _____
6. At bedtime _____
7. Men _____
8. The best _____
9. What annoys me _____
10. People _____
11. A mother _____
12. I feel _____
13. My greatest fear _____
14. In school _____

15. I can't _____
16. Sports _____
17. When I was a child _____
18. My nerves _____
19. Other people _____
20. I suffer _____
21. I failed _____
22. Reading _____
23. My mind _____
24. The future _____
25. I need _____
26. Marriage _____
27. I am best when _____
28. Sometimes _____
29. What pains me _____
30. I hate _____
31. This place _____
32. I am very _____
33. The only trouble _____
34. I wish _____
35. My father _____
36. I secretly _____
37. I _____
38. Dancing _____
39. My greatest worry is _____
40. Most women _____

SCORE SHEET

Name_____ Sex_____ Age_____ Judge_____

1.	21.	Safety
2.	22.	A_____
3.	23.	B_____
4.	24.	C_____
5.	25.	
6.	26.	
7.	27.	Affiliation
8.	28.	_____
9.	29.	
10.	30.	
11.	31.	Esteem
12.	32.	A_____
13.	33.	B_____
14.	34.	C_____
15.	35.	
16.	36.	
17.	37.	Totals
18.	38.	Safety ____
19.	39.	Affiliation ____
20.	40.	Esteem ____

APPENDIX B

ARONOFF'S PROCEDURES AND RULES FOR SCORING

1. For a new scorer, the first step is to read through at least 50 protocols in order to get a good sense of how the test is being used by that particular sample. While reading through the tests, pay special attention to the popular answers and cliches, because there are likely to be certain themes that characterize a particular group at a particular time, irrespective of the motivational orientation of a given person.
2. If the test has been conducted in a large class, it can be assumed that some people, although agreeing to testing, are not really volunteers. Therefore, a preliminary check should be made to determine if all the protocols are useful. The tests of the following types of people should be discarded if they can be determined: a) clowns; b) abusive; c) thoroughly obscene; d) angry; e) people who seem to be in a state of panic, or too defensive or too terse.
3. The next section of the manual contains a master list of scored completions. For each stem, all the scoreable answers that have been found in a sample of 265

tests have been listed under their appropriate category. Read through this section carefully in order to determine the acceptable answers for each category, and use it as the master scoring system. Not all categories will be represented in answer to all the stems. This is because either a) in the population tested a completion of that type just did not appear, or b) that stem forces only certain categories of completions and seems not to permit others.

4. Each sentence on a test may be scored once under one of the categories. However, a sentence should not be scored if it does not seem to indicate one of the categories of the scoring system.

5. The meaning of each sentence should be evaluated as a whole. In drawing a conclusion it is essential to realize that a stem not only stimulates a response, but can be an important part of the meaning of a sentence. Therefore, it is necessary to weigh the proportion of the sentence that has been actually contributed by the person, and score the sentence only when the person actually contributes the meaning. For example, if the stem "What bothers me most" is followed by a bland completion such as ... "Sally," then the person cannot be assumed to have said the stem. However, if he responds with even a short completion that indicates a specific kind of perception about the world, such as ... "a liar", then the sentence is to

be scored. This is particularly true if the scoring system is being used with completed sentences that seem quite different from those which appear in the master list.

6. Each sentence is to be scored separately and, as much as possible, avoid scoring within the context of the other answers. Try to have the answers listed in the next section coerce the way in which the scoring is done. In other words, do not rely on either a general impression of the person from the test as a whole, and do not interpret one sentence in the light of others. However, there still may be a few sentences which are a bit vague because a piece of information is missing. If that piece of information is given in another sentence, and if it then clarifies the meaning of the first sentence, it is permissible to use it to clarify the scoring of the first sentence. For example, "The people I like best ... are on my own intellectual level," can either indicate a high or low opinion of self. If the person's opinion has been made very clear, then score the sentence accordingly. This is the only permissible use of other material. The problem that must be avoided is to have a scorer reach a global judgment of the person from the first few sentences and then score all ambiguous sentences as a reflection of this conclusion. This is necessary because otherwise the basic assumption of tabulating

the frequency of a certain type of response is violated, and all that would be achieved is a clinical judgment hiding in the facade of a numerical score.

7. Before scoring it is necessary to know the age, sex, educational level, occupational status, and family status of the person. Occasionally, for example, a response will have a very different meaning if it comes from a single person rather than from a parent.
8. If a completion of a sentence in a new sample of tests is a variation on a completion given in the examples to a different stem, be very careful of simply matching the fragment to a completion to another stem. Very often the same completion will have a very different meaning when used with a different stem. The meaning of the sentence as a whole has to be evaluated, particularly in light of what a specific stem requires - rather than permits.
9. With each sentence it is necessary to draw a reasonable conclusion. Sometimes several very different possible meanings may come to mind, particularly with short answers. It may be necessary to think about the sentence for a while before deciding on the most plausible interpretation. However, if the meaning is still uncertain, or if there is more than one plausible and reasonable conclusion possible, then it is best <u>not</u> to score the response under any category. When in real doubt, it is best to be conservative, especially

when the test is being used to select people for an experiment. For that function, it is most important to avoid a false high positive score on any of the motives. For large sample correlational studies, it is less necessary to be so conservative.

