

DIFFERENTIAL CORRECTIONAL TREATMENT
PROGRAMS AND MODIFICATION
OF SELF-IMAGE

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
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Bruce Jerome Cohen
1964



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

**DIFFERENTIAL CORRECTIONAL TREATMENT PROGRAMS
AND MODIFICATION OF SELF-IMAGE**

presented by

BRUCE JEROME COHEN

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Social Science

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Orden Smucker", written over a horizontal line.

Major professor
Orden Smucker

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ABSTRACT

DIFFERENTIAL CORRECTIONAL TREATMENT PROGRAMS AND MODIFICATION OF SELF-IMAGE

by Bruce Jerome Cohen

This study explores the relationship between the "treatment" programs offered at two Michigan correctional institutions for the youthful offender and the change in discrepancy between the inmates actual and ideal self-concept after a period of six months confinement. A sample of 140 inmates were selected for this study. Seventy of the men were assigned to the Ionia Reformatory, a maximum security, industrial institution which received the most "hard core" of Michigan's prison population. The remaining 70 were assigned to the Michigan Training Unit, a new, modern, educational institution which offered a great deal of individual counseling and rehabilitative training.

Two scales, developed and validated by Cade, were used for assessing the actual self-concept and ideal self-concept of each inmate in the sample. The scales were administered upon initial assignment to either the reformatory or the training unit, and again after a period of six

months confinement at the respective institutions.

Because of the greater amount of individual treatment provided at the Michigan Training Unit, it was hypothesized that after a period of six months had lapsed, the inmates assigned there would display a sharper decrease in discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-concept than the men assigned to the Ionia Reformatory.

Due to the opportunity provided to adjust to their state of delinquency, it was predicted that there would be more discrepancy between the initial actual and ideal self-concept scores of "first-timers" than for recidivists. It was also predicted however, that after a period of six months the "first-timers" would tend to show a sharper decrease in discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-concepts scores than the recidivists.

Since it is believed that the more formal education an individual has obtained the easier it may be for him to realize his own limitations and adjust to present conditions, it was hypothesized that after a period of six months confinement, those men who have achieved at least a 10th grade education would show a sharper decrease in discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-concept than the men who have received an eighth grade education or less.

Because of the tendency for a heightening of self-acceptance as the individual grows older, it was predicted

that after a period of six months confinement we would expect more of a discrepancy between the actual and ideal self-concept of those inmates under 20 years of age than of those over 21 years of age.

The inmate sample assigned to the Michigan Training Unit displayed a statistically significant reduction in discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-concept after a period of six months confinement. The sample at the reformatory displayed no such tendency to reduce their discrepancy, for their scores remained relatively stable over the six month test period.

In the case of the recidivist portion of the sample, there were no significant differences found between their initial actual ideal self-concept discrepancy scores and the scores of "first-timers." After a period of six month confinement, however, while the "first-timers" displayed a significant reduction in discrepancy, this tendency was not found among the recidivists.

For those inmates who had received at least a tenth grade education, a statistically significant reduction in discrepancy was noted after a period of six months between their actual and ideal self-concept. In the case of inmates with an eighth grade education or less there were no significant differences recorded.

Finally, there was no statistically significant

reduction found after a period of six months between the discrepancy scores of the inmates either over 21 years of age or under 20 years of age.

It was suggested that for possible future research, similar studies be conducted using larger inmate samples at the other correctional institutions within the State.

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1965

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AND MODIFICATION OF SELF-IMAGE

By

Bruce Jerome Cohen

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CHAPTER I

TRANSITION OF SOCIETY AND THE CRIME PROBLEM

The prime concern of this thesis is an analysis of the causative factors of criminal behavior and application of modern penalogical theory. Before we can investigate this, however, we must have a firm understanding of the transition that has taken place in American society over the past several decades that has transformed our nation from an agricultural economy to a giant urban industrial complex. Accompanying this change, the rates of crime and delinquency proceeded to grow to enormous proportions. The problem of a highly industrialized society today regarding the crime rate is twofold: first, to deter the entrance of new deviants into the arena of antisocial behavior and, second, to lower the rate of recidivism among known violators. It is through successful rehabilitation in our penal institutions that we hope to make the second of these a reality.

The American people have been blessed by an abundance of natural resources, ingenuity, creativeness and skill. By manipulating and developing these resources it has been possible to reach a stage of development never

before thought possible. We have not been able to do this, however, without sacrifice. Our great urban and industrial complexes have not developed without suffering and hardship on the part of many individuals.

Nations today, can be categorized in terms of economic development. We can place any society on a continuum from underdeveloped to highly developed and get some indication of how advanced their technology really is. From this information we tend to introduce some kind of value judgement and assess the usefulness and productivity of its people by using our own society as a standard of excellence. Economic development can be measured in terms of wealth, urbanization, industrialization, and education (47). If a nation can score consistently high on these indices, we believe that its technology has reached a high order of development.

The United States serves as our prime example, for here we have achieved a technological, industrial, and educational level that has placed us among the world leaders. We enjoy a higher standard of living than any other nation, with a per capita income in 1960 of \$2,217 (72). We have such a mass distribution of consumer goods that this would be looked upon as fantasy in many countries. In the year 1960 alone, the American people purchased a total of 6,674,796 passenger cars valued at \$12,164,234,000, with

the average family having more than one car in their possession (4). Again using 1960 as our base year, we produced 5,700,000 television sets with a retail value of \$825,000,000 (27).

Formal education is an institutional process that has received a considerable amount of attention in the United States in recent years. We have come to realize how dependent we are on this process, if advancement is to be continued in technological development and new channels opened for vertical mobility. It has been observed, that over the past few decades, our class structure has undergone significant change. We are gradually beginning to shift from the old pyramid-shaped class hierarchy with a large lower class, to a more diamond-shaped structure with this lower class shrinking in number and the middle class taking on great dimensions (10). One reason for this development is the increased opportunity provided for lower class children through our public systems of education. For the elementary and secondary schools alone in 1960, we spent a total of \$15.6 billion to provide our young people with the education they so desperately need (73). Even with this enormous figure, the costs of higher education are not even taken into consideration.

Transition from a Rural to an
Urban Society

In spite of our apparent abundance of wealth and productivity, we have been left with numerous social problems which have emerged as a latent effect of this prosperity. In order to move from a rural agricultural society to a technological one, many transitions had to be made. In the early stages of our nation's history, it took nine men engaged in agriculture to support one man in the city. Today, eight of these people have been liberated from the farms, so that it is now necessary to have only about ten per cent of our population tending the fields.

The problem that immediately concerns us, relates to the difficulties encountered, once these migrants gave up the farm for city life. How difficult was their task of accommodating to the heterogeneity of the cities, and were they ever able to fully adjust? To help illustrate this transition, I will provide a simple rural-urban continuum:

RURAL	URBAN
X	X
Sacred Society	Secular Society
Gemeinschaft	Gesellschaft
Homogeneous	Heterogeneous
Folk	Science

Agricultural areas tend to be traditionally religious (2). The lives of farm people, while tied to nature

and the soil, are forever dependent upon the natural elements for success or failure. Religious practice and belief thus become an integrated part of their way of life. Although in the urban centers there is not an absence of religious institutions, there is, in addition, a secular orientation or what we may call a more worldly outlook. Concern is focused on the present and future, using the knowledge of the past as a guide toward rational judgement. Growing out of a technological orientation, a desire is thus created to control and manipulate the natural environment rather than simply submit to the elements.

Rural, isolated society is based on a *gemeinschaft* type of social organization (48). Under this structure, the small primary group is of central importance. Here the family is dominant, with relationships and statuses being of an ascribed nature. The division of labor is based on age and sex, with the male parent typically occupying the paramount position (40). Relationships between members are intimate, personal and face-to-face, emotion is expressed freely and can easily be conveyed from one member to another. Control is exercised in an informal manner; if the individual does deviate, it most likely will be against the expressed wishes of the family. As a consequence of these close ties, delinquency is usually held to a very low level.

A gesellschaft type of social organization characterizes the urban centers (9). Under this more formal structure, we concern ourselves with a relatively large group. People enter into a special relationship with one another because it is the most practical means of achieving their objectives. Modern bureaucratic organization, which has developed in response to the needs of urbanized, industrial society, may be used as an ideal example of the gesellschaft. Characteristically, we have a large impersonal group, which functions according to rational and objective means. Within the organization, selection of personnel needed to occupy the hierarchy of positions is based on ability and training. The relationships between members are of a formal and non-emotional nature, with the primary goal being production with maximum efficiency (9). By presenting this scheme I do not wish to imply that the family has been replaced by a bureaucratic giant in the cities. What has happened is that the family now must share with other agencies some of its formerly exclusive powers and functions. Even though it has now lost some of its authority, the family still remains the most powerful integrative institution in our society (47).

When the new migrants arrived in the cities, often they were unable to cope with the multitude of problems that confronted them. Because of this, it was necessary to develop formal agencies to supplement the functions of the family.

People in rural areas are much more likely to be homogeneous in character. Nearly all are engaged in agriculture, which is not only an occupation, but an entire way of life. Because of the common concern that is thus generated, farm populations are likely to be in agreement on most issues of a social or economic nature. Most apparent among the characteristics of rural populations are: one dominant political ideology, a lack of multi-church affiliations, and homogeneity of race. Thus, these people live in a social environment in which conflict is held to a minimum, and consensus is the order of the day.

In the urban areas we have quite a different situation, for here we witness a large mass of people who have been brought together to support the technological institutions. They come from many diverse backgrounds, and in the larger cities represent nearly every race, religion, nationality and political belief. This is truly a heterogeneous social structure. These migrants did not have a common set of beliefs, attitudes, norms and expectations, but instead carried with them value systems of their own. Thus is created a situation which produces a considerable amount of conflict, with common solutions not always arrived at. To illustrate the extent of heterogeneity within an urban area, a brief description is provided of the ethnic groups found in the city of Cleveland:

In the anonymous masses that make up the living city, Cleveland is almost a Midwest anomaly. The white stock of native parentage comprises only a quarter of the population; eight percent are Negroes and the remaining 67 percent are either foreign-born or the offspring of foreign or mixed parentage. Once almost entirely Nordic or Celtic in makeup, Cleveland was transformed by the expanding steel industry into one of the most racially diversified communities in the United States. Forty-eight nationalities have representatives here, more than forty languages are spoken in the city. First in number are the Czechoslovaks followed by the Poles, Italians, Germans, Yugoslavs, Irish and Hungarians. Where they concentrate in nationality groups, their native tongues are spoken almost as commonly as English (2).

Finally, we note that during the transition from a sacred to a secular society, there is a substitution of scientific knowledge for the folklore of the past (55). In the United States we have moved from a world of tradition, superstition and myth, to a new arena where conventional wisdom is not an adequate substitute for empirical inquiry and fact. This transition was not an isolated occurrence, but rather, one that eventually affected the future of every individual. The old beliefs had become so firmly incorporated into the socialization process, that it was no easy task to separate fantasy from reality. Thus, another element is introduced into our new conflict producing urban environment.

After examination of this rather disheartening description of urban life, we must ask ourselves, what motivating force was responsible for the mass migration to the

cities? Why did people leave the farms that their families had worked for generations? It appears that three significant factors influenced this movement.

First, the large urban centers provided a place of refuge for those who were undergoing severe persecution. Roger Fulford, when speaking of the migrants in London during the last century, says:

From the harsh countries of eastern Europe, driven out by terror, purges and privations, they drifted to London in the certainty that they would be free from persecution and in the hope that they might be able to scratch together a livelihood (29).

Thus, many of the great cities attracted an enormous mass of people, who wanted only the opportunity to make a better life for themselves. Our most modern examples can be seen in the political exodus from Cuba to the southern shores of the United States, and from the Communist block countries to cities 'round the world.

Our second motivating force, takes us back to the period prior to the industrial revolution. There was in operation at this time, an order of manufacture known as the "domestic" or "putting-out" system (16). Under this scheme, simple industry was brought to the peasants, who worked together as a family unit. Goods had to be produced within a certain period of time, with compensation determined by the quality and quantity of finished products. This task was undertaken in addition to their labor in the fields. Technological development grew too rapidly, however, to continue

with this time-consuming method. It seemed to be more economically sound to centralize and integrate production within a single factory, by bringing the laborers to the cities. Thus, the urban areas grew at a rate which corresponded to the migration of industrial workers. After arrival, these families had to be provided with food, shelter, clothing and other essentials, if they were to survive in this new and sometimes hostile environment. In turn, this necessitated the employment of additional personnel, to satisfy the needs of the migrants.

Third, the cities provided opportunity for work and employment which was not available in the agricultural areas. As noted earlier, it is only necessary for 10 per cent of the population to work the fields to support the 90 per cent who live in the cities. With remarkable improvements being witnessed in the area of agricultural technology, this low figure is even capable of further reduction. The farm birth rates far exceed the number of workers needed for replacement in agriculture. One of the consequences of an advanced agricultural technology is the creation of a surplus in the rural labor market. It is out of necessity then, that many of these people migrate to the large cities (31). We find this to be especially true for women. Most of the jobs on the farm, because of a division of labor, long-time tradition, and the necessary physical strength involved, fall into the hands of the male population. Thus, it becomes

very difficult for a woman to find employment in the agricultural regions. In the urban centers, however, the expanding factories were in need of women, not only to work on the assembly line, but also to maintain the offices and provide the secretarial and clerical services that were so vital to efficient operation. The mass movement from Puerto Rico to New York City in recent years, is illustrative of an economic migration.

Cities continue to grow at an alarmingly fast rate. This is especially true for metropolitan areas that are located near our agricultural regions. The table below lists some key American cities, and also the city of San Juan, on the agrarian island of Puerto Rico, to illustrate their rapid rate of growth during the past ten years (70).

Table 1. 1950, 1960 Population of Selected United States Cities

City	Population	
	1960	1950
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	741,324	637,392
Atlanta, Georgia	487,455	331,314
Columbus, Ohio	471,316	375,901
Wichita, Kansas	254,698	168,279
San Jose, California	204,196	95,280
Jackson, Mississippi	144,422	98,271
San Juan, Puerto Rico	432,377	224,767

In 1950, urban residents in the United States accounted for approximately 64 per cent of our total population. In 1960 this figure jumped to almost 70 per cent.

As the great influx of migrants moved into the cities, they carried with them their own value systems and conceptions of morality. Many of these people found themselves in a state of conflict, for no longer were they living in a social environment of harmony and consensus. Not only was there a basic difference between rural and urban living patterns, but in addition, race, religion, political ideology and nationality added to the heterogeneity of the city. Within this developing, complex social system, numerous social problems were to emerge.

In the cities, there existed a new set of expectations and conditions that had to be met. The family was perhaps the institution that felt the hardest blow, for its basic structure of authority was under constant attack. While living on the farm, the male head of the household occupied the primary seat of power. The family was economically dependent upon him to guide them through a successful harvest. After arrival in the cities, however, it was indeed rare if several members of the family, including the father and mother were not employed. Thus, there were several sources of income which contributed to the welfare of the group. In turn, these newly created economic conditions, began to destroy the basic dependence upon, and authority of,

the male head.

Accompanying this transition, the criterion for acquiring status also began to change. What has been witnessed, is a move away from a society of ascribed status positions, handed down from one generation to the next, to one of achieved positions (49). It was now necessary for the individual to go out and earn his own place in the community, for no longer could he be solely dependent upon what his father did before him. Many times, because of the physical strength and youth required, the children were able to surpass their parents by making a greater economic contribution to the family. On numerous occasions this necessitated some structural rearrangement of familial authority.

The agencies of social control also changed hands during this transition. Within the *gemeinschaft* type of social structure, which preceded the migration, an informal system of social control had evolved, with the primary group exercising a good deal of restraint upon the overt behavior of the individual.

The dominance of "intimate face-to-face association" in the small town naturally entails as one consequence the almost absolute surveillance and control of the individual by the community. In the small town, public opinion enslaves and controls individual and family behavior and gossip represses variations from the stereotype of "good" family behavior (11).

In the large urban centers, the newcomers were able to easily escape this primary control. All that was

necessary was a stroll to the adjacent neighborhood, or even the next block, and a person would become completely anonymous. Now, he was out of the immediate grasp of the family, and his behavior patterns could take on entirely new dimensions. To deal with this problem effectively, it was necessary to establish formal control agencies. As a consequence, law enforcement organizations have emerged at the city, county and state levels, maintaining a constant surveillance over the broad spectrum of social activity.

With the development of this new, highly industrialized social order, "specialization" became the key to efficiency and success. No longer did the craftsman produce in his own shop, use his own tools, and create his own masterpiece. Now he worked but as a single link in an integrated, uninterrupted, well-organized chain of production. Peter F. Drucker so ably expressed this new condition of apathy when he said:

In fact, the worker no longer produces, even in the plant; he works. But the product is not being turned out by any one worker or any one group of workers. It is being turned out by the plant. It is a collective product. The individual worker usually is not even capable of defining his own contribution to the productive organization and to the product. Often he cannot even point to a part or a process and say: this is my work (24).

This new atmosphere created within the work plant was strange to the craftsman; as suggested above, no longer did he enjoy the intrinsic satisfaction of seeing his

finished product with the pride that accompanies completion. In many cases he displayed an attitude of apathy or indifference, which did not vanish at the end of the work day, but instead was carried with him to his home. This influenced his extra-job relationships, as well as his interest and performance at work.

The laborer in the plant was not the only one that had a specialized function to perform, for this was a quality that was beginning to take a firm hold throughout all of society. Due to the transfer of institutional functions, which accompanied the shift from a rural to an urban community, the family could no longer provide for itself all of the services that it once did. While the family was at one time relatively self-sufficient, it was now basically a unit of consumption rather than one of production. They became increasingly dependent upon other agencies to provide the products that they themselves could no longer render (38).

In the area of education we found perhaps our most drastic institutional change. While the socialization of the young was once a major function of the family, in the urban environment, the public educational institutions now assumed this most important responsibility. This transference had more deepseated effects than might be observed on first inspection. In most cases the educational level attained by the first generation migrant was not very high,

therefore, he could transmit to his children only what he had informally learned. For the second generation of urban migrants, these conditions were not quite the same. After exposure to the formal educational institutions, many were able to achieve a higher position than that of their parents. This, in turn, threatened the traditional authority of the family.

The questioning of authority was not the only conflict producing situation which resulted from the introduction of formal education, another concerned itself with values. Behavior which might have positive sanctions applied to it at home, may not be tolerated in the academic situation. A middle-class value orientation with its corresponding set of rewards and punishments was developing in the schools; this new set of expectations proved to be vastly different from that which the child had been exposed to in the working-class home. Often, as an escape from this tension-producing atmosphere, the child would engage in deviant activities. What was eventually created amounted to a psychological "tug-of-war," with the home on one side and the school on the other.

As these conditions persisted and intensified, major social problems began to develop in the cities. Park, Burgess and McKenzie reflect this theme when they suggested that:

All the manifestations of modern life which are peculiarly urban--the skyscraper, the subway, the department store, the daily newspaper, and social workers are characteristically American. The more subtle changes in our social life, which in their cruder manifestations are termed "social problems," problems that bewilder us, as divorce, delinquency, and social unrest, are to be found in their most acute forms in our largest American cities. The profound and "subversive" forces which have wrought these changes are measured in the physical growth and expansion of the cities (57).

This was written by American sociologists thirty-nine years ago, who believed that the cities were in a state of social disorganization. Today, these very same social problems have been magnified by significant proportions. In 1900 we had a marriage rate of 9.3 per 100,000 population (709,000 marriages), the divorce rate was 0.7 per 100,000 population (55,751 divorces). In 1960 the marriage rate dropped to 8.5 (1,523,000 marriages), and the divorce rate jumped to 2.2 (393,000 divorces). Thus is presented an increase in divorce rates of 300 per cent (74).

The problem of unemployment offers us another area for investigation. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in January 1960, out of a total civilian labor force of 68,168,000, we had 4,149,000 workers who were unemployed (75).

If we may hypothesize that many individuals afflicted with mental disorders are a product of their social and economic environment, then this problem assumes even greater

dimensions. According to a recent estimate:

In 1960 at least 3 million people, including about 250,000 children, were treated for some form of mental illness in hospitals or clinics or by private psychiatrists. Many more who needed help never sought or received treatment (59).

It has been noted that most of the severe cases of mental disorder are concentrated among the lower classes.

Perhaps the most serious social problem that has emerged in terms of disorganization, destruction, and personal loss, is in the area of crime and delinquency. In the section to follow, this will be our central concern.

The Crime Problem

Accompanying the new order of industrial urbanization, a significant increase in rates of crime and delinquency were noted. Daniel Bell, when discussing the effects of this transition, says:

At the turn of the century the cleavage developed between the Big City and the small-town conscience. Crime as a growing business was fed by the revenues from prostitution, liquor and gambling that a wide-open urban society encouraged and which a middle-class Protestant ethos tried to suppress with a ferocity unmatched in any other civilized country (6).

By comparing the number of offenses in the cities in 1940, with corresponding figures for 1960, we find that there had been an astounding rise in number of crimes per 100,000 population (76, 77). (See Tables 2 and 3 below.) While there was an average total increase in population of 30

per cent in our cities, there was a dramatic surge of 152 per cent in number of offences committed.

Table 4 is presented below for the purpose of establishing an index of the total volume of crime in the United States as you move from the rural sections of the country to the metropolitan areas (77). In every category except murder, non-negligent manslaughter and forcible rape, there is a sharp increase in rates per 100,000 population as one approaches the larger cities. This trend can be noted in Tables 2 and 3.

Examination of data representing the number of inmates in State and Federal prisons and reformatories, also show a corresponding increase over the years. In 1940 there were 173,706 prisoners under custodial care; by 1960, this figure had ascended to 213,125 (71). The increase shown here is nowhere near the 152 per cent increase in number of offenses committed over the same period of time, but we must be cognizant of the fact that many of these cases were unsolved, and when they were, because of already over-crowded conditions, not every defendant received a prison sentence.

Table 2. Offenses Known to the Police, January to December, Inclusive, 1940; Number and Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants, by Population Groups
(Population figures from 1940 decennial census)

Population group	Criminal homicide		Rape	Rob- bery	Aggra- vated as- sault	Bur- glary break- ing or enter- ing	Larceny- theft	Auto theft
	Murder, nonneg- ligent man- slaugh- ter	Man- slaugh- ter by negli- gence						
GROUP I								
36 cities over 250,000; total population, 29,894,166:								
Number of offenses known	1,816	1,611	3,407	22,236	15,036	81,482	213,073	60,482
Rate per 100,000	6.1	5.7	11.4	74.7	50.3	397.3	1,039.0	203.5
GROUP II								
55 cities, 100,000 to 250,000; total population, 7,792,650:								
Number of offenses known	510	383	555	3,960	4,187	32,604	83,314	16,281
Rate per 100,000	6.5	4.9	7.1	50.8	53.7	418.4	1,069.1	208.9
GROUP III								
100 cities, 50,000 to 100,000; total population 6,929,998:								
Number of offenses known	396	254	461	2,618	4,419	25,284	68,839	11,651
Rate per 100,000	5.7	3.7	6.7	37.8	63.8	364.8	993.3	168.1
GROUP IV								
191 cities, 25,000 to 50,000; total population, 6,666,956:								
Number of offenses known	230	240	395	2,145	2,383	20,899	63,556	10,546
Rate per 100,000	3.4	3.6	5.9	32.2	35.7	313.5	953.3	158.2
GROUP V								
516 cities, 10,000 to 25,000; total population, 7,820,022:								
Number of offenses known	308	146	531	1,823	2,128	19,840	55,566	8,681
Rate per 100,000.....	3.9	1.9	6.8	23.3	27.2	253.7	710.6	111.0
GROUP VI								
1,103 cities under 10,000; total population, 6,025,154:								
Number of offenses known	249	134	450	1,338	1,650	14,107	32,008	5,703
Rate per 100,000	4.1	2.2	7.5	22.2	27.4	234.1	531.2	94.7
TOTAL, GROUPS I-VI								
2,001 cities; total population, 65,128,946:								
Number of offenses known	3,509	2,768	5,799	34,220	29,803	194,216	516,356	113,704
Rate Per 100,000	5.4	4.4	8.9	52.5	45.8	348.4	926.3	174.6

Table 3. City Crime Rates, 1960, by Population Groups
(Offenses known to the police and rate per 100,000 inhabitants)

Population group	Criminal homicide		Forcible rape	Robbery	Aggra- vated assault	Burglary- breaking or entering	Larceny-theft		Auto Theft
	Murder and non- negligent man- slaughter	Man slaughter by negli- gence					\$50 and over	Under \$50	
TOTAL GROUPS I-VI									
3,366 cities; total population 96,678,066:									
Number of offenses known	4,445	3,028	8,461	59,358	84,689	539,605	335,002	1,005,890	233,430
Rate per 100,000	4.6	3.1	8.8	61.4	87.6	558.1	346.5	1,040.5	241.5
Group I									
49 cities over 250,000; population 35,337,512:									
Number of offenses known	2,389	1,548	5,356	41,557	54,467	262,257	168,741	378,384	130,315
Rate per 100,000	6.8	4.4	15.2	117.6	154.1	742.1	477.5	1,070.8	368.8
Group II									
80 cities, 100,000 to 250,000; population 11,548,156:									
Number of offenses known	648	475	881	6,639	9,615	77,182	42,868	152,734	33,278
Rate per 100,000	5.6	4.1	7.6	57.5	83.3	668.3	371.2	1,322.6	288.2
Group III									
189 cities, 50,000 to 100,000; population 13,003,030:									
Number of offenses known	435	376	719	4,757	7,658	66,679	44,619	144,058	25,878
Rate per 100,000	3.3	2.9	5.5	36.6	58.9	512.8	343.1	1,107.9	199.0
Group IV									
379 cities, 25,000 to 50,000; population 13,242,472:									
Number of offenses known	379	299	621	2,995	5,285	57,340	37,458	140,070	20,401
Rate per 100,000	2.9	2.3	4.7	22.6	39.9	433.0	282.9	1,037.7	154.1
Group V									
880 cities, 10,000 to 25,000; population 13,755,695:									
Number of offenses known	334	205	557	2,154	4,837	47,859	27,528	127,004	15,519
Rate per 100,000	2.4	1.5	4.0	15.7	35.2	347.9	200.1	923.3	112.8
Group VI									
1,789 cities under 10,000; population 9,791,201:									
Number of offenses known	260	125	327	1,256	2,827	28,288	13,788	63,640	8,039
Rate per 100,000	2.7	1.3	3.3	12.8	28.9	288.9	140.8	650.0	82.1

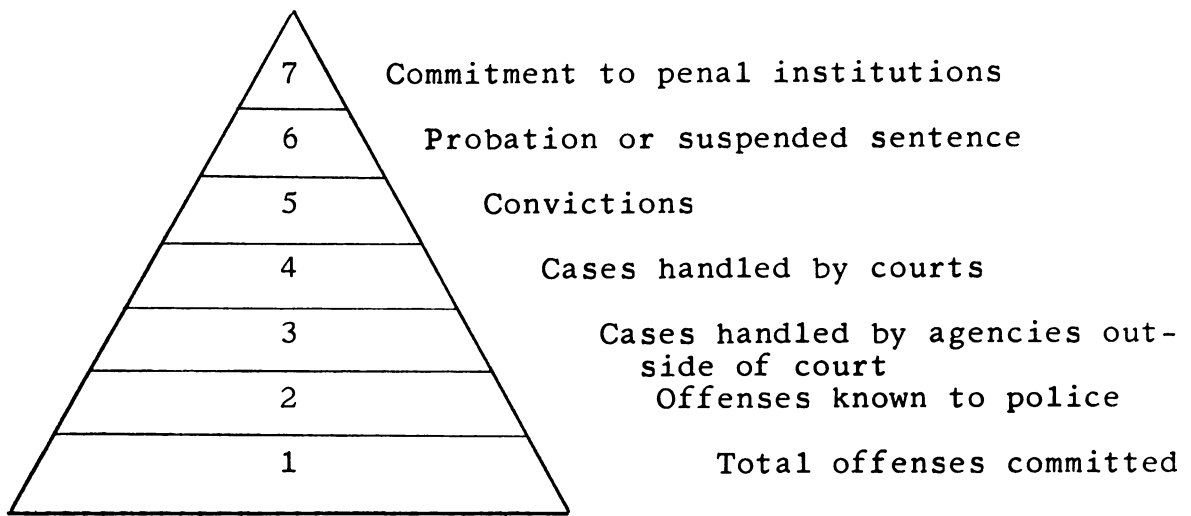
Table 4. Index of Crime, United States, 1960

Area	Population	Total	Murder and non-negligent manslaughter	Forcible rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and over	Auto theft
United States Total	179,323,175	1,861,261	9,136	15,555	88,970	130,230	821,057	474,911	321,402
Rate per 100,000 inhabitants		1037.9	5.1	8.7	49.6	72.6	457.9	264.8	179.2
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	113,861,255								
Area actually reporting	*89.6%	1,431,059	5,211	11,115	76,184	95,609	611,094	369,694	262,152
Estimated total	100.0%	1,512,011	5,540	11,750	80,480	101,000	647,765	387,905	277,491
Rate per 100,000 inhabitants		1327.9	4.9	10.3	70.7	88.7	568.9	340.8	243.7
Other Cities.....	23,629,493								
Area actually reporting	*82.4%	141,228	687	778	2,897	9,062	69,342	36,508	21,954
Estimated total	100.0%	172,203	903	946	3,514	11,587	85,055	43,905	26,293
Rate per 100,000 inhabitants		728.8	3.8	4.0	14.9	49.0	360.0	185.8	111.3
Rural	41,832,427								
Area actually reporting	*76.6%	139,747	1,687	2,030	3,500	10,883	68,090	33,533	14,024
Estimated total	100.0%	177,047	2,693	2,859	4,976	17,643	88,237	43,021	17,618
Rate per 100,000 inhabitants		423.2	6.4	6.3	11.9	42.2	210.9	102.8	42.1

*The percentage representing area actually reporting will not coincide with the ratio between reported and estimated crime totals since these data represent the sum of the calculations for individual States which have varying populations, portions reporting and crime rates.

This brings us to a most important question, just how reliable and accurate are the crime statistics for the United States? It has been suggested on numerous occasions that criminal behavior resembles an iceberg, with the number of known delinquents representing that portion which shows itself above the water line (58). The most accurate reporting system available is published by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation in its Uniform Crime Reports (59,61). This reporting system is conducted on a voluntary basis, by securing information relevant to "known offenses" from local law enforcement agencies. Although the Bureau does not receive absolute cooperation, coverage includes about 85 per cent of the population. By tabulating this information, a crime index is calculated by utilizing seven major categories of offense: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny over \$50 and auto theft (56).

Still to be accounted for, are several factors capable of distorting the reliability of these statistics. The diagram below is illustrative of the disposition of criminal cases, in relation to the total volume of crime in the United States. As can easily be observed, the chances are not very great that an individual will move from step 1 through step 7 of the pyramid.



First, there is a rather serious question concerning the criterion used for defining an act as criminal. The legal codes of our fifty states are not homogeneous, therefore, there is not illicited a high degree of consensus. What is interpreted as auto theft in one state, may be defined as joy riding in another. When attempting to arrive at a satisfactory definition of criminal behavior, we must take into account two important conditions, the seriousness of the offense, and the difference between the juvenile delinquent and the adult criminal.

Most people, at one time or another will commit a crime, however, we do not look at the entire population as being criminal. Perhaps the most frequent infractions fall within the area of traffic violations. Many young boys will act disorderly, or take a quick swim in a pool which is "off-limits"; some are apprehended, others are not, yet both

groups are engaged in identical behavior.

An inevitable question that must be posed, concerns the existence of a hierarchy of crime in terms of severity. Does such a hierarchy exist? The answer is a definite yes. By violating some codes, we are transgressing on the property of others, or doing them actual or potential bodily harm. By violating another set of laws, the deviant is perceived as being potentially injurious to himself. Gambling is not considered to be as serious an offense as aggravated assault, vagrancy is not as severe as criminal homicide. In calculating the nature and extent of deviant behavior, these factors must be taken into consideration, and offenses placed in proper perspective.

Who is a juvenile delinquent? The definition ascribed to delinquency is usually dependent upon the interests and jurisdiction of the source. The Children's Bureau uses a legal definition:

Juvenile delinquency cases are those referred to courts for acts defined in the statutes of the State as the violation of law or municipale ordinance by children or youth of juvenile court age (15).

Sophia Robison, Assistant Director, Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project of the City of New York, defines delinquency as:

. . . any behavior which a given community at a given time considers in conflict with its best interests, whether or not the offender has been brought to court (61).

Thus, some agencies have defined delinquency in terms of legal status, others on the basis of social and cultural expectations. In general, however, a delinquent is usually defined as anyone under the age of 18 years, whose behavior is in violation of a legal code, whether apprehended or not. The exact age will be dependent upon the State of residence and sex of the offender.

Even though juvenile offenders account for only about 14.3 per cent of our total crime volume, we have shown great concern over this figure, due to its rapid increase in recent years. Table 5 provides statistical data for those persons arrested under 18 years of age in the year 1960 (77). This young age group accounted for a significant proportion of offenses in the major crime categories; including 27.8 per cent of burglaries, 49.2 per cent of larcenies, and 62.1 per cent of auto thefts. The causative factors that have been hypothesized to explain this phenomenon will be fully discussed in the following chapter.

Second, there is the question of who will have jurisdiction over the case. In many communities, agencies other than the police and courts will assume initial responsibility. In the case of juveniles, schools and welfare agencies have become quite active, and now play a significant role in our large urban centers. When big business becomes involved in any question of legality, the case

Table 5. City Arrests of Persons under 18 Years of Age, 1960
(2,460 cities over 2,500, population 81,660,735)

Offense Charged	Number of Persons Arrested		Percentage
	Total	Under 18	Under 18
Total	3,673,836	526,905	14.3
Criminal homicide:			
a. Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	4,507	346	7.7
b. Manslaughter by negligence	1,766	131	7.4
Robbery	29,396	8,154	27.8
Aggravated assault	52,277	6,074	11.6
Other assaults	134,538	13,544	10.1
Burglary-breaking and entering	110,047	56,221	51.1
Larceny-theft	207,548	102,093	49.2
Auto theft	54,024	33,558	62.1
Embezzlement and fraud	32,550	841	2.6
Stolen property; buying, receiving, etc.	10,049	2,754	27.4
Forgery and counterfeiting	18,958	1,493	7.9
Forcible rape	6,068	1,242	20.5
Prostitution and commercialized vice	25,851	424	1.6
Other sex offenses (includes statutory rape)	44,532	9,205	20.7
Narcotic drug laws	23,430	956	4.1
Weapons; carrying, possessing, etc.	34,520	6,567	19.0
Offenses against family and children	34,203	698	2.0
Liquor laws	86,818	16,690	19.2
Driving while intoxicated	146,381	1,128	.8
Disorderly conduct	449,444	51,729	11.5
Drunkenness	1,326,407	12,936	1.0
Vagrancy	146,105	9,143	6.3
Gambling	119,243	1,730	1.5
All other offenses	453,462	166,945	36.8
Suspicion	126,782	22,303	17.6

frequently goes before a regulatory commission or administrative board, rather than a court of law. This will tend to distort the relationship that appears to exist between crime and the lower classes. Edwin H. Sutherland, has labelled this kind of activity "white-collar criminality."

White collar criminality in business is expressed most frequently in the form of misrepresentation in financial statements of corporations, manipulation in the stock exchange, commercial bribery, bribery of public officials directly or indirectly in order to secure favorable contracts and legislation, misrepresentation in advertising and salesmanship, embezzlement and misapplication of funds in receiverships and bankruptcies. These are what [one underworld character] called "the legitimate rackets." These and many others are found in abundance in the business world (65).

It has been estimated that through the activities of "white collar crime," more money is illegitimately taken from the American people each year, than by any other single criminal category.

Third, we must recognize that there is a selective bias present in terms of who is arrested, and that this bias is directed toward the minority groups. It has been hypothesized that because of the economic deprivations and value orientations present within the lower classes, that these people are more prone to becoming involved in deviant activities, especially those of an economic nature. In many cases, lower class members do not project far enough into the future to see what the long range consequences of an immediate goal might bring. Thus is created, a tendency to

"live for the moment," for tomorrow the opportunity might be lost. As a consequence of the criminal stereotype created for minority group members, differential treatment is sometimes reflected in the activities of law enforcement agencies and the courts. Generally, there is a much greater chance that a minority group member will be held suspect, arrested, detained, indicted, convicted and given a longer sentence, than if he belonged to the middle or upper classes. There is less chance that this person will be placed on probation, or paroled at an early date once he has been imprisoned.

Summary

In summary, I would like to note some of the *temporary* trends that have been observed in criminal *activities*. In the chapter to follow, I will trace the nature of *the* explanations offered for their causes:

1. There are more men involved in crime than women.
2. The number of youthful offenders has more than doubled since 1950.
3. Crime has surpassed population growth by more than four to one.
4. City arrests total almost three times the rural rate.
5. Even though juvenile offenders account for a relatively small proportion of the total volume

of crime, they have quite an active role to play in some of the more serious categories.

6. As you move from rural to urban areas the crime rate will increase.
7. There is a selective bias present in terms of who is apprehended. This is directed toward the minority groups.
8. Adult crime rates will be higher during depression and lower during prosperity.
9. Juvenile crime rates will be higher during prosperity and lower during depression.
10. People involved in "white collar crime" are underrepresented in the criminal statistics.

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CHAPTER II

CRIMINOLOGICAL THEORY AND SOCIETAL REACTIONS

The immediate objectives of this chapter are two-fold, first to examine the major contributions to criminological theory, and second to see how these theories may be applied in the penal situation.

Throughout the ages, men have been employed in an endless attempt to find the causes of social deviation. Prior to the 18th century, the explanations offered for abnormal behavior of any type were primarily demonological. That is, the individual was thought to be possessed by some supernatural spirit, namely the devil. Since he had no control over his overt behavior, he could not morally be held responsible for his actions. Consequently, if the individual was to be cured, the only alternative was to "beat the devil out of him." This of course involved severe physical punishment for the innocent victim, even though it was not directed at him personally.

The 18th century introduced the classical school of criminology, with Cesare Beccaria acknowledged as its founder. The major position of this school was that the individual's behavior was guided by rational judgement and free

will. He would engage in criminal activities because of the anticipation of the pleasure they would bring. Therefore, he should be held morally responsible for his actions. In punishing this person, enough pain should be inflicted, so that it would outweigh the pleasures gained by the criminal act.

The neo-classical school, which arose during the 19th century, modified this position. Because children and the insane were not capable of discriminating right from wrong and could not make intellectual judgements, they were to be excluded from punishment. The reaction to crime was no longer exclusively punitive; whether an individual was to be punished or not was dependent upon the circumstances involved.

Our contemporary criminological school of thought takes a positivistic approach. By this, we mean that our present theories and hypothesis regarding crime causation must be capable of undergoing scientific test and analysis. The nonpositivistic approaches, which are not conducive to empirical investigation, must be left behind. As Vold states: "Failure to disprove a theory does not establish its validity . . ." (79, p. 40). The founder of the positive school was Cesare Lombroso. Although we think of him primarily as a criminal anthropologist in search of a "physical criminal type," in his later writings his approach to crime causation was altered to include a multitude of

factors.

Today, we have essentially three schools of thought in the United States, each struggling to explain the causes of crime and delinquency; the Constitutional School (physiological), the Psychogenic School, and the Sociological School, the last two being the most influential. Let us now proceed to examine some of these explanations.

Physical-Type Theories

The theoretical foundation of the physical type theories rests within the biological and physiological structure of the individual. It was hypothesized that the criminal would be a biologically defective and inferior human specimen. In the process of gathering empirical data to support this hypothesis, it was thus necessary to systematically obtain the physical measurements of the subjects involved in each study. Criminologists who subscribed to this school of thought were referred to as Criminal Biologists or Criminal Anthropologists.

Physical type theories, used as explanations of criminal behavior date far back into history. Vold states, "the belief that unusual physical characteristics mark off the evil and socially obnoxious person is of ancient origin" (79). Perhaps the first systematic work in this area was the study of physiognomy, which was an attempt to judge

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character from facial features. Its most prominent scholar was Johan Caspar Lavater (1741-1801). The primary contribution of physiognomy was that it led to what eventually became known as phrenology.