10. Infrequently, a sentence may be constructed of opposing phrases (in a simple example, ... "happy and unhappy") that appear to combine quite different scoring categories. If the scoring category is not given in the master list for that completion, or a close variant of it, then the following options are possible for its scoring. a) Score for the overall meaning of the completion in the light of the stem, or for what appears to be the weight of the statement. This rule is particularly useful if there is a special nuance, strength or unusual feature to one of the phrases. b) Score higher if the lower level statement seems to be a contrast for the higher. c) If the cumulative judgment of the different phrases is still uncertain it may be possible to make an inference as to its meaning following rule 6. d) Last, it may be necessary to simply not score the sentence.

11. The most conservative scoring strategy, of course, and the only one this manual is responsible for, is to stay narrowly to the list of answers given to a specific stem.

12. There are no lists in this manual of completions that are not to be scored, for that would require inordinate amounts of space.

13. There are certain words which will be seen as major cue or orienting words for a particular category after reading through the next section. It is important to be sensitive to them, but not to use them mechanically. The scorer of this test must work as a psychologist rather than as a machine. If the test could be scored mechanically, by counting key words, a computer would have been used. However, for this test, even if the scorer is guided narrowly by the answers in the next section, there will be some changes in the sentences he will be asked to score. It will always be necessary to interpret for the meaning of the whole sentence, rather than identify the common cue word. It will always be necessary to pay careful attention to the modifiers and nuances in the use of even the most common cue words.

14. There are political questions which are very much on people's minds a given year, and which may be mentioned with a high degree of frequency by the population tested, irrespective of the motivational orientation of individual people. It is not possible to identify the specific issues which will be of concern in the future, however the experimenter must determine what these are and instruct the scorer to disregard mention

of them as a class. At the same time, he should be aware of unusual forms or nuances these political statements may take, and determine if they then fall into one of the categories. For a college student population in 1971-72, straightforward references to being drafted, the war in Viet Nam, a peaceful world, or specific politicians should not be scored. Similarly, for this population, do not score simple references to grades "... I will get a B this term."

15. In correlational studies, this test and the scoring rules present a problem in the understanding of the person with few codable responses to any category. This may be due to one of two reasons. First, if the small number of responses is due to a large number of non-scorable cliches, banal endings, or the citation of specific people, then the low score is in fact a false low score. Whatever the motivational orientation of the person, it is being hidden by responses which fall outside this, and most other, scoring systems. This is particularly true for unintelligent, anxious, or uncooperative people. While a large sample may be able to handle a certain proportion of such false lows, it may be advisable to simply drop these people from the study, if they can be determined. Second, this test and scoring system is designed to elicit and code for responses indicating three types of motives. Therefore, a low score on all the scorable dimensions

of this test may be produced by a concern for some other motivational variable. If this seems to be the case, and some other motive or concern is being expressed, then the low scores are, indeed, meaningful in light of hypotheses derived from this theory.

16. The scoring sheet that has been used with this test is presented below. The scoring procedure that seems to work best is for a coder to read the first sentence on a test form, decide if it falls into one of the various categories, check with the list of completions given in the next section if in doubt and write the code number of the category next to the sentence number on the scoring form. If the coder does not believe that the response falls within a category, then a dash should be written next to the sentence number. A sentence is only scored in one category. Then the coder should go on to the next sentence, make the same decisions and proceed in a similar way systematically through the test. When all of the sentences have been evaluated, the coder should count the number of responses within each category in order to arrive at a total category score. When all category total scores have been determined, then the coder should add the category scores within each motivational dimension in order to reach an overall total score for that motive.

17. The basic assumption in this test, and one that is congruent with many other objective scoring systems

used with projective or semi-projective psychological materials, is that the frequency of the expression of a motive can serve as an approximation of the intensity of the motive. At the end of the manual is a brief discussion and citation of research that has been done using this test. In most of this research, the goal was to select individuals with quite different motivational orientations and predict their interpersonal behavior in group settings. The test worked extremely well for these purposes, and so confirmed the general assumptions that quite different scores indicate quite different levels of intensity of a motive. However, the more specific question of just how closely frequency approximates intensity must be left to future validity studies.

18. A discussion of procedures for scoring must end with a final word of caution. In the training of scorers in the past, every one initially showed some form of personal bias in their interpretation of the tests. Virtually every scorer would tend to like a certain kind of person, become angry at others, and become contemptuous or apologetic or supportive of still others. It is very easy to form global judgments of the people taking this kind of test, for professional as well as non-professional diagnosticians, and then to rate the protocol as a whole in a way that is congruent with the scorer's own value system, world

view or individual personality. Much of the personal training in the past has had to deal with biases of this type, to get scorers to recognize their own personal sets to the material and to come into control over them. It is not at all easy to be completely open to the meaning of each response. It is for this reason that the next section has been developed. The wealth of completions to each stem should serve not only as an extended illustration of the ways in which the motives are expressed within a category, but should also be used as a coercive force on the scorer's potential personal set toward the scoring of the test. The high interjudge reliabilities that have been achieved with the use of the manual demonstrate that these personal sets can be controlled.

19. Most important, it is essential that the tests be scored when the scorer is fully alert and feeling fresh. Fatigue will cause scorable sentences to be omitted or additional plausible interpretations to be overlooked. If the scorer begins to feel weary or bored, it is important that the work be put aside for a time.