Phrenology

The study of phrenology became popular during the middle years of the 19th century, primarily because of the impact of the work of Francis Joseph Gall and John Gasper Spurzheim. The science suggests that there is present an existing relationship between the several faculties of the mind and compartments of the brain. Three basic propositions underlie these formulations (79):

1. The exterior of the skull conforms to the interior and to the shape of the brain.
2. The "mind consists of faculties of functions.
3. These faculties are related to the shape of the brain and skull, hence, just as the brain is the "organ of the mind," these "bumps" are indicators of the "organs" of the special faculties.

The list of faculties numbered thirty-five in all, later to be grouped into five regions; namely, the lower propensities, the moral sentiments, the intellectual faculties, and the perceptive and reflective faculties. Provided below is a list of these faculties (21,25):

Propensities

1. amateness
2. philoprogenitiveness
3. concentrativeness
4. adhesiveness
5. combativeness
6. destructiveness
7. alimentiveness
8. secretiveness
9. acquisitiveness
10. constructiveness

Sentiments: Lower

11. self-esteem
12. love of approbation
13. cautiousness

Sentiments: Higher

14. benevolence
15. veneration
16. conscientiousness
17. firmness
18. hopefulness
19. wonder
20. ideality
21. wit
22. imitation

Perceptive Faculties

23. individuality
24. form
25. size
26. weight
27. color
28. locality
29. number
30. order
31. eventuality
32. time
33. tune
34. language

Reflective Faculties

- 35. comparison
- 36. casualty

It was believed that crime involved the activities of the lower propensities (numbers 1-10 on the above list). Because the individual lacked control over these propensities, the resultant effect was involvement in delinquent behavior (79).

<u>Propensity</u>	<u>Resulting Crime</u>
Destructiveness	Murder
Combativeness	Assault, murder
Amativeness	Rape and sex crimes
Acquisitiveness	Theft, robbery
Secretiveness	Treason, fraud

It appears that this approach to deviancy is closely related to the theoretical foundation of those who support Freudian Psychoanalytic theory. The id can be related to the lower propensities or primitive instincts, the ego to the intellectual faculties, and the super ego to the moral sentiments. Criminal behavior can then be interpreted as the result of overactivity in the lower propensities, in combination with an underactive intellect and (or) moral sentiment. Psychoanalytic theory will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter.

Phrenology met its defeat, primarily because it was a deterministic theory. Society was unwilling to accept the

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notion that man was not dominant over his environment, but rather, was controlled by his physiological structure, which conditioned his overt behavior. The theory was questioned because it was impossible to prove the hypothesis empirically, scientists were unable to explore the "organs of the mind."

Major Contributors to Physical Type Theory

Lombroso

Cesare Lombroso (1836-1909) made an attempt through his studies, to identify a specific physical criminal type. He believed that the real criminal, who was the recidivist, would possess physical characteristics that were different (and inferior) to those possessed by the "normal" population. An obvious problem thus presented is that of identifying the "normal" population. Lombroso shifted the major focus of attention from the criminal act to the criminal himself (61). He believed that the criminal type resembled the evolutionary ancestors of modern man, displaying physical traits similar to those of lower animals. Let us note some of the physiological qualities that Lombroso associated with the deviant (30):

1. Deviation in head size and shape from type common to race and region from which the criminal came.

2. Asymmetry of the face.
3. Excessive dimensions of the jaw and cheek bones.
4. Eye defects and peculiarities.
5. Lips fleshy, swollen, and protruding.
6. Abnormal dentition.
7. Chin receding, or excessively long, or short and fat, as in apes.
8. Anomalies of the hair, marked by characteristics of the opposite sex.
9. Inversion of sex characters in the pelvic organs.
10. Excessive length of arms.
11. Supernumerary fingers and toes.
12. Imbalance of the hemispheres of the brain (asymmetry of the cranium).

When Lombroso subjected his hypothesis to empirical investigation, he found that 43 per cent of the criminal population in his sample possessed five or more of the above traits. To him, this was the minimum indication of a physical criminal type (79). Although he found physical deviation in all parts of the anatomy, he placed special emphasis upon deviations in the shape of the cranium.

Goring

The work of Lombroso was carried on by Charles Goring (1870-1919), an English physician. It was Goring's intention to submit the hypothesis of Lombroso to further empirical investigation. The plan of analysis called for a comparison of the physical traits of a criminal population, university undergraduates, hospital patients and men of the British army. Goring found no significant anatomical differences between the groups, with the exception that the criminal group was slightly shorter in stature and lighter in weight. He went on to conclude:

We have exhaustively compared, with regard to many physical characteristics, different kinds of criminals with the law-abiding public. . . . Our results nowhere confirm the evidence [of a physical criminal type], nor justify the allegation of criminal anthropologists. They challenge their evidence at almost every point. In fact, both with regard to measurements and the presence of physical anomalies in criminals, our statistics present a startling conformity with similar statistics of the law-abiding class. Our inevitable conclusion must be that there is no such thing as a physical criminal type (36).

Hooton

E. A. Hooton not only attempted to prove that there was a definite criminal type, but also that groups of criminals would differ physiologically from each other according to the type of offense they had committed. Hooton believed criminals to be an organically inferior group, who were physically, mentally, and morally unfit to live in social

interaction with the rest of society. His sample, including both a criminal and noncriminal population, number 17,076 (79). Just as Lombroso did before him, he attempted to obtain the physiological measurements of these groups. Some of his findings are presented below (79,41):

1. Criminals are inferior to civilians in nearly all their bodily measurements.
2. Physical inferiority is significant principally because it is associated with mental inferiority.
3. Dominant physical characteristics of the criminal population includes blue-gray eyes, low foreheads, narrow jaws, thin lips, long, thin necks, sloping shoulders, and thin eyebrows.

It is interesting to note that although Lombroso found the lips to be fleshy and swollen, Hooten found them to be extremely thin.

Grouped according to type of offense committed, his data show the following relationships (79):

<u>Physical Type</u>	<u>Offense</u>
Tall, thin	Murderers, robbers
Tall, heavy	Killers, forgers, fraud
Undersized	Thieves, burglars
Short, heavy	Assault, sex crimes

We must take into account, however, that many of these men are recidivists, and have committed more than one type of crime. Thus, an undersized man could conceivably be a thief the first time committed to prison and a murderer

the second. This would make the validity of the results highly questionable.

Sutherland and Cressey find three additional major criticisms of Hooton's procedures (63). First, they suggest that his control groups are so small and select that they are not a representative sample of the non-criminal population. Second, he found few physical differences between the two groups that were really significant. Third, there was no criterion established for biological inferiority, it was merely assumed that persons imprisoned were physiologically inadequate.

Kretschmer and Sheldon

Both Ernest Kretschmer (University of Tubingen), and William H. Sheldon (Columbia University), attempted to establish a significant relationship between body type and mental temperament (79). Going one step further this association was then applied to criminal behavior.

The basic body types that Kretschmer found were the asthenic, athletic, and pyknic. These were associated with the following physical characteristics (44):

<u>Body Type</u>	<u>Physical Characteristics</u>
Asthenic	Very thin, lean, narrowly built.
Athletic	Muscular, firm, wide shoulders, excellent build.
Pyknic	Medium height, round, massive neck, soft.

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Using the typology of the late psychiatrist, Emil Kraepelin (1856-1926), Kretschmer found two major mental types among the insane, Manic-depressive and dementia praecox (schizophrenia). It was noted that the asthenic and athletic types were predominantly schizophrenes, while the pyknics tended to be manic depressive. It was also found that the athletic type was associated mostly with crimes of violence, the asthenic with thievery, and the pyknic with fraud (79).

Like Kretschner, it was Sheldon's intention to establish a relationship between physique and mental temperament. Sheldon's contributions appear in his book, Varieties of Delinquent Youth, (62) from which the following schematic arrangement of body types has been constructed:

1. The endomorphic type can best be described as a "round" soft person who has a tendency to put on fat. The individual temperament that accompanies this type is an extroverted person who enjoys soft living and relaxation.
2. The mesomorphic type is characterized by a predominance of muscle and bone; a lean and athletic person. The temperament that accompanies this type is that of an active individual who behaves aggressively in all respects.
3. The ectomorphic type has a predominance of skin. His bones are small and delicate, the face is also small with a sharp nose. The temperament associated with this person is that of an introvert who displays a great variety of functional complaints. He is characterized by skin troubles, fatigue and insomnia.

Sheldon suggests that it is the mesomorph who is most vulnerable to delinquency. The endomorph is more relaxed and comfortable, while the ectomorph is the introvert who refuses to act out.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most significant studies in this area were conducted by Sheldon and Elenor Glueck, whose findings will be presented in the section of this chapter which deals with theories of multiple causation. At this point we can say that there has been no positive evidence presented to date, which empirically suggests that there is a distinct "physical type" among criminals that distinguish them from the general population. The findings that have been presented, have been subjected to so much criticism in terms of general methodology and sampling procedures, that validity remains a serious question.

Psychological Theories of Crime and Mental Deficiency

One of the major theoretical schools of thought in the area of criminology takes the position that crime and delinquency are closely correlated with personality defects and low intelligence. Again, we are faced with the problem of an adequate definition of crime. It may be proven empirically that the majority of sex crimes are committed by psychotics and mental deficientes (56), but what about

white-collar crimes involving violations of trust, and occupational offenses committed by members of the highly regarded professions. Surely we would not suggest that most of these offenders are plagued by psychological abnormalities.

Psychology and Law

Cesare Beccaria, the founder of the classical school of criminology, recognized as far back as 1764 with the publication of his book, Crime and Punishment, that because children and the insane were incapable of intelligent judgments, and consequences thereof, that they could not be held accountable for their actions and should be excluded from punishment (5).

Toch states that we make two "common sense" assumptions when analyzing the dynamics of crime. First, we assume that the person is aware of what he is doing; second, that he does this of his own free will, that is, we can help doing what we do. These assumptions imply that under "normal" circumstances the individual may be held responsible and accountable for his actions (68). Criminal law, as practiced in the United States today, is a reflection of this belief. The precedent established, and undoubtedly the most important psychiatric case in Anglo-American law was the McNaghten decision which was handed down by an English court in 1843 (66). McNaghten, accused of murder was found

not guilty on the ground of insanity. Following the decision, the judges of England submitted the following criterion, that was to be used for a legal defense based on insanity:

The jury ought to be told in all cases that . . . to establish a defense on the ground of insanity, it must be clearly proved that, at the time of committing the act, the party accused was labouring under such a defect of reason, from disease of mind, as not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, or if he did know it, that he did not know he was doing what was wrong (83).

The essential criterion, then, for a defense based on insanity is that the individual must be incapable of judging right from wrong. His mental ability and reasoning power must be at such a loss that he is out of contact with reality, and thus cannot be held responsible for his actions.

Psychoanalytic Theory of Deviant Behavior

The founder of psychoanalysis was the late Sigmond Freud, a Viennese psychiatrist. Freud's basic concern was with the unconscious mind, for this is where he believed the instinctual drives of the individual (which were responsible for his deviancy) would lie.

Personality is thought to be the resultant effect of three functions: (1) the id, (2) the ego, and (3) the superego (37). Let us examine the purpose of each.

1. The id consists of the basic instinctual drives of the individual, the animal desires that must

be satisfied. This is accomplished by means of the pleasure principle, whose sole objective is to immediately eliminate all tension. The id is not capable of differentiating right from wrong when attempting to satisfy its basic needs.

2. The ego operates according to the reality principle; the discharge of tension is prevented until a suitable object has been found for satisfaction. A plan of action is formulated before the individual overtly reacts to the stimulus. The ego represents the organized portion of the id.
3. The superego represents the conscience and traditional values of society; it is the moral aim of the personality. Whatever is improper and punished is incorporated in the conscience, that which is good and rewarded is incorporated into the ego-ideal. The primary functions of the superego are twofold; first, to inhibit the impulses of the id, and second, to persuade the ego to substitute moralistic goals for realistic ones (37).

Let us create a hypothetical case, so that we may put these processes into operation. Assume that a man is very hungry, but does not have enough money to buy food.

As he walks along the street, he passes a bakery shop with chocolate cakes displayed in the window. Inside the store the proprietor is talking with a policeman. The id, has only one desire, to satisfy the hunger that has overtaken the individual. If the id is strong enough, our man will walk into the shop, eat the cake and most likely be arrested.

Next, let's examine the same situation, this time bringing the ego into play. Even though the id demands that the hunger be satisfied, the ego attempts to protect the individual. It says, "Yes, you can have the cake, but you must wait; the telephone is ringing, the policeman is leaving the store, and the proprietor is walking toward the back room to answer the phone. Now it is safe to enter the store and eat the cake." Even though a criminal act was still committed, the ego protected the individual from the adverse consequences of being apprehended.

Finally, let us introduce the superego. Representing the basic morality of society, and conscience of the individual, the superego says, "No, you cannot eat the cake without the consent of the proprietor." The concern here is not with the instinctual needs of the man, but rather in separating good from evil and right from wrong. This is accomplished by reference to the value structure present within that society which the individual has incorporated by means of the socialization process.

Criminality may be expressed as the result of an overactive id, in combination with an underactive superego. If the superego is not strong enough to control the basic impulses of the id, and the ego cannot direct the primitive drives into legitimate channels, as a consequence we would expect deviant behavior to follow (83). Karpman suggests that all individuals are born criminal, in the sense that they come into the world with only their basic, primitive, and instinctual drives. The task of conditioning them to seek approved channels for expression is left to society.

We are born selfish, hateful, spiteful, mean; and it is the culture that makes us devoted, loving, kind and sympathetic . . . criminality [is viewed] as being expressive of the antisocial feeling that each of us carries within him. And it is out of this criminal basis our normal citizenry carried that our criminal population is evolved (43).

Psychoanalytic theorists can account for a number of different crimes by using the framework they have developed. Abrahamsen suggests: "Murder has psychological root in the person's aggressions related to attack and defense. These are expressions of his fight for survival or may be due to an erotic drive, no matter how distorted or concealed it may be" (1). This hypothesis may be applied to almost any crime involving violence. Suicide can be accounted for by an examination of the life and death instincts of the id (52). The polarity of this principle suggests that while man is attempting to protect himself, at the same time there is

present a desire for personal destruction. These polar forces are in a state of constant interaction, if the death instinct eventually becomes dominant then the result will be suicide. In the normal course of development, these destructive drives are either channeled into other areas or sublimated.

After an examination of various psychoanalytic applications to deviant behavior, Clinard makes some specific criticisms (17):

1. Contrary to psychoanalysis, evidence suggests that human behavior is a product of social experience and that it is not determined by an innate reservoir of animal impulses termed the id.
2. The entire psychoanalytic scheme is bodily conscious rather than primarily socially conscious, for the child's development is greatly influenced by social relationships which have little or no connection with bodily functions.
3. Psychoanalytic theory has assumed certain universal uniformities in human behavior as arising from the assumed uniformities in human biological drives, irrespective of cultural influences, or historical eras, or of variations in social structure.

Intelligence and Crime

Mental deficiency may be the resultant effect of two separate occurrences, inherited defects of mental processes, or lack of proper intellectual training. Thus, we have present, both biological and cultural implications. In order to label an individual as feeble-minded we must have

some method to measure his intelligence. The I.Q. test provides for us this instrument, although its reliability and validity present one of the most controversial issues within the social sciences.

Before administration of an I.Q. test, it must be certain that the subject is representative of the sample with which the instrument had been standardized. A test which had been standardized on a Northeastern, urban population may not elicit valid results if administered to a Southern, rural subject. It has been found that many factors other than what psychologists call "innate ability," affect an individual's performance on an intelligence test. These factors include acquired ability, emotional stability, regionality, and length of formal education. Thus, it may be hypothesized that I.Q. scores are capable of change over an extended period (46).

For a long time it was believed by many psychologists, that the criminal was intellectually inferior to the "normal" population. It was thus hypothesized, that an individual becomes involved in deviant activities because he is not "bright" enough to channel his behavior into legitimate areas. To the contrary, Neumeyer suggests that:

Extreme cases of feeble-mindedness are not often found among the delinquents, partly because the feeble-minded are not capable of such behavior, or maybe because they have been placed in institutions at an early age and are protected and prevented from coming into conflict with the law (56).

If they do get involved they are probably much more likely to be apprehended than are criminals in the "normal" population.

Formulation of I.Q. and Interpretation

The "intelligence quotient" of an individual can be obtained by examination of that person's performance of a number of tests designed for this purpose. The results of these tests give us an indication of the mental age of the subject. The I.Q. score is the ratio obtained by dividing the mental age by the chronological age. This figure is then multiplied by 100 for easier numerical representation.

$$\text{I.Q.} = \frac{\text{M.A.}}{\text{C.A.}} \times 100$$

Thus, the normal I.Q. score would be 100; the subject's mental age equals his chronological age reducing itself to one, this is then multiplied by 100, eliciting a score of 100. Wechsler provides us with a table of intelligence classifications based on I.Q. test scores (80).

Intelligence Classifications

<u>I.Q.</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Percent Included</u>
130 and above	Very superior	2.2
120 - 129	Superior	6.7
110 - 119	Bright normal	16.1
90 - 109	Average	50.0
80 - 89	Dull normal	16.1
70 - 79	Borderline	6.7
69 and below	Mental defective	2.2

Let us now turn our attention to some empirical investigations that have been conducted in an attempt to correlate mental defectiveness with criminality.

World War I

Intelligence testing received its big boom in the United States when we began a wholesale investigation of the draftee during World War I. Inductees were examined not only for physical fitness, but also for mental ability. The criterion established for feeble-mindedness was a mental age below thirteen. It was found however that nearly 30 per cent of the subjects fell within this category. Goddard states:

The war led to the measurement of intelligence of the draft army with the result that such an enormous proportion was found to have an intelligence of 12 years and less that to call them all feeble-minded was an absurdity. . . . We have already said that we thought 12 was the limit, but we now know that most of the twelve, and even of the ten and nine, are not defective (35).

Likewise, much of the early intelligence testing with criminals revealed a very high percentage to be feeble-minded.

These results must be viewed in the same light as those of the army studies, with adjustment made when necessary.

Kuhlman's Findings

Dr. F. H. Kuhlman, past Director of the Division of Research, Minnesota State Board of Control, conducted several studies in an attempt to obtain the I.Q. scores from inmates in the Minnesota penal system. He found at the Stillwater Prison, between 1929-32, that 49.1 per cent of his cases had an I.Q. score of less than 75, at the St. Cloud Reformatory, 31 per cent of his cases scored under 75 (8).

George Vold examined Kuhlman's findings and found that when mental age is used as a standard of comparison, rather than I.Q., some interesting results developed.

The median mental age for the Stillwater group was 13 years and 1.2 months; for the St. Cloud cases it was 13 years and 11.2 months. The median mental age of the World War I draft army was 13 years and 1.8 months. In other words, the median mental age of the draft army and of the prisoners at Stillwater was found to be almost identical (79 p. 85).

Conclusion

If we use the same criterion for the prison group that we use for the army, we find the two samples to be very similar. The frequency of feeble-mindedness runs about 2 per cent in the general population, this is true also of prison inmates. Similar results have been found

in studies conducted by Lowell Car and William and Joan McCord. In other words, low intelligence was not significantly related to crime (50). It is noted that few studies of differential intelligence scores between criminals and non-criminals have been conducted in recent years. However, it is evident from the results of these studies, that we cannot use intelligence as a general explanation of criminality.

Economic Theory of Crime

Criminologists who have been unwilling to accept biological and physiological explanations of crime and delinquency have turned to other areas in an attempt to find the crucial answers. Some have attempted to establish a relationship between economic conditions and deviancy. These researches have sometimes been referred to as Marxist criminologists, because their speculations were based on the theory of economic determinism. Economic life is thought to be the foundation or basis of all social interaction, whereby other human activity is organized around this one central process. Many sociologists feel that the single, most important social activity of man is work, for through this activity his status, income and social relationships are derived (54). In an industrialized society we are constantly engaged in the production, distribution, consumption and exchange of goods and services; in a democracy we must add the additional element of competition. The Marxist

Criminologists hypothesize that crime is pursued for its economic rewards, which cannot be derived from a legitimate source. In our materialistically oriented culture, it is thus logical to look for the economic roots of crime. Taft states that:

Our law defines as criminal some methods of achieving economic success, but fails to penalize other methods often quite as injurious to social welfare. Stealing is crime, but much human exploitation is not. . . . Acclaim results too often from economic achievements rather than from the exactness with which the rules of the game have been observed in spirit as well as in letter. As in basketball, so in economic life, a foul that brings victory is often overlooked (67).

We find then, that competition and economic success do not always generate the same sanctions. While some members of our society are rewarded for their economic achievements, others are severely censured.

Crime and the Business Cycle

If crime does have an economic foundation, we would normally expect a rapid rise in rates of crime during depression and a sharp drop during prosperity. This, however, has been difficult to measure in the United States, even during the depression of the 1930's. While the masses of unemployed began to swell, government spending and direct aid provided the American people with the bare necessities of life, so that they were not in a state of acute starvation. It was noted that in Poland, where the government had inadequate

resources for relief, the rate of crime had increased (67). Using the statistical data available for the United States, we found that even though the adult crime rate rose slightly during the depression, the juvenile rate actually dropped. Perhaps the major reasons for this reduction were: (1) parents were able to spend more time with their children since they were unemployed themselves, (2) less money was available for outside recreation and therefore more time was spent at home, and (3) inadequate budgets for police personnel provided less chance to detection and apprehension (78).

Donald R. Taft, summarizes some of the findings of the Social Science Research Council, on the relationship between crime and the depression:

1. Neither American, English, nor European research has shown any clear relationship between depression and crime generally.
2. Evidence of relationship between non-violent crimes and depression is wholly inconsistent.
3. Many studies have shown that robbery and other property crimes with violence do increase when there is a large amount of unemployment.
4. Some studies have shown crimes against morals to decrease.
5. There is no evidence that crimes against the person generally increase (67).

We must also recognize the fact that the term "crime" has a broad definition, which includes many varieties of anti-social behavior. Crimes which are committed for economic

gain alone comprise only a segment (though a significant one) of this area. Many deviant acts such as murder, aggravated assault, rape, and manslaughter have no economic motive behind them.

Ecology and Crime

In the 1920's Park, Burgess, and McKenzie made significant contributions to the study of urban sociology through their extensive research in the city of Chicago. They provided for us an ecological description of the city in the form of concentric zones. As you moved from one zone to the next you would not only be crossing residential lines, but also subcultural ghettos that had developed within the city. Provided is a reconstruction of these zones (57 p. 51):

I -----	CORE	Lowest Socio-Economic Classes
II -----	ZONE OF TRANSITION	
III -----	WORKINGMAN'S ZONE	
IV -----	RESIDENTIAL ZONE (Middle class)	
V -----	COMMUTER'S ZONE (Suburbs)	

As one moves from zone V to zone I there is a corresponding increase in the crime rate, which has been referred to as the "centrifugal gradient of crime." We must take into account, however, that not only are we moving from the areas of wealth to those of poverty, but we also have a basic change in value orientations. As we move in this direction

not only are the crime rates rising, but also on the upturn are the rates of divorce and desertion, alcoholism, narcotic addiction, foreign born, and minority group members. Not only do economic conditions change, but accompanying these are psychological and sociological consequences as well.

It has been noted, that there are an unusually high percentage of negroes involved in delinquent activities in the United States. For example, at Southern Michigan prison, 45 per cent of the inmate population is Negro, while Negroes comprise only 9 per cent of the population of the State. But these people most often are members of low income groups, victims of segregation and discrimination, holders of low ranking occupations (or unemployed), and live in the worst slum conditions. Considering the multiplicity of correlated factors, it is rather difficult to select economic deprivation as the central determinant of involvement in crime.

In the New York Times of February 4, 1957, it was reported that 1 per cent of the New York families produced 75 per cent of the official delinquency. However, it must be remembered that a number of the factors listed above were operating against the great majority of these families. Even though this may be the case, we must still account for the fact that most of the members of our slum population do not become involved in criminal activities. Surely, these law-abiding individuals are as economically depressed as their criminal neighbors, yet their activities are channeled

in legitimate directions.

We find, as was discussed in Chapter I, that there is sometimes present a selective bias related to criminal apprehension, which operates to the disadvantage of the lower classes. Because of the constant expectation of trouble, there is more policing in lower class neighborhoods than in other sections of the city. The attitudes that these police officers hold are equally significant; where the lower class boy would ordinarily be jailed, the middle class youth may get off with a warning for committing the same offense.

Sutherland contends that crime is not closely correlated with poverty, and lower class membership, but rather, is an outgrowth of our biased sample of "official" delinquents (64, 65). Not included in this sample are the criminal activities of a significant number of business and professional men. "Their criminality has been demonstrated again and again in the investigations of land offices, railroads, insurance, munitions, banking, public utilities, stock exchanges--and politics" (65). In an examination of the medical profession, investigators found the illegal sale of narcotics, abortion, illegal services to criminals and fraudulent reports and testimony in accident cases. It had been reported in New York City, that two-thirds of the surgeons engaged in fee splitting. Sutherland goes on to note that:

Of the cans of ether sold to the Army in 1923-35, 70 percent were rejected because of impurities; the comptroller of the currency in 1908 reported that violations of law were found in 75 percent of the banks examined in a three months' period; and a public accountant estimated, in the period prior to the Securities and Exchange Commission, that 80 percent of the financial statements of corporations were misleading (65).

The vast majority of these white-collar violations do not come to the attention of law enforcement officials, but instead are handled by regulatory commissions and administrative boards and bureaus, which have been established to regulate the activities of their own industries.

Conclusion

We find that the correlation between criminal activity and low economic status has been grossly magnified, for we have at our disposal only the records of official deviants who have been processed through our legal system. Not taken into account are the vast majority of slum residents who are not involved in criminal activity, the selective bias which operates against the lower classes, and the number of white-collar criminals who never formally appear in court.

Sociological Explanations of Crime

The school of criminal sociology, which emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century, focuses its attention on the social, economic, and political conditions present within the society (60). When criminologists discovered that they could not account for crime solely on the basis of individual constitution and defects of personality and intelligence, they began looking for new answers.

The major concern of the sociological school rests upon the social structure of society. The study of deviant behavior is approached, not as an abnormal development, but rather as a condition which emerged from social interaction. Sociologists have explained factors of crime causation in terms of differential association and identification, conflict between groups, or socialization in a criminal subculture.

Differential Association

The major exponent of the theory of differential association was the sociologist, Edwin H. Sutherland. Sutherland's explanation of crime is essentially genetic. By this is meant that the foundations leading to criminal behavior rest within the individual's social environment, and may be studied by an examination of his life history, especially his early years. Sutherland makes a distinction

between his genetic explanation, and a mechanistic or situational interpretation of the causative factors. The latter have been favored by physical and biological scientists who attempt to explain crime in terms of the conditions present at the moment of occurrence. Sutherland, on the other hand, is concerned with the series of events which led to a particular act, rather than the dynamics of the act itself. The theory of differential association is stated in terms of nine processes (63):

1. Criminal behavior is learned. (If a person is to engage in criminal behavior he has to be properly trained in the techniques of crime. The tendency toward criminality is not inherited.)
2. Criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication.
3. The principle part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups. (Mass communications, because of their secondary nature, would play only a minor role as a causative factor in crime.)
4. When criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes: (a) techniques of committing the crime, (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes.

5. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favorable or unfavorable. (Some groups favor legal codes, while others are opposed to them. The group of which the individual identifies will have a significant influence on his interpretation.)
6. A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law. (A person will become criminal because of excess contact with deviant groups, and relative isolation from anti-criminal behavior patterns.)
7. Differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity. (These variables apply to both criminal and non-criminal contact. How frequently does an individual interact with criminal and (or) non-criminal groups? How long are his visits? Which is his first preference of social activity? How intense are his relationships with the deviant or the non-delinquent group? These variables interacting in significant proportion will produce either criminal or non-criminal behavior patterns.)

8. The process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning. (Socialization into crime involves normal learning patterns, just as we learn to play baseball or chess.)
9. While criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values. (The criminal satisfies his basic needs by searching for non-legitimate channels, the law-abiding citizen satisfies these same needs by conforming to the expectations of society.)

The theory of differential association can account for a host of crimes, with the possible exception of "crimes of the moment." This explanation has application not only for lower class crimes, but also for white-collar violations. If an individual is going to violate a trust, or fix a price, or take a "kick-back," he must learn how to do so, just as the lower class violator learns how to break and enter a building. We find in general that a life of crime is not the inherited fate of a man, but rather a consequence of his social environment and ensuing relationships.

Criticisms of Differential Association

Many critics of criminological theory have been unwilling to accept the basic hypotheses proposed by Sutherland. For the most part, their criticisms can be summarized in the following two passages:

. . . It [differential association] attributes all criminal conduct to indoctrination by other criminals or contagion by criminalistic "patterns" and utterly ignores such primitive impulses of aggression, sexual desire, acquisitiveness, and the like, which lead children to various forms of anti-social conduct before they have learned it from others. What is there to be learned about simple lying, taking things that belong to another, fighting and sex play? Do children have to be taught such natural acts? If one takes account of the psychiatric and criminological evidence that involves research into the early childhood manifestations of anti-social behavior, one must conclude that it is not delinquent behavior that is learned; that comes naturally. It is rather non-delinquent behavior that is learned (33).

It has been stated or implied that the theory of differential association is defective because it omits consideration of free will, is based on a psychology assuming rational deliberation, ignores the role of the victim, does not explain the origin of crime, does not define terms such as "systematic" and "excess," does not take "biological factors" into account, is of little or no value to "practical men," is not comprehensive enough because it is not inter-disciplinary, is not allied closely enough with more general sociological theory and research, is too comprehensive because it applies to noncriminals, and assumes that all persons have equal access to criminal and anti-criminal behavior patterns (22).

Differential Identification

Daniel Glaser, also operating within a theoretically social frame of reference, reorganized Sutherland's theory in terms of differential identifications. Assuming that most persons in the course of their lives identify with both criminal and non-criminal elements of society, variables are introduced to examine the extent of this differential identification. Glaser states:

The theory of differential identification is that a person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable. Such a theory focuses attention on the interaction in which choice of models occurs, including the individual's interaction with himself in rationalizing his conduct. It provides a criterion of the relevance, for each individual case of criminality, of economic conditions, prior frustrations, learned moral creeds, group participation, or other features of an individual's life. These features are relevant to the extent that they can be shown to affect the choice of the other from whose perspective the individual views his own behavior (32).

Group Conflict Theory

In a mass society such as our own, we find at any given time that a number of groups are involved in a state of conflict. This condition persists between political parties seeking legislative and executive power, between labor and management, between revolutionary groups and legitimate authorities, between whites and Negroes, between law enforcement agencies and criminals.

In our country, most of us have multi-group affiliations and loyalties. The dominance of any one loyalty depends upon the degree of our acceptance of the basic values and goals supported by the particular group. We may belong to a political party, an educational association, bridge club, civic association, and church. As we identify with these groups, in turn they give us the direction that is necessary to function in mass society. The problems of the group are our problems, the goals of the group are our goals, and the adversaries of the group are our adversaries. We are constantly striving to improve both our own status position and that of the group.

As new interests arise, new groups come into existence, fighting for the principles they wish to preserve. If a counter group is formed to present some opposition, then the objective would be to weaken that group until it no longer serves a useful purpose. The conflict which eventually develops between these aggregations will serve to intensify the loyalty of the members to their respective groups (79, p. 206).

George Vold is primarily responsible for applying the principles of the sociology of conflict (writings of Georg Simmel) to the area of crime and delinquency. He sees criminal behavior as a conflict between the dominant society and a minority criminal element. The delinquent subculture

is at odds with the rest of society; because they occupy a minority position, consequently they are sought after and declared to be in violation of the law. What is law, is determined by the dominant power group. Thus during prohibition, because the great majority of the population was opposed to the restrictions placed on the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages, it was necessary for our legislature to repeal the eighteenth amendment. Who is, and is not, a criminal frequently depends upon whether an individual is a member of the dominant or subordinate group.

Vold goes on to examine the political nature of criminal behavior. He states that:

Numerous crimes result from the direct political reform type of movement. Such reform activity often has recourse to violence, the ultimate form of which is rebellion or revolution. A successful revolution makes criminals out of the government officials previously in power, and an unsuccessful revolution makes its leaders into traitors subject to immediate execution (79, p. 214).

This is another area in which conflict between groups produces criminality. Definitions of crime are not universal, but rather are determined by the dominant forces in a society at a particular time and locale.

Delinquent Subculture Theory

Albert K. Cohen, in his book Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (19), examines the nature of the delinquent subculture. Cohen is primarily concerned with finding

an explanation for the existence of the delinquent subculture, including the needs that it was to serve. He states:

In brief, it explained the delinquent subculture as a system of beliefs and values generated in a process of communicative interaction among children similarly circumstanced by virtue of their positions in the social structure, and as constituting a solution to problems of adjustment to which the established culture provided no satisfactory solutions (19).

The delinquent boy is depicted as trapped by a middle class society. First, universal goals are established; secondly, it is expected that in the process of reaching these goals our young people are guided by the proper norms and values (most generally defined by the middle class), but thirdly, because of lack of opportunity, many of the legitimate channels that may be used to gain success are not available to whole segments of our population. A perfect example of this exists within our public school system. We recognize that one of the major vehicles to achieving vertical mobility in our country is through formal education. However, we find that members of the lower classes are greatly under-represented at our colleges and universities. The roots of this may be traced back to grade school. The same opportunity for educational advancement present in a middle class area is not found in the working class neighborhood. In the latter, we find a predominance of lower class children in attendance at vocational and trade schools rather than in an academic curriculum. There is little question that, as a

result of this, many young people who have high intelligence and are capable of doing college work are forced into the unskilled and semi-skilled labor pool.

Because of the limitations placed on these economically and socially depressed people, many will turn to the delinquent subcultures to find at least a temporary solution to their problems. They are reacting against the society they feel is responsible for placing them in the cellar of the opportunity structure. To help facilitate their actions they have assumed a negativistic and non-utilitarian philosophy of life. Anything that is considered to be "good" and have positive value placed on it in conventional society, is reversed in the delinquent subculture. If conventional norms suggest that it is considered good to help an elderly lady across the street, the delinquent subculture dictates that it should be made as difficult as possible for the oldster to cross.

Cohen uses the term non-utilitarian to suggest that crimes are not committed merely for economic gain. He states: "In homelier language, stealing 'for the hell of it' and apart from considerations of gain and profit is a valued activity to which attaches glory, prowess, and profound satisfaction" (19).

It is often the case, especially in large cities, that items taken from a victim during a "mugging," are left

abandoned in another section of that city. This suggests that the real interest was not in obtaining material possessions for personal use or profit, but rather in committing a crime for the sake of the act itself.

Through intensive and prolonged interaction, the delinquents create a subculture which stands apart from the rest of society. This subculture, which is organized around its own status hierarchy, is guided by a unique set of norms, values, and goals. Though these deviants may be at odds with members of conventional society, they nevertheless make an attempt to control and organize their own social environment.

Multiple Factor Approaches

An examination of the preceding theories indicates the selective nature of theorists in suggesting the causative factors of crime. None of the above theories can account for every delinquent act that takes place. Physical type theories suggest that the deviant will be a distinct physiological being, who can easily be recognized as criminal; yet the distribution of individuals in the prison samples, on the basis of physique, correspond to that of the "normal" population. Economic theorists tell us that it is the deprived person in a lower class neighborhood who will be most likely to commit a crime, yet many crimes of violence

are committed which involve no economic gain. It also must be noted that most members of the above neighborhood have no police record of any kind. Psychological theories insist that those individuals with personality defects, strong primitive drives, and low intelligence, are the most likely candidates to follow a criminal career, yet those who manifest psychological defects comprise only a very small proportion of the prison population; and the distribution of I.Q. scores among inmates is very similar to the distribution in the civilian population. Sociological explanations relate themselves to the existing social conditions present within a society. If criminal behavior must be learned in close association with those who practice it, then how can we explain "crimes of the moment," and the behavior of juvenile delinquents who come from upper class homes who supposedly have had no contact with a criminal element.

In an attempt to answer these questions, many criminologists have turned to multiple factor explanations of deviant behavior. One negative factor may not be enough to produce a delinquent, however, a number of these negative factors operating together might create "the straw that breaks the camel's back." Elliott and Merrill state:

Elaborate investigations of delinquents give us conclusive evidence that there is no single predisposing factor leading inevitably to delinquent behavior. On the other hand, the delinquent child is generally a child handicapped not by one or two, but usually by seven or eight counts. We are safe

in concluding that almost any child can overcome one or two handicaps, such as the death of one parent or poverty and poor health. However, if the child has a drunken unemployed father and an immoral mother, is mentally deficient, is taken out of school at an early age and put to work in a factory, and lives in a crowded home in a bad neighborhood, nearly every factor in his environment may seem to militate against him (28).

Cyril Burt, a British psychologist who in 1925 published a study of the causative factors of crime said, "it needs many coats of pitch to paint a thing thoroughly black" (12). By this he was referring to the conditions necessary to transform a law-abiding citizen into a criminal. Let us now examine some of the multiple factor approaches that have been developed.

Containment Theory

Containment theory is presented by Walter Reckless as "the best general theory to explain the largest amount of delinquency and crime" (60, p. 356).

Reckless examined essentially two processes, internal and external containment. By internal containment he means the controls that the individual himself has over his overt behavior. By external containment he is concerned with the controls placed upon the person by society. Reckless feels that internal controls are probably the more decisive in directing an individual's behavior. There are a combination of psychological and sociological factors involved, although one may be conditioned by the other.

There are essentially two processes working simultaneously which produce social pressures for the individual, and pull him away from the conventional expected behavior patterns. The pressure factors ". . . consist of adverse living conditions [relative to culture and region]: poverty, unemployment, economic insecurity, family conflict, minority group status, lack of opportunities, class and social inequities" (60, p. 355). Next we find the pull factors which ". . . consist of prestige individuals, bad companions, delinquency or criminal subculture, deviant groups, mass media, [and] propaganda . . ." (60, p. 355).

In order to counteract these social pressures and pulls, there must be sufficient external containment present within the individual's social environment. Two of the strongest groups providing this containment are a family and peer group who have a law-abiding orientation. Here the individual comes into contact with the primary forces of socialization, and is provided with a set of rules (basic norms of society) which he is expected to follow. Supervision and discipline are applied when necessary, if behavior does not conform to his expected role.

A study of a Chinese or Japanese subculture in the United States (primarily New York and San Francisco), will provide a perfect example of external containment. These two groups display an extremely low propensity to commit

crime. The family is dominant and has direct controls over the actions of its members as relates to both domestic and extra-familial activities. If a norm is violated, disgrace will be cast not only on the violator, but on the family as well. Elders occupy the highest familial positions, and are treated with great respect. Because of these rather vigorous controls, it is a rarity indeed when a member of one of these groups comes into contact with our law enforcement agencies (which act as a secondary containment).

Additional examples may be cited by examining the social structure and controls exercised by the Hutterites and the Amish (42, 26). These two groups have remained segregated and intact from the rest of society, with a minimum of outside contact, which might ultimately produce a conflict of norms and values. The inner containments deal with how the individual controls his behavior and draws away from the adverse pressures acting upon him. These inner containments consist of ". . . good self-control, ego strength, well-developed superego [conscience], good self-concept [and] high resistance to diversions . . ." (60, p. 355). If the external containment is weak, then the inner containment must be highly developed in order to keep the individual from reacting negatively to the pressures and pulls of society. As was stated earlier, the degree of inner containment in many cases will be largely conditioned

by the socialization process. The values of the family and peer associates are passed on to the individual and internalized. For the most part, their norms become his norms until he meets a more dominant influential force which may alter his behavior.

The Validation of Containment Theory

In an attempt to validate his theory, Reckless has provided us with seven practical tests which may be applied:

1. If criminology must have a general theory, containment theory is proposed as a theory best fit to explain the bulk of crime and delinquency. . . . Containment theory applies to the delinquent and the non-delinquent, to the moral and the immoral, the saint and the sinner, the conformist and the non-conformist. . . .
2. Containment theory explains crimes against the person as well as crimes against property. . . .
3. The next important test of validity of containment theory is that it is a formulation with which psychiatrists, psychologists and sociologists can agree. . . .
4. Another test of the validity of containment theory is that the components of internal and external containment can be discovered in study of individual and case histories. . . . Clinically, it is possible to assess inner and external containment. . . .
5. Containment theory constitutes an effective operational theory for treatment of offenders. Treatment can consist of manipulating an environment or changing an environment. . . .

6. Containment theory also has application for prevention, certainly prevention of juvenile delinquency. It has "on-the-target" focus. Children with good inner containment and poor inner containment in adverse environments can be spotted. . . .
7. Containment, both external and internal, can be measured by research--if not accurately, at least it can be assessed and approximated (60, pp. 356-358).

The Gluecks's Findings

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck undertook what has proven to be perhaps the most famous and certainly the most comprehensive study of the causative factors associated with delinquent behavior that has ever been conducted. The findings of this study have been published in their book, Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency (34). The method used was to match by pairs, 500 delinquents (boys from Boston who were under the custody of the State of Massachusetts), with 500 nondelinquents. They were matched on the basis of age, ethnic affiliation, intelligence, economic status, family background, and so on. Along with these factors, physical and psychiatric examinations were administered including the use of the Rorschach test.

The Gluecks have formulated a causal formula for detecting potential delinquents, which Reckless has described as the "four against one" law (60, p. 258). Four individual factors are listed, opposed to one social factor. These multiple factors of crime causation are constitutional,

temperamental, emotional, psychological, and family differences. Their formula, which is only a tentative proposal, has been stated as follows:

The delinquents as a group are distinguishable from the nondelinquents: (1) physically, in being essentially mesomorphic in constitution (solid, closely knit, muscular); (2) temperamentally, in being restlessly energetic, impulsive, extroverted, aggressive, destructive (often sadistic)--traits which may be related more or less to the erratic growth pattern and its physiologic correlates or consequences; (3) in attitude, by being hostile, defiant, resentful, suspicious, stubborn, socially assertive, adventurous, unconventional, non-submissive to authority; (4) psychologically, in tending to expression, and in being less methodical in their approach to problems; (5) socio-culturally, in having been reared to a far greater extent than the control group in homes of little understanding, affection, stability, or moral fiber by parents usually unfit to be effective guides and protectors or, according to psychoanalytic theory, desirable sources for emulation and the construction of a consistent, well-balanced, and socially normal superego during the early stages of character development. While in individual cases the stresses contributed by any one of the above pressure areas of dissocial-behavior tendency may adequately account for persistence in delinquency, in general the high probability of delinquency is dependent upon the interplay of the conditions and forces from all these areas (34, pp. 281-282).

We note from an examination of the above statement, that the companionship factor is omitted from the formula. This can be explained by the fact that the Gluecks found that nearly 90 per cent of their delinquent sample showed evidence of delinquency before they had reached eleven years of age. The initiation of deviant activities had begun even before participation in delinquent gangs, which is primarily

an adolescent phenomenon.

Healy's Findings

Dr. William Healy, after conducting a systematic examination (medical, psychiatric and social) of a sample of 823 habitual delinquents, found that many of their case histories did not support any general criminological theory. Because of his findings, he proposed a statement of multiple causation. Healy found essentially four factors included in the case histories of a significant proportion of his delinquent sample. In order of frequency these were: (1) mental abnormalities, (2) defective home conditions, (3) defects of heredity, and (4) bad companions. From these four conditions we find an equal distribution of individual factors and social factors, although Healy himself is an outstanding exponent of the individualistic approach (39).

Conclusion

From the above findings, it is evident that we cannot point to one single, general cause of delinquency. The nature of social deviancy is as varied as the individuals who become involved. There are present a multitude of circumstances which eventually lead to the criminal act. I believe that further study of the multiple factor approach to crime causation will prove to be one of the most fruitful areas of criminological research.

Societal Reactions to Crime
Through Penology

Societal reactions to crime are expressed through our penal systems. It seems only logical that if the causes of deviancy are known, they will be reflected in the procedures used for reformation and penal practice. If a crime is committed by someone with relatively low intelligence due to lack of formal schooling, than the natural task of the penal institution is to educate and train him so that he will have a trade to perform, increase his scope of knowledge, and not make the same mistake again. If the dominant criminological theory of the time is psychiatrically oriented, then it may be necessary to analyze the personality of the deviant, and develop a treatment program that will restore him to normalcy. If sociological explanations are accepted, then the deviant must go through a process of relearning; he must leave behind the ways of crime and make an adjustment to the normal law-abiding society. We can trace through these very same steps for each of the criminological theories previously stated.

Penal practice can be seen as a continuum from punishment through treatment. Punishment suggests that there is intentional infliction of pain by the corporate group of which the individual is a member. It is assumed that the administration of pain will produce some good on the part of the offender, and restore the balance upset by

the crime to the social system. When a philosophy of treatment is established, the offender is looked upon as someone who is ill, and in need of a considerable amount of help and attention. We can't punish him for being sick, all we can do is facilitate his recovery. In modern penological practice the trend is definitely in the treatment direction, though at times it is rather difficult to separate treatment from punishment. For some inmates, the mere conditions of being confined to the prison community is punishment enough, at times almost unbearable.

Sutherland and Cressey suggest three general problems in the area of crime control and related punitive policies (63, pp. 254-255). First, there is a problem of efficiency; can crime be better controlled through use of punitive policies, or by the treatment method. A reduction in the crime rate is one indication of the efficiency of the system. This may be expressed by fewer people committing crimes, and a lower rate of recidivism.

Second, there is the problem of relating correction methods to our existing store of knowledge about crime causation. Society may be unwilling to implement a given method because it is inconsistent with their cultural values and expectations.

We note that some of the cruelest persecutions of human beings took place only two centuries ago ". . . in a

culture in which physical suffering was the natural lot of mankind" (19, p. 298). Today, a human life has considerable more value placed upon it, and our penal goals in most modern institutions are that of rehabilitation and treatment, rather than the intentional infliction of suffering, hardship and pain. This is a reflection of an advanced culture with a relatively high standard of living. Prisons are extremely expensive institutions to operate; it would be much more efficient, financially, to have a mandatory death sentence carried out in all states for capital offenses, rather than sentence an individual to a long term in prison. This, however, is not in keeping with the values that many of our states have incorporated into their criminal codes.

Third, we have a problem of variations in punitive policies and methods of crime control, from time to time and place to place. The reason for this may be found by examination of the moral standards of the society in question, their degree of culture and economic development, and the nature and severity of the crime itself.

There are six basic kinds of punishment that can be inflicted upon an individual for violation of the norms of a society. These are the death penalty, imprisonment, physical torture, deportation and exile, social degradation, and financial penalties. Let us examine these in terms of current practice in the United States.

We note immediately the increased use of imprisonment and financial penalties, with a trend away from the mandatory death sentence (63, p. 292). Probably the three fundamental reasons for this are: first, that the death penalty is seriously questioned as an effective deterrent to murder, since a significant proportion of these offenses are "crimes of the moment." In fact when states which have abolished the death penalty are compared with states which maintain it, the former display a lower homicide rate. Second, errors of justice sometimes are irreparable; when the death penalty is carried out on an innocent man, there is nothing that can be done to correct this wrong. Third, this breaks down our respect for human life, and might promote more homicides than it prevents. We are confronted with the basic moral question of the right of the state to take away a life.

Imprisonment is almost a universal form of punishment imposed upon felons in the United States today. It is hoped that while the individual is confined to the correctional institution, he will benefit from their program of reformation. With the increasing trend toward treatment, the inmate is examined in terms of his individual needs, with a program designed to help satisfy those needs and return him to society as quickly as possible. However, the penal institution has a multitude of functions, with its major responsibility being to protect society from its

convicted criminals. Because of this, the treatment process sometimes must take a back seat to maintenance of security, custody, and discipline within the prison walls.

A logical question that we may ask ourselves, concerns the effectiveness of the treatment process and eventual rehabilitation within the prison environment. It must be remembered that we have here a very special kind of social system. Because the population is comprised of all convicted felons, it may be assumed that, due to constant social interaction, their deviant habits and patterns of behavior will actually be reinforced. After all, if men of most given professions usually discuss topics related to their trade when gathered together, criminals most likely will talk about the techniques of crime. Growing out of this concern, many of our modern institutions have developed classification systems, where offenders are selected on the basis of a given set of criteria (age, education, offense, intelligence, mental condition, and recidivism), to be placed in the institution which will be of greatest benefit to them. Perhaps the central determinant is age, for most corrections departments do not want to subject the youthful offender to the habitual criminal. To help solve this problem, they have established juvenile reformatories, training units, camps, and trade schools, with a maximum age set for admission. The emotional and mental stability of the inmate

is also of immediate concern, for we do not want to introduce psychotics who need a very special kind of treatment, to the general prison population. For this reason most states maintain a separate hospital for the criminal insane.

The amount of custody and security that an inmate requires is also a most important consideration. There are essentially three levels of security maintained: maximum, medium, and minimum. The maximum security institution typically contains a high restraining wall, with several guard towers surrounding the cell block area. This is required for the most dangerous of felons. Within the maximum security institution itself, two distinct penal philosophies have emerged in the United States; the Pennsylvania system and the Auburn system (63, p. 450). Believing that the close association of convicted criminals was destructive to the goal of reformation, the Pennsylvania prison authorities in the 1800's adopted a policy of solitary confinement for all inmates. Only a limited number of visits by government officials were permitted; the prisoners were left alone in their cells to reflect upon their misdeeds, and repent. Proving impractical, this system was abolished in 1913.

The Auburn system provided work for the inmates during the day and placed them in solitary confinement at night. This more closely resembles the industrial penal institution of today. Because of the expense of prison operations, it proved to be impractical to keep men capable

of work idle.

The medium security arrangement provides very little organized attempt to prevent an escape. Inmates assigned here generally are of two types, trustees who have been especially cooperative over a long period of time and have gained the confidence of the prison administration, and men who have been approved for parole, transferred here from larger institutions, and are awaiting release. Generally, the men engage in some variety of agricultural work during the daytime. This relatively relaxed atmosphere also provides them with an excellent opportunity to begin their adjustment to the outside world, through the increased amount of trust placed in them.

Physical torture, or any other cruel or unusual punishment, is forbidden by the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Contrary to this, we find that whipping is still authorized in two of our states, Delaware and Maryland (20). Although, today, the percentage of criminals subjected to this form of punishment is negligible, we still have the question of constitutionality. It has been noted that even though corporal punishment is a legal penalty in many countries of the world, its use has been drastically reduced over the past fifty years.

Deportation and exile serve as a useful alternative to imprisonment, where the only concern of the state is to

remove the undesirable character from its own population. In the United States this method of punishment is extensively used for aliens who violate our laws. In cases of this nature, the individual receives no help or treatment at all, but instead is placed in a new environment to continue his deviation. On the local level, removal is expressed by the issuance of a "floater," commonly for violation of a misdemeanor, where the offender is asked to "leave town" within a specified period of time. In reality the courts are just sending their own problems to another city, whereby they save the expense of a costly trial and incarceration.

A deviant can also be punished through loss of rights, privileges, prestige, and the lowering of his status. During our colonial period the primary methods used for implementing this method were the stocks, the brank, and the dunking stool. These techniques provided for corporal punishment as well as social degradation. In the modern period, social degradation is inflicted by the loss of certain rights which often are consequences of a prison sentence. Among these, are the right of suffrage, right to hold public office, right to make contract, and the right to marry.

The most common punishment imposed upon an individual in the United States today, takes the form of a financial loss. In general, property will be confiscated or a fine levied. By far our greatest number of offenses lie in the area of traffic and parking violations. It is relatively

easy to impose a fine upon a violator; not only does it save the state money that would otherwise be used for imprisonment, but it also provides an additional source of revenue. Punishment becomes flexible because it is possible to adjust the amount of the fine according to the nature and severity of the offense.

Summary

In this chapter, it has been my intention to accomplish two objectives: first, to outline the major contributions to criminological theory, and second, to examine the societal reactions to delinquency as expressed through the penal systems.

It seems that there is one factor held relatively constant in studies of crime causation, this factor is individuality. All criminological theories can explain some crimes, but no theory can explain all crime. Because of this reality, no objective criminologist can subscribe to any single theory and hope that it will serve to explain every deviant act that is committed.

Because of the existing condition of individuality among criminals, we cannot take the liberty to endorse any hypothesis which suggests that there is distributed among the population a distinct "criminal type," whether based on bodily structure, socio-economic class, intelligence or personality. Growing out of the realization that a considerable

amount of research was still needed in the field of criminology, a number of multiple-factor approaches to crime causation have emerged. Most of these relatively new theories do not select any one condition as the major determining factor for involvement in crime. It is felt, however, that if enough etiological factors are operating against the individual in proper combination, that this might set off the spark which eventually leads to delinquency. It has been noted that most members of a slum neighborhood are not criminal, most individuals with personality defects do not become involved in delinquent activities, most muscular men are not murderers, most Negroes are not imprisoned, and most children who are products of a broken home are not under custodial care. However, take the man who comes from a depressed neighborhood, who has a personality defect, has a muscular build, is the product of a broken home, and is Negro. Each one of these characteristics may be decisive factors acting to the disadvantage of the individual. In many cases it would take a considerable amount of containment, both internal and external, to keep this person away from the criminal arena.

Societal reactions to criminal behavior are the product of the social system from which they have emerged. There seems to be a considerable degree of consonance between the punitive reaction and the general behavior patterns present within a society. This has been referred to

as "cultural consistency" (63, p. 298). Only two centuries ago, criminals were subjected to the most horrible of prison conditions and tortures. Sutherland accounts for this punitive reaction by stating:

These practices occurred in a culture in which the means of preventing pain were not well developed. Today, safeguards against physical suffering have been provided in other fields; a policy of physical torture of criminals cannot be harmonized with the general interest in the reduction of suffering, and the reaction toward crime is away from the strictly punitive (53, p. 298).

In the United States today, we have a society which believes that even the most serious disorders can be cured. Thus a trend toward individualized treatment has emerged in our most modern penal institutions. It is believed by many clinicians that if an inmate is to benefit from his experience in prison, an individual program must be developed for him in accordance with his needs. What has been done in effect was to eliminate the general category of "criminal," in favor of a number of more descriptive, less embracing terms.

CHAPTER III

IONIA PENAL INSTITUTIONS AND DEVELOPMENT OF HYPOTHESES

In order to facilitate classification of new inmates the Department of Corrections of the State of Michigan has instituted a Reception-Diagnostic Center (hereafter referred to as RDC) which is located at Jackson. Even though this center is physically attached to the State Prison of Southern Michigan (a maximum security institution), it functions as a separate facility. Each man sentenced by the criminal courts of Michigan is committed to RDC rather than to a specific penal institution. The major function of the RDC staff is to conduct a complete examination of the new inmate (physical, social and mental) and making recommendations as to the most advantageous program of treatment and rehabilitation available. Along with personal interviews, trained counselors administer a series of intelligence, aptitude and personality tests to each man, to assist in determining the institution to which he will be assigned. The length of time spent at RDC varies from thirty to forty-five days with an attempt made to have most of the men classified and on their way as quickly as possible.

While here many of the new men are given their first indoctrination in institutional living. Even though they are physically separated from the main prison population, they nevertheless are exposed to social contact with the recidivists (who have been in and out of prison a number of times) and are now back for reclassification following their latest offense. Physical separation of the young 'first-timer' and the adult habitual offender occurs only after the classification process has been completed.

In addition to the Ionia Reformatory and Michigan Training Unit, the Corrections Department also operates a youth camp program with several branches throughout the state, and a technical school located at Cassidy Lake. These latter facilities are provided for individuals who need a minimum amount of security, and could well benefit from the counseling programs and social education which is available at these locations.

At Ionia, the State of Michigan has established two correctional institutions for the youthful offender. In the category of youthful offender we most generally place young men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-three. Although the two institutions are physically separated by only one-half of a mile, the 'treatment' processes they are guided by are enormously different.

Ionia Reformatory*

The Ionia Reformatory functions as the maximum security institution for the youthful offender, with a majority of its inmates being under twenty-two years of age. This is the oldest state correctional institution in Michigan with its founding dating back to 1875. The number of inmates housed here has fluctuated over the years, reaching an all-time high in 1929 of 2,250 men. The normal cell capacity provides for 1,050 inmates with special facilities available for an additional 137. Outside of the prison proper a 234 man dormitory has been constructed for those men who have been placed on trusty assignments.

The estimated expenditures of this institution are considerable, exceeding two million dollars per year. We can better understand the full meaning of this figure when we consider that over 125,000 meals are served per month with a food allowance budgeted at only fifty-five cents a day per inmate. Each day approximately 650,000 gallons of water are consumed, and each week about 26,000 pounds of laundry are processed through the institutional plant.

*Information was obtained from personal interviews with members of the staff at the Ionia Reformatory, including Dr. Donald Thurston, Director of Individual Treatment. Some of the statistical information was presented in The Michigan Reformatory and Its Programs, Ionia, Michigan, 1962.

It is of interest to note the criteria that RDC uses in classifying a young man to the Ionia Reformatory.

First timers, second timers and parole violators up to the age of 23 are considered for placement at this institution. These men are more aggressive than routine cases and need close custody. They may be very youthful-appearing individuals. High School cases, semiskilled level trade training cases, and some skilled level trade training cases are considered. The associates of these inmates are juvenile rather than adult. They are quite sophisticated in antisocial behavior. Emphasis is placed on those men who need remedial academic activities and who could profit from Dr. Price's program (a remedial program).*

It seems to be the general consensus of opinion within the corrections department that the most hard core cases are sent to the reformatory. Those who overtly display signs of extreme antisocial behavior, the most aggressive inmates, the homosexual, the recidivist, the illiterate, the unmanageable and severe discipline cases all seem to find their way here. The rate of recidivism at the reformatory is 50 per cent, but we must remember that this is the maximum security institution for the youthful offender. The inmates assigned here are the ones who were passed over for all of the other institutions and camp programs. Many of these young boys have gone through the mill, they have been exposed to most of the other available facilities but have

*Statement of criteria used for classification, directed to E.L.V. Shelley, Director of Treatment, Michigan Department of Corrections, from Howard Grossman, Supervisor, Reception-Diagnostic Center.

not benefited from them. Apparently this is the last resort as far as custodial care is concerned. We also note that over half the boys in the institution at the present time have been here before. Let us now examine some of the characteristics relating to the reformatory population as of May 10, 1964.*

Prison Population - 1,057.
 Average Age - 20-1/2 years.
 Average Grade Rating - 6.3, 10 were illiterate and 3 have some college.
 Average I.Q. - 90, 88 under 65 and 42 over 125.
 21% here for Breaking & Entering, night time.
 44% for Burglary and Larceny.
 12% for Auto Theft.
 4% serving life.
 54% serving minimums of 2 years or less.
 10% serving minimums of 10 years or more.
 57% are White.
 43% are Negro.

Four of these characteristics seem to stand out above the rest. First, the average I.Q. score is within the 'normal' range even though the average grade rating is relatively low. Second, 77 per cent of the inmate population is serving time for one of three offenses, breaking and entering at night, burglary and larceny, or auto theft. Third, 50 per cent of the inmates are from the Detroit metropolitan area. Fourth, 43 per cent of the men classified to this institution are Negro.

*Information provided by the Michigan Reformatory.

Treatment Processes

The Ionia Reformatory is primarily an industrial institution. The work that the inmate performs is considered to be an integral part of the treatment program. It is assumed that since many of the inmates have never held a job on the 'outside,' this would facilitate rehabilitation. The treatment program is not psychiatrically oreinted, which seems to be a reversal in trend in the United States today due to lack of trained personnel, and other, more inviting professional opportunities. Most penal institutions have only a few psychologists on their staff, to say nothing of a professional psychiatric team. Treatment at the reformatory is a general term used to describe the various programs available to assist the inmate. These include:

1. The classification system
2. Recreation
3. Academic and Vocational schools
4. Hobbycraft
5. Remedial training
6. Industries
7. Psychological services.

The professional staff consists of five full time counselors with an additional opening for one more. These counselors (who really perform the function of social workers) help the inmate resolve the problems that may face him within the institution. The minimum formal education for

this position is a bachelors degree in one of the social sciences. Two full-time psychologists with the Ph.D. fill the positions of the Director of Individual Treatment and Director of Remedial Training. In addition to this full-time staff there are two consulting psychiatrists and one consulting psychologist who visit the institution several times a month.

The goal of the institution in relation to rehabilitation is to prepare as many men, as quickly as possible to return to society. The individual diagnosis and recommendations for treatment made at RDC are carried out whenever possible. However, in a maximum security reformatory such as this, individual needs sometimes remain secondary to those of the institution.

All men enter upon a program of social education for a period of five weeks following initial orientation to the reformatory. The sessions, which are conducted by the two Ph.D. psychologists on the staff, attempt to initiate a kind of 'soul searching' on the part of the inmate. The emphasis of this program is to assist the new inmate with his total adjustment to the institution and create a 'treatment oriented' climate.

Turning to education we find that there are several programs available to the inmate who wishes to improve himself academically. A policy is enforced which makes it

mandatory that every man attain at least a sixth grade education level before his release. To help facilitate this objective an intensive remedial program has been instituted to provide the individual with at least the fundamentals of reading, writing and arithmetic. This program receives a top priority and at the present time there are 120 men actively involved. In addition to this there is an elementary school, a high school, and college correspondence course work available. Emphasis is placed on the two extremes, remedial improvement and high school. Fifty men are now participating in the high school program which grants a diploma upon successful completion; thirty of these men are on full time assignments while the other twenty share their class time with duties in the factories. Instruction in each of the areas is provided by a civilian.

The vocational schools offer another area of training with roughly 100 men receiving instruction. Classes are conducted at the machine shop, paint shop, automobile service shop (training for gas station attendants, minor repair work), electric shop (repair of small appliances), the sheet metal and welding shop, and the drafting shop. A staff of seven civilian teachers directs each of these programs. Within the shops the men receive valuable training which can be put to use immediately upon their release and may even facilitate an earlier parole.

One hundred and eighty men are enrolled in courses offered by the International Correspondence School. These courses which cover a variety of fields are available at a very inexpensive rate to the inmate and frequently all that is necessary is that he pay the diploma fee.

Work Available

As^I mentioned earlier, work is an integral part of the total treatment program. Because the reformatory is an industrial institution there is never a problem of 'unemployment' or lack of anything constructive to do. Four industries are in full operation including a furniture factory which manufactures all of the wooden furniture used in state offices and institutions; a soap plant which produces 38 different soap products, such as detergents, wax and polishes, and toilet soaps; a garment factory which manufactures officer and inmate shirts, flags, gowns and other items used in state institutions; and a central laundry which in addition to supplying the needs of the reformatory also processes all of the laundry for the State Hospital for the Criminal Insane, the Veterans Hospital, and the Michigan Training Unit (all located at Ionia). About 300 inmates have full-time assignments at the industries and receive a salary of about 25 cents per day, which is 10 cents higher than the average institutional pay for the state.

Additional work is provided in the mess hall which employs about 100 men and at the electrical, paint, blacksmith, carpenter and plumbing shops which are staffed by another 200 inmates. The skilled workers (e.g., electricians and plumbers) receive up to 40 cents per day. Maintenance men, hall boys and porters round out this small army of workers.

Discipline

Within a maximum security correctional institution we would expect that one of the most sensitive areas would be control of the inmate population and enforcement of discipline. In addition to being governed by all of the norms of the outside society, the inmate must abide by a host of new rules and regulations established by the institution.

For minor infractions a man may be confined to his cell for a weekend. For more serious infractions his privileges, which include movies, exercise in the yard and visits to the store, may be taken away for a week or longer depending upon the nature of the violation. For major infractions which fall within the rules and regulations of the institution the inmate may be placed in a detention cell commonly referred to as the 'hole' for a period not to exceed three days. Here he is provided with the bare minimum in terms of comfort. It was pointed out, however, by the Director of Treatment that the detention area actually was one of the newest

and best cell blocks at the reformatory.

Participation with Local Community

Many of Ionia's residents have become actively involved in several of the programs within the institution. Both men and women have acted as teachers, worked with the handicapped and taken part in group counseling sessions.

It is the hope of the professional staff at the reformatory that this type of community participation will continue and increase in scope. An essential aspect of the total treatment process is for the inmate to feel that there are people really concerned with his welfare and betterment, and want to see him return to society.

Michigan Training Unit*

The Michigan Training Unit (hereafter referred to as M.T.U.) was established at Ionia in 1958¹¹ as a medium security institution for the young offender.

As we shall see, M.T.U. serves as a unique correctional institution and is really an experiment in modern penology. Approaching it for the first time, it gives the impression of being a modern campus or boarding school.

*Information was obtained from personal interviews with members of the staff at the Michigan Training Unit, including Richard A. Handlon (Superintendent), and Woody Knopf (counselor).

The buildings are new and sparkling clean with rolling green countryside surrounding its borders. However, the physical facilities alone mean relatively little unless they are staffed with qualified personnel who have a genuine interest in the rehabilitation and welfare of the inmate.

When the institution was first opened in 1958, two living units were ready which offered maximum security. Each inmate had his own cell with individual plumbing provided. As M.T.U. began its expansion program, the next two units constructed were built on a dormitory style. Because the State was undergoing financial crisis at that time, and costs had to be cut, a centrally located bathroom with showers was installed on each floor of the new blocks, thus eliminating individual plumbing in the single cells. Because of this arrangement the boys could not be locked in their units at night. In reality this was a major contribution to the uniqueness of the institution and its treatment program.

At the present time the maximum capacity of M.T.U. provides space for 480 inmates with an additional living unit planned which will increase the capacity to 600. The boys who are assigned to M.T.U. are classified at RDC during their initial period of incarceration. Presented below is a statement of criteria used for classification:

First timers, second timers, and parole violators up to the age of 21 with some exceptions of 22 or 23-year-old inmates. They are well motivated toward academic and/or vocational training, and the A.G.R. indicates they are capable of doing high school work or vocational work. Counseling activities are needed to develop insight and sophistication in antisocial behavior is at a minimum. There is no history of extensive homosexual behavior. Detainer cases will be considered as will longer minimums of up to 5 years.*

The objective criteria used for assignment to the training unit is not very much different than that used for assignment to the reformatory. The age groups are about the same, as are the number of previous violations. For the psychologist, to measure the amount of aggressiveness on the part of the first-time offender is a rather difficult undertaking. While at the Reception-Diagnostic Center the new commitments quickly learn from the other inmates that in order to get a 'good' assignment the counselors will be looking for certain types of answers during their interviewing sessions and a given pattern of responses on the written tests.

This makes the task of objective assignments rather difficult. It is the general feeling, however, that M.T.U. gets the "cream of the crop" as far as their assignees are concerned. Some of the characteristics of the M.T.U.

*Statement of criteria used for classification, directed to E.L.V. Shelley, Director of Treatment, Michigan Department of Corrections, from Howard Grossman, Supervisor, Reception-Diagnostic Center.

population as of July 1, 1964.*

Prison Population - 421.
 Average age - 21.43 years.
 Average Grade Rating - 8.6.
 Average I.Q. - 105.71, 1 under 65, and 26 over 125.
 30.1% here for Breaking & Entering, night time.
 16.3% here for Burglary and Larceny.
 14% here for Auto Theft.
 1 serving life.
 50% serving minimums of 2 years or less.
 1% serving minimums of 10 years or more.
 63% are White.
 27% are Negro.

The mean I.Q. score of 105.7 at the training unit is markedly higher than the 90 average at the reformatory. A very large difference exists with respect to the number of inmates with an I.Q. score under 65 (88 at the reformatory, 1 at M.T.U.). The number of inmates serving a minimum term of 10 years, or more is ten times as high at the reformatory than at the training unit. Also, the percentage of Negroes at the reformatory (43%) is significantly higher than that of the training unit (27%). On the other hand, the two populations are almost identical in terms of the three characteristics of age, type of offense committed, and minimum sentence.

Treatment Process

The Michigan Training Unit is primarily an educational institution. Contrasted with the reformatory we find

*Analyzed by the writer on the basis of statistical information provided by the Michigan Training Unit.

no industries and no regular work assignments except for the few older inmates who have been transferred here from other institutions to assist in the various training programs. Most generally these individuals have some special skill which the corrections department would like them to share with the younger inmate.

It is obvious that the staff at RDC selects the brighter lads for assignment to M.T.U. They look for the boy who they believe will benefit from the educational and vocational programs offered, and who wishes to improve himself academically.

Over three-quarters of the inmate population (331) are participating in the high school program which is fully accredited by the State of Michigan. Regular course work is offered which leads to the granting of a high school diploma upon successful completion. If the diploma is issued by the state, a Hilltop Diploma is given. Whenever possible, however, the institution encourages the boy's home town high school to grant the diploma. Cooperation is usually good if the student has earned a sufficient percentage of his credits from that school. An arrangement has also been worked out with the Ionia Public High School to grant the diploma if the grades earned are at a high enough level.

In addition to the high school, vocational training is also offered in several fields. Below is a table citing

the types of training available, and the number of participants in each program:

<u>Program</u>	<u>Participants</u>
High School	331
Drafting	14
Auto Mechanics	18
Auto Body Reconditioning	14
Machine Shop	3
Cooking and Baking School	38
Landscape	24
Carpentry	18

Even though the inmates are not given specific work assignments, each boy receives 15 cents a day while at M.T.U. This is about average for institutional pay. In the sense of performing a service to the state, many of the boys in the vocational school have the added responsibility of contributing to the operation and maintenance of the training unit. For instance, inmates assigned to the cooking and baking school are responsible for the preparation of meals, those assigned to the landscape school have some responsibility for the grounds surrounding the institution.

An extensive program of physical education and recreation has been established which forms an integral part of the total treatment program. Directing the various

athletic activities are two full-time civilians employed specifically for this purpose. Too often, in other settings such sports as football and baseball are overemphasized. As a result, only a few individuals actually participate, while the rest are merely spectators. To avoid this, a program of individual athletics is encouraged at the training unit. Golf greens are being constructed, ski equipment was purchased, and a swimming pool which will be constructed at a nearby creek is in the planning stage.

The professional staff at the institution include two full-time counselors and a part-time psychologist and psychiatrist who are available for consultation several times a month. A position has long been open for one additional counselor but has not as yet been filled. The major function of the counselor is to work with the young inmate in an attempt to find a common solution to his problem. They are also responsible for assigning the new inmate to one of the several programs which are available. Whenever possible, the staff will go along with the recommendations made at RDC in addition to intensive individual counseling. Because of the size and purpose of M.T.U. this latter goal is relatively easy to realize. In contrast to our larger industrial reformatories, where too often the real needs of the inmates are ignored in favor of institutional demands, at M.T.U. the welfare of the boy is of prime concern.

The training unit is not short-handed in terms of psychologically trained personnel. The type of boy assigned here is not in need of a psychiatrically-oriented treatment program. He is assigned to the unit to take advantage of the academic and training programs offered.

It is interesting to note the role of the correctional officer at M.T.U. in relation to the treatment program. The individuals who occupy these positions have been chosen with the essential criteria for employment being the ability to work constructively with young people. A compatible social atmosphere is thus created which is quite unique. Rather than the officers occupying the role of an opposition force, the relationships which they have developed with the inmate has been on a friendly, personal and helpful basis. It seems to be the consensus of opinion (both among inmates and personnel) that most of the boys feel free to seek the advice of an officer when they have a problem.

Discipline

Perhaps the major controlling force in operation at M.T.U. is the fear of being transferred to another institution, especially the reformatory. The atmosphere of the training unit is the best the State of Michigan has to offer, through its correctional program. Any change in assignment after originally being placed here most often is for disciplinary reasons. For minor violations an inmate may be

issued a "ticket" possessing a point value. An accumulation of a certain number of these points results in a loss of certain privileges or a loss of "good time."

Discipline does not constitute a major problem at M.T.U. Through the screening and selection program at RDC, an attempt is made to send the less aggressive and less hostile of the new inmates here. The rate of recidivism of the training unit is one out of three as compared with the one out of two of the reformatory.

Participation with Outside Groups

Complementing the individual counseling offered by the staff at M.T.U., two group counseling programs have been instituted. The first of these is a lay program which is conducted once a week for two and one-half hours. With civilians from the Ionia community, the inmates discuss and analyze individual as well as common problems. According to the counseling staff the people of Ionia have enthusiastically accepted the institution and its orientation. At the present time there are 120 inmates actively participating in the counseling sessions.

The second program is conducted by Masters candidates in counseling and guidance at Michigan State University. Fulfilling the requirements of their internships, several students attend sessions at the training unit on Saturday mornings. Six groups have been formed with 9 inmates in

each. The relationship between M.S.U. and the training unit has been excellent, and it is expected that the program will continue with the opening of the university academic year in the fall.

Summary

The manifest goal of the treatment program at the reformatory is not to build the self-confidence and assurance of the individual, but rather to provide maximum security for the most 'hardened' juvenile offender, and possibly teach him a trade that he may be able to use upon his release. It must be remembered that the reformatory is an industrial institution with obligations not only to the inmate, but to other agencies of the state as well. In contrast to this, the major objectives of the training unit are to give each inmate as much formal education and training as he can consume, and through individual and group counseling to heighten his self-image thereby facilitating his total adjustment to society.

Success of these treatment programs can be comparatively measured in terms of what the former inmates have accomplished and how well they have adjusted to community life. The two institutions can also be evaluated in terms of how much they can contribute to a heightening of the individual's self-esteem. A more congenial atmosphere exists in a correctional institution where there are smaller

groups and therefore a greater probability for individual attention. The social environment found in the training unit, ^{is} ~~should~~ be more conducive to an elevation of self-esteem than a correctional institution such as the Ionia reformatory.

Hypotheses

Self-esteem refers to the narrowing of the discrepancy between the individual's actual self-concept and his ideal self-concept. Self-esteem is synonymous with self-respect and self-satisfaction. Therefore we would expect a wider discrepancy between the self-concept and ideal self-concept at the beginning of incarceration than after a period of six months in an atmosphere that has been conducive to an evaluation of self-esteem (51, 82).

Because of the greater amount of individual treatment provided at the Michigan Training Unit, it would be expected that after a period of six months the men assigned to this unit would have experienced more of a heightening of self-esteem than those assigned to the reformatory. Thus it is hypothesized that:

1. After a period of six months the men assigned to the Michigan Training Unit would tend to show a sharper decrease between the actual and ideal self-concept discrepancy scores than the men assigned to the Ionia Reformatory.

It is expected that inmates with a record of repeated violations would initially display less discrepancy between the actual and ideal self-concept than non-recidivists, because they have had an opportunity to adjust to their state of delinquency. It was felt, however, that after a period of six months it is the non-recidivist who would make the better adjustment and enhance his self-esteem. Hence, the following hypotheses are advanced:

2. There would be more discrepancy between the pretest actual and ideal self-concept scores of "first-timers" than with recidivists.
3. After a period of six months the "first timers" would tend to show a sharper decrease in the actual self-concept, ideal self-concept discrepancy scores than the recidivists.

It has been theorized that as the individual grows older the tendency for self-acceptance becomes heightened no matter what activity he may be engaged in (45). The more he participates and becomes socialized into a deviant pattern of behavior the easier it may become for him to rationalize and justify his actions. Thus it is hypothesized that:

4. After a period of six months we would expect more of a heightening of discrepancy between the actual and ideal self-concept scores of those inmates under 20 years of age than of those over 21 years of age.

Since it was believed that the more formal education an individual has obtained, the easier it may be for

him to realize his own limitations and achieve greater self-satisfaction on the basis of what he is, the following prediction is made (7):

5. After a period of six months those men who have had at least a 10th grade education would tend to show a sharper decrease in the actual and ideal self-concept discrepancy scores than those men who have received an eighth grade education or less.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Measuring Instruments

In order to test empirically the hypotheses proposed in the preceding chapter, it was necessary to obtain measuring instruments which were appropriate for assessing the self-concept of the inmate, and also for assessing his ideal self-concept. Cade, in his study concerning counselor-client cultural background similarity, developed just such a scale (13). By comparing the scores obtained on the self-concept scale and the ideal self-concept scale, a discrepancy score was derived. This score measures the distance between the respondents actual self-concept and his ideal self-concept. Ideal self-concept represents what sort of person the individual would really like to be. The higher the discrepancy score the lower his self-concept, the lower the discrepancy score, the higher his self-concept. Cade's scales were adapted and employed in this study.

As inmates were assigned at the Reception-Diagnostic Center to either the reformatory or the training unit, they were pre-tested with Cade's scales. After a period of six

months confinement in their respective institutions they were post-tested with the identical scales. All scores were recorded in preparation for analysis. Sampling procedures will be discussed later.

Both scales consist of the same 208 descriptive characteristics, with different instructions given to the respondent for each scale. The characteristics are all of a positive nature, representing both desirable personal attributes and moralistic social stereotypes. Analysis of responses for each scale was accomplished in conjunction with the other scale. Coding and scoring techniques will be discussed later.

Scale I, which was used to assess the ideal self-concept, had 208 characteristics grouped in series of fours in order to form 52 inventory items. Each of these items began with the statement: "The person I would really like to be is one who _____." For each of the 52 items, the respondent was asked to place the numbers 1 through 4 in the parenthesis preceding the grouped characteristics. Number 1 in each series represented the most highly valued trait that a person could possess, number 4 expressed the least desirable trait. Ratings 2 and 3 occupy the middle positions.

Before the testing sessions commenced, the writer read the following instructions to the inmates, which were

also reproduced for them on the face of their inventories:

You are asked to express your feelings concerning the traits you would really like to possess. Try to establish a mental picture of the person you would really like to be and rank the traits in each of the 52 numbered items according to importance. In the parenthesis () before the trait, place the number (1) if you feel that this trait is more characteristic of the person you would like to be than either of the other three listed under the item. Place the number (2) before the trait which is the next most desirable for yourself, the number (3) before the third most desirable and the number (4) before the trait which you feel you would like least (of all four traits) to possess. **YOU MUST RANK ALL TRAITS.**

EXAMPLE:

0. The person I would really like to be is one who
 (3) a. is a free thinker .
 (2) b. has charm
 (4) c. is lively
 (1) d. is progressive.

In the above example, let us suppose that you would like to possess all of these traits. However, you might feel that to be "progressive" is more characteristic of the person you would really like to be than the other three traits. In this case you would place the number (1) before the letter (d) which corresponds with this trait (as we have done in the example). Again, let us assume that you feel that the most desirable trait for yourself is to "have charm," the third most desirable for yourself is to be a "free thinker" and it is least characteristic (of all four) of the person you would like to be to be "lively." Then you would place the number (2) before the letter (b), the number (3) before (a), and the number (4) before (c), as we have done in the example.

Scale II, which was used to assess the actual self-concept, is arranged in a different form. Instead of grouping the 208 characteristics in series of fours, these attributes were listed in a sequence of 1 to 208. Each characteristic was introduced by grammatically appropriate phrases

such as "I am _____," "I have _____," etc. A five point scale was provided on which the subject was asked to rank each item with respect "to the extent to which the given statement (embracing the attribute) describes his concept of himself" (13). Closest to position 1 on the extreme left of the scale was the statement "unlike me," closest to position 5 on the extreme right of the scale was the statement "like me." The respondent thus has a choice between gravitating toward either extreme, or selecting the medium position 3.

As with Scale I, the writer read the instructions with the inmates. These instructions were:

Below are a number of traits or characteristics which a person might have. Everyone might possess most of these traits, but to varying degrees. You are asked to rate yourself on each trait. The scale following each trait provides for you five degrees from "unlike" yourself to "like" yourself. Place a check mark in the parenthesis () corresponding to the extent or degree to which you feel you possess each trait.

Place only one check mark after each trait, but be sure that every trait has been checked somewhere on the scale.

The following is an example of the arrangement of items:

WHAT I AM REALLY LIKE

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| 1. | I am gracious | (unlike me) | () | () | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 2. | I am reasonable | (unlike me) | () | () | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 3. | I am creative | (unlike me) | () | () | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 4. | I have dignity | (unlike me) | () | () | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 5. | I have honor | (unlike me) | () | () | () | () | () | (like me). |

During both the pre-testing and post-testing sessions, members of the research team which included one undergraduate and two graduate students, were present in the examination rooms for the purpose of answering questions related to vocabulary, and also to clarify any misinterpretation of directions.

A complete copy of each inventory is provided in the Appendix.

Scoring System

Scoring sheets, developed by Cade, were used to facilitate the coding of the two Scales (13). As we mentioned earlier, for Scale I, the respondents were asked to rank the 52 items (consisting of four characteristics each), from 1 through 4. One, would represent the most desirable trait of the given series that a person could possess, 4 would represent the least desirable of the same series. After this information was transferred from the inventory to the scoring sheets, weighted ranks were assigned to each

characteristic. To accomplish this, the order of ranked attributes was simply reversed. That trait which the respondent ranked 1st, was assigned a weighted rank of 4, the 2nd ranked trait received a weighted rank of 3, the 3rd most desirable trait was weighted with a rank of 2, and the 4th (or least desirable trait), was assigned a weighted rank of 1. Below is a hypothetical example from the scoring sheet of the above transformations:

SCORING TABLE I

1.	R	WR	1	2	3	4	5	WR(S-C)	S-C	WR(S-C)
a- 1	3	2	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)			
b- 2	2	3	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)			
c- 3	1	4	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)			
d- 4	4	1	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)			

The respondents rank order for each series of traits was entered in column "R." In column "WR," this rank order was then transformed to weighted ranks. It was the weighted ranks in column "WR" that were used for further calculations.

Now let us review the procedures involved for coding the responses for Scale II, the actual self-concept scale. In scoring Table I, above, the consecutive figures 1 through 5 represented the choice of responses for each trait on the self-concept scale. As on the inventory, response 1 expressed the left extreme ("unlike me"), and response 5 expressed the right extreme ("like me"). Under each of these five figures, (on the same line as the trait number), are

the corresponding weighted ranks. Weighted rank (4) corresponded to response 1, weighted rank (3) corresponded to response 2, weighted rank (2) corresponded to response 3, weighted rank (1) corresponded to response 4, and a weighted rank of (0) corresponded to response 5. The responses made by the inmate were simply transferred by the coder from the inventory to the scoring sheet, accomplished by drawing a line through the weighted rank which corresponds to the given response. This operation is carried out in Scoring Table II below:

SCORING TABLE II

1.	R	WR	1	2	3	4	5	WR(S-C)	\leq S-C	\leq WR(S-C)
a- 1	3	2	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)			
b- 2	2	3	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)			
c- 3	1	4	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)			
d- 4	4	1	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)			

Next, the weighted ranks of the ideal-self scale (column "WR"), were multiplied by the weighted values of the actual self-concept responses, and the results entered in column "WR(S-C)," (weighted rank of self-concept). This operation, which was executed for each of the 208 traits on the actual self concept scale, is illustrated in Scoring Table III below:

SCORING TABLE III

1.	R	WR	1	2	3	4	5	WR(S-C)	Σ S-C	Σ WR(S-C)
a- 1	3	2	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)	6		
b- 2	2	3	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)	3		
c- 3	1	4	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)	0		
d- 4	4	1	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)	2		

Upon completion of the above task, the sum of the weighted values of the self-concept scale were entered in column "S-C" (sum of self-concept). In the column immediately to the right of this, is entered the sum of the weighted ranks of the self-concept (Σ WR(S-C)). This figure represented the discrepancy score for each of the 52 items. At the bottom of the final page of the scoring sheet, the 52 individual item discrepancy scores were totaled ($\Sigma[\Sigma$ WR(S-C)]); it is this score that we shall be most concerned with. Scoring Table IV, below, illustrates these manipulations:

SCORING TABLE IV

1.	R	WR	1	2	3	4	5	WR(S-C)	Σ S-C	Σ WR(S-C)
a- 1	3	2	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)	6	6	11
b- 2	2	3	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)	3		
c- 3	1	4	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)	0		
d- 4	4	1	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)	2		

Significance of the Discrepancy Score

The discrepancy score represented the distance between the actual self-concept of the inmate (based on the 208 traits of Inventory II), and his conception of those traits which are most important for an ideal person to possess (based on the same traits presented in Scale I). A high score would be indicative of a good deal of discrepancy, and therefore a lower self-image. For a respondent to exhibit a low discrepancy score, he must have consistently demonstrated that he possessed the same traits which he ascribed to the ideal person. However, consistently scoring high or low on the actual self-concept scale, would have influenced the discrepancy score no matter what the rank order was on the ideal-self scale.

Construction of the Inventories

Cade, developed his two inventories on the basis of items contributed by 495 individuals. This group included 200 non-therapy prison inmates, 200 non-therapy college students, 25 college students engaged in counseling therapy, 20 neurotic prison inmates (diagnosed as such by the staff at RDC), who were, or recently had engaged in counseling therapy, and 50 college graduates. Members of each group were selected at random. All of the inmates involved were convicted felons sentenced in the State of Michigan. One hundred of the non-therapy undergraduates were sophomores

and juniors attending Tennessee State University, the remaining 100 students were sophomores and juniors at Michigan State University.

After initial background information was obtained, each of the 495 subjects were asked the following open-ended question:

List the ten most important characteristics or traits which you feel a person should have. These may be anything; just put down what you really feel are the characteristics of an ideal human being in our society. List these characteristics in order of importance; write what you think is the most important characteristic after number 1, the next most important characteristic after number 2, etc., until you have listed ten characteristics, with number 10 being the least important. If you have more than 10 characteristics in mind, please add them to the 10, but continue in the order of importance (13).

A total of 210 different characteristics was contributed by the subjects. After frequencies were obtained, each characteristic was assigned a weighted value on the basis of the order in which it was listed by the subject. The first, or most important characteristic, received a weighted value of 10. The tenth, or least important of the series, received a weighted value of 1. Each additional characteristic listed by the subject, after the tenth, received a weighted value of 1 also. A weighted frequency score was then obtained, after the weighted values for each characteristic were summed.

Two hundred and eight of the contributed characteristics were adopted for use in the scales. Cade states that:

Two of these characteristics were deleted because they were so stated that interpretation was necessary before they could be placed within the context of the inventories which were to eventually emerge from these items (13, p. 47).

On the self-concept scale, each of the 52 items contained two high-ranking characteristics and two low-ranking characteristics. This was done to "minimize the tendency toward an arbitrary ranking of the four characteristics falling under a given item on the final scales" (13, p. 51).

Validating Procedures

Cade, obtained test-retest reliability coefficients for the two inventories. To carry out this procedure he used 100 of the college students in his sample. Between the initial test and the retest there was a period of from 30 to 40 days. For the self-ideal discrepancy scores, the reliability coefficient (Pearson r), was found to be .68. The reliability coefficient for the self-concept score was found to be .57. Upon application of the t -test, it was established that the above reliability coefficients were significant at the .01 level (13, p. 62). This would support the inference that the measuring instruments manifest an adequate degree of reliability, since the probability was extremely small that the coefficients of reliability were from different populations.

Cade notes the obvious fact that although coefficients of correlation were significant, they were not very high. He justifies this by stating:

. . . since it is hypothesized that the phenomenal self structure is relatively fluid and may alternate in nature and direction, even in the absence of conscious manipulations (such as in the case of therapy), one would not expect extremely high coefficients of correlation for aspects of self structure over a 30 to 40 days' period of time. In fact, this relatively short test-retest period was adopted because of such an expectation (13, p. 63).

In offering evidence suggestive of the validity of the two inventories, Cade found that his "normal" population (consisting of the undergraduate non-therapy sample) displayed significantly lower mean scores on both the self-concept and the ideal-self discrepancy scales than his other four sample groups. These other groups were composed of sociopaths, students in counseling, students with academic problems, and neurotics. The sociopaths and neurotics were all prison inmates, diagnosed as such either at the Reception-Diagnostic Center or the Psychiatric Clinic at the State Prison of Southern Michigan. This finding indicated that within the "normal" group, there was less discrepancy between those traits the respondent attributed to the ideal person, and those he thought were characteristic of himself, than were found within the other four groups.

The Sample and Collection of Data

The subjects used in this study consisted of 140 prison inmates. Seventy of these men were assigned to the Ionia Reformatory, the remaining 70 were assigned to the Michigan Training Unit.

As was mentioned in Chapter III, all men sentenced by the criminal courts in the State of Michigan are initially committed to the Reception-Diagnostic Center at Jackson. While there they receive a battery of tests, upon the result of which individuals are assigned to one of several penal institutions according to test performance. During the three month period of December 1963 through February 1964, all assignees to either the Ionia Reformatory or the Michigan Training Unit, were administered the two inventories designed to measure self-concept and ideal-self discrepancy. It was thought desirable to administer the scales immediately preceding transfer to the receiving institution. By following this procedure, it was possible to control against the inmate experiencing any new exposure or influence within his assigned institution, previous to taking the pre-test. During the three month test period, 91 men assigned to the reformatory and 91 men assigned to the training unit were tested. The only criterion for taking the inventories once classification had been completed, was the ability to read and write.

After a period of six months had passed, the writer proceeded with the post-testing, which took place at the reformatory and training unit. This operation occupied the months of June, July, and August. Because of transference to other institutions, parole, and court writ, it was not possible to retest all of the original 182 subjects. The sample was thus reduced to 70 for both the reformatory and the training unit.

Biographical information, needed to test several of the hypotheses, was obtained by the writer from the inmate files of their respective institutions. Data was recorded for later use in reference to the inmate's age, level of academic achievement, offense, race, recidivism, I.Q. score and average grade rating. The samples seemed to display the same general characteristics as the total inmate population at the two institutions. Characteristics of the sample will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Means of Analysis of Data

Three basic assumptions were made before the data was statistically treated. First, it was assumed that the two populations were normally distributed; second, the assumption used for interval scales was made, that is to say, there were equal intervals for equal increments on the scales; third, it was assumed that the distributions involved displayed homogeneity of variance.

The four hypotheses (stated in Chapter III), elicited 21 different problems which were subjected to statistical analysis. The t-test, an appropriate measure of the significance of differences between means, was employed in each case (23). To obtain an indication of change (between the pre and post ideal-self discrepancy scores), the following operations were performed:

1. Means and standard deviations were calculated for the distribution of both pre and post test scores for the two institutional samples.
2. The t-test was employed to determine the significance of differences between the mean pre ideal-self discrepancy score for the reformatory, and the mean pre ideal-self discrepancy score for the training unit.
3. The t-test was employed to determine the significance of difference between the mean pre ideal-self discrepancy score and the mean post ideal-self discrepancy score for the reformatory sample. This same operation was performed for the training unit.

To obtain a measure of change (between the pre and post ideal-self discrepancy scores) within selected age groups, the following operations were performed:

1. Means and standard deviations were calculated for the distribution of both pre and post test scores for those inmates less than or equal to 19 years of age within the total sample, and for those greater than or equal to 21 years of age within the total sample.
2. The t-test was employed to determine the significance of differences between these means.
3. These same operations were repeated for identical age groups within the two institutions.

To obtain a measure of differences (between the pre self-ideal discrepancy scores) of "first-timers" as compared to recidivists, the following operations were performed:

1. Means and standard deviations were calculated for the distribution of pre-test scores for all "first-timers" within the total sample. This same operation was performed for recidivists.
2. The t-test was employed to determine the significance of differences between these pre-test means.

To obtain a measure of change (between the pre and post ideal-self discrepancy scores) of "first-timers" as compared to recidivists, the following operations were performed:

1. Means and standard deviations were calculated for the distribution of both pre and post test scores for those inmates who were "first-timers" within the total sample.
2. The t-test was employed to determine the significance of differences between these means.
3. These same operations were repeated for similar groups within the two institutions.

To obtain an indication of change (between the pre and post ideal-self discrepancy scores) at different educational levels, the following operations were performed.

1. Means and standard deviations were calculated for the distribution of both pre and post test scores for those inmates within the total sample who had completed at least a 10th grade education; this same process was carried out

for those who had attained an 8th grade education or less.

2. The t-test was employed to determine the significance of differences between these means.
3. The same operations were repeated for identical educational groups within the two institutions.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Representativeness of the Sample

Before the findings are presented with respect to the major variables manipulated in this study, it is first necessary to examine the nature and representativeness of the two samples involved. Sample I was taken from the reformatory, sample II from the training unit. Presented below in Table 7 are some selected characteristics of the total populations at the two institutions compared with the samples taken from each.

It was deemed necessary for two conditions to exist with respect to the sample; first, that their observable characteristics be representative of the total populations at each institution, and second, that they elicit similar results for both the pre-test actual self-concept scale and actual-ideal self discrepancy scores.

As can be seen in Table 7, in terms of a number of characteristics (age, average grade rating, mean I.Q., race, and recidivism) sample I is analogous with the total population at the reformatory. Likewise, when compared to the total population at the training unit, sample II displays similar characteristics.

Table 6. Characteristics of the Total Population and Sample at the Ionia Reformatory and Michigan Training Unit

Ionia Reformatory (as of May 10, 1964)		
Characteristic	Total Population	Sample
Inmates	1,057	70
Mean age	20.50 years	19.55 years
Average grade rating	6.3	6.47
Mean I.Q.	90	88.80
Race - Negro	43%	51%
White	57%	48%
Recidivism	50%	53%
Michigan Training Unit (as of July 1, 1964)		
Characteristic	Total Population	Sample
Inmates	421	70
Mean age	21.43 years	19.95 years
Average grade rating	8.6	9.0
Mean I.Q.	105.71	107.65
Race - Negro	26%	18.5%
White	63%	78.5%
Other	01%	03%
Recidivism	20%	21.4%

With respect to pre-test scores, it was thought desirable for the performance of the two institutional samples to be as similar as possible. Of prime concern, regardless of any other variables involved, was whether either institution generated any influence upon the inmate which produced a change in his actual-ideal self-concept discrepancy score. If the mean scores of the two samples were at

the same level before exposure to the institutions, and a change was recorded only at the training unit after a period of six months, this would strengthen our hypothesis that the "treatment" processes carried out within the respective institutions were largely responsible. During the period over which the pre-testing was conducted a number of boys included in the sample were assigned to the training unit by the RDC staff who ordinarily would have been sent to the reformatory. As a result, the inmates included in our two samples displayed more similarities than would have been the case under normal circumstances. This action was justified by the opening of two new dormitories at M.T.U., thus creating a considerable amount of additional space available for new inmates.

To test the significance of the difference between the pre-test actual self-concept means and actual-ideal self discrepancy means for the two institutional samples, the t-test was employed. The results of this test are presented in Table 7 below. As a group, the sample from the reformatory when compared with the sample from the training unit showed no statistically significant differences in terms of their mean scores on either the pre actual self-concept scale or the actual ideal self discrepancy scale. Therefore, the assumption is supported that the two samples were similar in terms of degree of discrepancy between the actual and ideal self prior to being subjected to either institutional program.

Table 7. Pre-Test Means and t-Values for Actual Self-Concept and Actual Ideal Self-Concept Discrepancy Scores

Score	I.R.	M.T.U.	Diff.	t
Self-concept scores (pre)	M = 261.64 SD = 96.89	M = 258.44 SD = 99.64	3.20	.34 NS
Self-ideal discrepancy scores (pre)	M = 621.80 SD = 251.29	M = 608.00 SD = 263.53	13.80	.31 NS

Diff. = difference between means
 NS = not significant at .05 level
 M = mean
 SD = standard deviation.

Changes in Actual Self-Ideal Self Discrepancy as
 a Function of Institutional Programming

Hypothesis number 1 was stated as follows:

After a period of six months the men assigned to the Michigan Training Unit would tend to show a sharper decrease between the actual and ideal self-concept discrepancy scores than the men assigned to the Ionia Reformatory.

To test this hypothesis, means and standard deviations were calculated for the distribution of both pre and post test scores for the two institutional samples. After this operation was accomplished, the t-test was employed to determine the significance of the differences between the means of the pre and post actual ideal-self discrepancy scores for each institution. Before application of the t-test it was assumed that the two populations were normally distributed

and displayed homogeneity of variance. The t-scores obtained for these two samples are presented in Table 8 below.

Table 8. T-Values for the Significance of the Difference Between Pre and Post Actual Self-Concept Means and Actual-Ideal Self Discrepancy Means for the Ionia Reformatory and Michigan Training Unit

	Pre	Post	Diff.	t
Self-concept score (I.R.) N = 70	M = 261.64 SD = 96.89	M = 262.27 SD = 109.71	0.63	.04 NS
Self-ideal discrepancy score (I.R.) N = 70	M = 621.80 SD = 251.29	M = 621.24 SD = 288.37	0.56	.01 NS
Self-concept score (M.T.U.) N = 70	M = 258.44 SD = 99.64	M = 218.32 SD = 89.12	40.12	2.51 p<.05
Self-ideal discrepancy score (M.T.U.) N = 70	M = 608.00 SD = 263.53	M = 513.75 SD = 223.94	94.25	2.28 p<.05

M = mean

SD = standard deviation

Diff. = difference between pre and post means

NS = not significant at .05 level

N = number in sample

P = probability

I.R. = Ionia Reformatory

M.T.U. = Michigan Training Unit.

As a group, inmates assigned to the Ionia Reformatory showed no statistically significant change in either their actual self-concept or their actual-ideal self concept discrepancy scores over a period of six months. In fact, out of a possible range of 2,080 points, the mean discrepancy change for this group was only .56 of one point. On the actual self-concept scale their mean post-test score was increased by .63 of one point. On the basis of this finding it appeared that their experience at the reformatory exerted no observable influence on the inmates which would facilitate lowering their actual-ideal self-concept discrepancy, thereby producing a heightening of self-esteem.

For the training unit sample quite the opposite trend was found. The men assigned to this unit showed a statistically significant change over a period of six months in terms of both reducing the discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-concept and heightening their self-esteem. Inasmuch as the only variable controlled between the pre and post tests was assignment to either the reformatory or the training unit, the results tend to support hypothesis number 1.

The Relationship Between Recidivism and Actual-
Ideal Self-Concept Discrepancy

Two sub-problems embraced by this study necessitated a control for recidivism. First, it was to be determined if there existed an initial difference in self-ideal discrepancy between the recidivists and "first-timers," and second, to note any change in discrepancy scores that might have taken place after a period of six months confinement. The total sample of 140 inmates was controlled for recidivism, as were the two sub-samples at each institution. By following this procedure, changes at the respective institutions could be observed as well as overall changes within the total sample. Hypothesis number 2 was stated as follows:

There would be more discrepancy between the pre-test actual and ideal self-concept scores of "first-timers" than for recidivists.

To test this hypothesis, means and standard deviations were calculated for the distribution of pre-test scores for all "first-timers" within the total sample. This same operation was performed for the recidivists. After this was accomplished, the t-test was employed to test the significance of differences between these pre-test means. The scores obtained by the total sample were then analyzed in terms of their respective institutions and the operation repeated again. The t-scores obtained for these groups are presented in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Pre-Test Means of Actual Self-Concept and Actual-Ideal Self-Concept Discrepancy Scores for Recidivists and "First-Timers" with Corresponding T-Values

	Recidivists	"First-Timers"	Diff.	t
Self-concept scores (pre) Total sample	M = 248.05 SD = 95.17 N = 52	M = 267.12 SD = 99.39 N = 88	19.07	.35 NS
Self-ideal discrepancy scores (pre) Total sample	M = 588.36 SD = 248.64 N = 52	M = 630.29 SD = 261.44 N = 88	51.93	.94 NS
Self-concept scores (pre) I.R.	M = 246.56 SD = 94.19 N = 37	M = 278.54 SD = 98.50 N = 33	31.98	1.23 NS
Self-ideal discrepancy scores (pre) I.R.	M = 583.64 SD = 245.01 N = 37	M = 664.57 SD = 255.06 N = 33	80.93	1.34 NS
Self-concept scores (pre) M.T.U.	M = 251.73 SD = 100.80 N = 15	M = 260.27 SD = 100.18 N = 55	8.54	.15 NS
Self-ideal discrepancy M.T.U.	M = 601.66 SD = 265.72 N = 15	M = 609.72 SD = 265.37 N = 55	8.06	.11 NS

M = mean

SD = standard deviation

Diff. = difference between recidivists and "first-timers" means

NS = not significant at .05 level

N = number in sample

I.R. = Ionia Reformatory

M.T.U. = Michigan Training Unit.

As a group, even though the pre self-ideal discrepancy scores were lower for the recidivists than for the "first-timers" in the total sample as well as at the two institutions, these differences were not statistically significant. Similar findings were also noted for the self-concept scores.

Upon examination of the performance of the recidivists and "first-timers," at the reformatory, the difference between the pre self-ideal discrepancy means of 80.93 probably would have been statistically significant had there been more inmates included in this sample. To obtain statistical significance as a result of the use of the t-test, the smaller the number included in the sample, the greater the distance must be between means. Consequently, on the basis of the above findings, hypothesis number 2 is not supported.

The second comparison made between the recidivists and "first-timers" concerned change in actual-ideal-self discrepancy after a period of six months. Following the procedure used to test hypothesis number 2, the total sample of 140 inmates was controlled for recidivism, as were the two sub-samples at the reformatory and the training unit.

Hypothesis number 3 was stated as follows:

After a period of six months, the "first-timers" would tend to show a sharper decrease between their actual and ideal self-concept discrepancy scores than the recidivists included in the sample.

After calculating the means and standard deviations for the distribution of pre and post test discrepancy scores for the recidivists and "first-timers," the t-test was employed to test the significance of differences between these means. This same operation was performed for the sub-samples within each of the two institutions. Also presented in Table 10 which follows are the t-values for these groups.

As a group, the recidivists in the total sample showed no statistically significant change over a period of six months with respect to either their actual self-concept or the degree of discrepancy between their actual and ideal self. This same finding was noted at both the reformatory and the training unit. In fact for both the reformatory and the total sample, the mean actual-ideal-self discrepancy scores actually increased over the six month period, thus indicating a heightening of discrepancy. For the recidivist sample assigned to the training unit, there was a reduction in the mean discrepancy score of 140.80 points, which would probably have proven to be statistically significant had the number in this group been larger.

In contrast, the "first-timers" in the total sample displayed a statistically significant reduction in terms of the degree of discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-concept over the six month period. The reduction of mean actual self-concept scores indicative of a heightening of self-concept was also statistically significant. In the

Table 10. T-Values for Significance or Differences Between Pre and Post Actual Self-Concept Means and Actual-Ideal Self-Discrepancy Means for Recidivists and "First-Timers"

Group	Self-Concept Scores			Self-Ideal Discrepancy Scores		
	Pre	Post	Diff.	Pre	Post	Diff.
Recidivists	M=248.05	M=248.36	.31	M=588.36	M=591.92	3.56
N = 52	SD= 95.17	SD=117.24		SD=248.64	SD=304.78	
Total sample		t=.01			t=.06	
		NS			NS	
First-timers	M=267.12	M=235.53	-32.00	M=630.29	M=553.06	-77.23
N = 88	SD= 99.39	SD= 92.21		SD=261.44	SD=235.27	
Total Sample		t=2.19			t=2.06	
		p < .05			p < .05	
Recidivists	M=246.56	M=269.83	23.27	M=583.64	M=643.02	59.38
N = 37	SD= 94.19	SD=126.62		SD=245.01	SD=333.35	
I.R.		t=.90			t=.87	
		NS			NS	
First-timers	M=278.54	M=253.78	-24.76	M=664.57	M=596.81	-67.76
N = 33	SD= 98.50	SD= 88.17		SD=255.06	SD=230.51	
I.R.		t=1.08			t=1.13	
		NS			NS	
Recidivists	M=251.73	M=195.40	-56.33	M=601.66	M=465.86	-140.80
N = 15	SD=100.80	SD= 67.99		SD=265.72	SD=169.47	
M.T.U.		t=1.79			t=1.67	
		NS			NS	
First-timers	M=260.27	M=224.58	-35.69	M=609.72	M=526.81	-82.81
N = 55	SD=100.18	SD= 93.62		SD=265.37	SD=236.26	
M.T.U.		t=1.93			t=1.73	
		NS			NS	

I.R. = Ionia Reformatory

M.T.U. = Michigan Training Unit

M = mean

SD = standard deviation

Diff. = Difference between pre and post test means

NS = not significant at .05 levels

P = probability.

case of "first-timers" assigned to the two respective institutions, even though there was a considerable reduction in mean discrepancy scores over the six month period, the t-values barely missed being significant at the .05 level. Due to the fact that we controlled each institutional sample for recidivism, the relatively small size of the sub-sample of "first-timers" thus elicited probably could be held responsible for this consequence. However, hypothesis number 3 which relates itself to the total sample is nevertheless supported.

The Relationship Between Age and Actual-Ideal Self-Concept Discrepancy

Another focus of this study was the relationship between age and change in the discrepancy between the actual and ideal self-concept. Pre and post-test discrepancy scores for those inmates under twenty years of age were compared with the scores of those over twenty-one years. These inmates were selected because of the desirability of making the age groupings as similar as possible in number. Hypothesis number 4 was stated as follows:

After a period of six months we would expect more of a heightening of discrepancy between the actual and ideal self-concept of those inmates under 20 years of age than for those equal to or over 21 years of age.

To test this hypothesis, means and standard deviations were calculated for the distribution of both pre and post-test actual-ideal self-concept discrepancy scores for

all inmates within the total sample under 20 years of age. This same operation was repeated for those inmates equal to or over 21 years of age. After this was accomplished, the t-test was employed to determine the significance of differences between these means. This same procedure was repeated for those inmates falling within the two given age categories at each institution. Presented in Table 11 below are the resultant t-scores for these groups.

As a group, even though the post-test mean scores were markedly lower on both the actual self-concept and actual-ideal-self discrepancy scales for those inmates 21 years of age or older as compared with the younger group, these differences did not prove to be statistically significant at the .05 level.

Again, it seems as if the relatively small size of the sub-samples are to be held responsible for the failure to establish significance. In the case of the training unit inmates who were 21 years of age or greater, there was elicited a reduction of 144.74 points on the post actual-ideal self discrepancy scale. Surely, this tremendous decrease in discrepancy would have been significant even at the .01 level had the size of the sub-sample not been reduced to 23 inmates. The same can be said for the total sample of inmates 21 years and older, where a 71.82 reduction in the mean discrepancy score was noted on the post-test, but the sub-sample consisted of only 44 inmates.

Table 11. T-Values for Significance of Differences Between Pre and Post Actual Self-Concept Means and Actual-Ideal Self-Concept Discrepancy Means for Inmates Under 20 Years of Age and Inmates Equal to or Over 21 Years of Age

Group	Self-Concept Scores			Self-Ideal Discrepancy Scores		
	Pre	Post	Diff.	t	Pre	Post
Total sample Inmates less than 20 years of age N = 70	M=258.38 SD= 94.21	M=243.17 SD= 96.80	-15.21	.94 NS	M=605.02 SD=243.44	M=570.21 SD=247.47
Total sample Inmates equal or over 21 years of age N = 44	M=267.79 SD=110.25	M=239.77 SD=110.75	-28.02	1.19 NS	M=644.70 SD=292.42	M=572.88 SD=287.01
I.R. Inmates less than 20 years of age N = 34	M=266.64 SD=102.58	M=261.41 SD=104.78	-5.23	.21 NS	M=632.47 SD=259.98	M=618.32 SD=278.13
I.R. Inmates equal to or over 21 yrs. of age N = 21	M=272.19 SD= 95.79	M=279.09 SD=120.92	6.90	.20 NS	M=655.66 SD=255.73	M=663.71 SD=315.67
M.T.U. Inmates less than 20 years of age N = 44	M=252.00 SD= 87.87	M=229.09 SD= 88.80	-22.91	1.22 NS	M=583.81 SD=230.65	M=533.04 SD=216.92
M.T.U. Inmates equal to or over 21 yrs. of age N = 23	M=263.78 SD=124.02	M=203.86 SD= 88.65	-59.92	1.88 NS	M=634.69 SD=489.95	M=489.95 SD=235.29

I.R. = Ionia Reformatory; M.T.U. = Michigan Training Unit; M = mean; SD = standard deviation; NS = not significant at .05 level; P = probability; Diff. = difference between pre and post test means.

For the total sample as well as the sub-sample at the training unit, in the case of inmates under 20 years of age, the reduction in mean discrepancy scores displayed on the post-test was considerably less than that which their older counterparts had achieved. The data thus obtained indicates only a tendency in the direction postulated in the hypothesis. On the basis of statistical significance, however, hypothesis number 4 is not supported.

The Relationship Between Educational Achievement and Actual-Ideal Self-Concept Discrepancy

The final problem embraced by this study was to determine what, if any, relationship existed between the level of educational achievement and the probability of change in the discrepancy between the individual's actual and ideal self-concept. Because of the desirability of making educational grouping as similar as possible in number, and also because there is a considerable amount of difference between junior and senior high school students in terms of level of academic achievement, discrepancy scores of those inmates with an eight grade education or less were compared with those who had attained at least the tenth grade level. Hypothesis number 5 was stated as follows:

After a period of six months those men who have had at least a 10th grade education would tend to show a sharper decrease in their actual ideal self-concept discrepancy scores than those men who have received an eighth grade education or less.

After calculating means and standard deviations for the distribution of pre and post-test discrepancy scores for each educational group, the t-test was employed to test the significance of differences between these means. The same operation was performed for the sub-samples within each of the two institutions. Presented in Table 12 below are the resultant t-values for these groups.

As a group, inmates with an 8th grade education or less within the total sample markedly increased the mean discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-concept over the six month period by 57.10 points. Their mean actual self-concept scores were likewise increased by 21.56 points, thus indicating a lowering of self-concept. A similar tendency was noted for the corresponding sub-sample at the reformatory where mean increases were recorded of 73 points for the discrepancy score and 27.52 points for the actual self-concept score. At the training unit, even though there were sizeable reductions recorded for both the discrepancy and actual self-concept scores, these did not prove to be statistically significant.

For those inmates who had attained at least a 10th grade education, both within the total sample and also at the training unit, there was a statistically significant reduction noted over the six month period in terms of the degree of discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-

Table 12. T-Values for Significance of Differences Between Pre and Post Actual Self-Concept Means and Actual-Ideal Self-Concept Discrepancy Means for Inmates With an 8th Grade Education or Less and for Those with a 10th Grade Education or More

	Self-Concept Scores			Self-Concept Discrepancy Scores		
	Pre	Post	Diff.	t	Pre	Post
Total Sample	M=248.94	M=270.50	21.56	.86	M=589.00	M=646.10
Inmates with 8th grade education or less N = 38	SD= 89.22	SD=125.23		NS	SD=299.19	SD=328.05
Total Sample	M=284.40	M=238.78	-45.62	2.49	M=677.05	M=561.03
Inmates with 10th grade education or more N = 60	SD=106.68	SD= 93.01		p<.05	SD=281.25	SD=230.98
I.R.	M=250.63	M=278.15	27.52	1.01	M=591.96	M=664.96
Inmates with 8th grade education or less N = 33	SD= 86.66	SD=128.62		NS	SD=221.50	SD=338.91
I.R.	M=316.55	M=276.40	-40.15	1.27	M=761.50	M=653.10
Inmates with 10th grade education or more N = 20	SD=107.35	SD= 90.86		NS	SD=283.80	SD=239.60
M.T.U.	M=237.80	M=220.00	-17.80	.27	M=569.40	M=521.60
Inmates with 8th grade education or less N = 5	SD=115.68	SD= 95.10		NS	SD=304.71	SD=232.92
M.T.U.	M=268.32	M=219.97	-48.35	2.23	M=634.82	M=515.05
Inmates with 10th grade education or more N = 40	SD=103.96	SD= 89.32		p<.05	SD=273.76	SD=215.00

I.R. = Ionia Reformatory; M.T.U. = Michigan Training Unit; M = mean; SD = standard deviation; NS = not significant at .05 level; P = probability; Diff. = difference between pre and post test means.

concept. A statistically significant improvement was also recorded for their actual self-concept scores over the same period. This tendency, however, did not hold true for the comparable tenth grade plus educational group assigned to the reformatory. On the basis of these findings, it appears as if hypothesis number 5 is unquestionably supported.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The major concern of this study was to explore the relationship between exposure to differential "treatment" programs and the tendency for change in the discrepancy between the actual and ideal self-concept over a six month period. Once this had been accomplished, our total sample was controlled for recidivism, age, and educational achievement. We then explored the relationship between these variables and degree of change in the actual-ideal self discrepancy over the same six month period.

The most critical issue confronting us was to determine the significance of influence generated by the different institutions upon the inmate. It was anticipated that the differential impact of these institutions would be reflected in changes in their discrepancy scores after the six month test period had concluded. After analysis of the pre-test mean discrepancy scores, no significant differences were found between the reformatory and training unit samples. On the post-test, however, while the reformatory sample fluctuated by an insignificant .56 of one point, the training unit sample reduced the discrepancy between their actual and ideal

self-concept by a mean of 94.25 points, which proved to be statistically significant at the .05 level. Due to the fact that the only condition changed during the period between the pre and post tests was assignment to either institution, on the basis of the statistical evidence present, we can conclude that the reduction in discrepancy among the training unit sample was influenced by an aspect of their "treatment" program which was lacking at the reformatory.

Next, our attention was focused on the recidivist portion of the sample, for we wished to compare their discrepancy scores with those of the "first-timers" in two ways. First, to examine the pre-test performance of each group, and second, to note any statistically significant changes that had taken place over the six-month period as reflected in the post-test scores. In the case of inmates within the total sample, as well as for sub-samples at the respective institutions, there were no significant differences between recidivists and "first-timers" in terms of the pre-test discrepancy between their actual and ideal self-concept. On the basis of this empirical evidence, we must reject the hypothesis suggesting that recidivists, because of continual involvement in crime have adequately adjusted to their state of delinquency. This condition was not reflected by a tendency on their part to be more accepting of themselves when compared with "first-timers."

After employing the t-test to reveal the significance of differences between the pre and post-test discrepancy means for the recidivists and "first-timers" within the total sample, it was found on the basis of the statistical evidence elicited that a significant reduction in discrepancy had taken place among the "first-timers." The recidivists, on the other hand, displayed no significant change in discrepancy after the six month period had terminated. On the basis of this evidence, we can conclude that the non-recidivists, because of a limited amount of involvement in delinquent activities, had not become fully socialized into the criminal arena, and therefore were better able than were their recidivist counterparts, to respond to the treatment offered at the institutions by accepting the social stereotypes of conforming behavior.

Our next problem related to age groupings within the sample and the discrepancy between the actual and ideal self-concept over the six month period. For this purpose, all inmates under twenty years of age were compared with a corresponding group over the age of twenty-one. Although the mean reduction in discrepancy among the older age group doubled that of the younger inmates, this was not statistically significant. There is a good possibility that a problem existed with respect to the size of the sample, thereby producing these results. A discussion of this possibility will follow later in the chapter. On the basis of the

statistical evidence elicited, however, we must, at least tentatively, reject the hypothesis suggesting that the older inmate will show a greater reduction in the discrepancy between his actual and ideal self-concept after being subjected to a correctional institution.

Our final problem necessitated controlling the sample on the basis of the level of academic achievement attained by the inmate. Inmates who had received at least a tenth grade education were compared with those reaching only the eighth grade level or less in terms of change in actual-ideal self discrepancy scores after the six month test period had concluded. Upon examination of the statistical evidence elicited, no significant changes in discrepancy were found among those inmates who had reached only the eighth grade level. In fact, the mean discrepancy score had actually increased on the post-test, for the total sample of "low achievers" as well as the sub-sample at the reformatory. For the group that had completed at least the tenth grade level, a statistically significant reduction in discrepancy was noted on the post-test. This was true for the superior educational group in the total sample as well as the sub-sample at the training unit. In the case of the superior educational group at the reformatory, however, there was no statistically significant reduction in discrepancy, which strengthens our hypothesis suggesting that the narrowing of discrepancy between the actual and ideal self

may be more a function of institutional programing than any other factor. We can thus conclude, on the basis of our present evidence, that the tendency for reduction in discrepancy between the actual and ideal self, is influenced by the educational level that the individual has attained, provided that he has been assigned to a correctional institution which attempts to provide the ultimate in rehabilitative activities.

Limitations of Conducting Criminological Research

During the course of an empirical investigation involving the use of inmate samples, two limiting factors may emerge which are capable of distorting the interpretation of the data obtained. The first of these relates to the size of the sample, the second to the nature of the sample. Let us proceed to examine how these conditions may have influenced the results of the present study.

The original sample pre-tested at RDC consisted of 182 inmates, of which 91 were assigned to the reformatory and 91 to the training unit. As was stated in Chapter IV, the pre-testing occupied a three-month period during which time every inmate who could read and write was administered the scales after assignment to either the reformatory or the training unit. Upon termination of the six-month test period 21 inmates were lost from each group, thus reducing the sample at each institution to 70.

In employing the t-test as a measure of the significance of mean change in discrepancy scores at the two institutions over the six month period, the sample of 70 served as an adequate number. However, considerable difficulty was encountered in using the t-test when the sub-samples were reduced in number as a result of manipulating the controls necessitated by the remaining hypotheses. To illustrate this point let us examine the differences in mean pre and post test discrepancy scores and their corresponding levels of significance for two selected groups. For the total sample (70) at the training unit there was a reduction in the mean discrepancy score noted on the post-test of 94.25 points, which was significant at the .05 level (Table 8, Chapter V). When the men assigned to the training unit were controlled for recidivism, a reduction in the mean discrepancy score of 140.80 points was found on the post-test (Table 10, Chapter V). This, however, was not significant at the .05 level, the reason obviously being that the sub-sample of recidivists contained only 15 inmates. (By referring to the Tables in Chapter V, we noted that less than 7 points separate the pre-test means for these two groups). During the course of analyzing the data obtained in this study, the writer was confronted with this problem on several occasions, and thus could indicate only a tendency on the part of the subjects to move in one direction or another. This tendency, however, could not be supported

statistically on the basis of the limited amount of evidence available.

While a criticism of the size of the sample may be justifiable, we must not lose sight of the fact that the major concern of this study was to determine the significance of the role played by the institution in changing the actual-ideal self discrepancy of the inmate. Conditions within correctional institutions tend to change over a period of time. Perhaps even more important than the established penal philosophy and treatment program itself, is its implementation on the part of the staff. At an institution such as the reformatory, the personnel display a high degree of mobility, which is perhaps generated by the physical and social conditions present. According to the professional staff at this institution, one of the most pressing problems seems to be the lack of ability to attract and maintain a good working force. Because of the general state of flux in staff activity, it was not feasible to continue the pre-testing beyond the three-month period. If testing were extended we would cease to have a sample at the reformatory that had been subjected to similar influencing factors.

My second limitation relates to the problems encountered in studying criminal samples. Of specific importance is the honesty of the inmate in answering a number of questions concerning the personal qualities that he may possess. It is the opinion of the staff at RDC that the new inmate

wants to present as favorable a picture of himself as he can, in an attempt to receive a desirable assignment. Even though he is told prior to eliciting his responses to our two scales, that his performance will in no way be entered on his prison record, there is nevertheless the possibility that he will remain skeptical and select those responses that will present him in the most favorable light.

In general, there is very little that can be done to overcome this ever present hazard. While securing information relative to a prison sample, whenever possible (as was done in some instances in this study), the researcher should go direct to the original files rather than attempt any solicitation from the inmate himself. It seems to be the consensus of opinion of the penal administrators interviewed that when questioning an inmate, certain sensitive areas should be avoided if you wish to secure accurate, detailed information. Among these areas are the type of offense committed (especially sex offenders), degree of recidivism, amount of formal education, and stability of their home life.

Considering these limitations, what alternatives remain? At best, criminologists are working with only a small sample of a prison population, consisting of a minute percentage of the total criminal population in the United States. This represents virtually the only group of delinquents that researchers have access to. If criminologists

are to continue their work they must make the best possible use of the resources available. While conducting research in the field, it is thus necessary to constantly seek improvements in methods of investigation and data collection. At the same time we must not neglect the needs of the inmate himself. For the most part he is interested in the answers we are attempting to find, and is more likely to cooperate if we express our sincere interest in trying to help him as a person. Too often, researchers simply tell their inmate samples that they are taking a psychological test, without any explanation of its purpose and use.

Implications

Solving the crime problem in the United States does not merely consist of apprehension and imprisonment of offenders with the hope of rehabilitation. Our recidivism rates are too staggering to suggest that this conventional approach has served as an effective remedy. Social scientists and laymen alike must become cognizant of the enormous dimensions of this problem and therefore attempt to isolate the underlying causes of criminal behavior from their overt manifestations. (It is of utmost importance if we are to have an effective correctional system, that we treat the true disease rather than launch an attack upon its symptoms. If an unemployed man commits a crime for economic gain as a last resort to meet his familial obligations, and this

illegitimate alternative was forced upon him because of unequal educational opportunity or lack of proper vocational training, is the criminal act itself in need of treatment or is the system? It is time for a reexamination of the purposes and functions of our basic social institutions, with an evaluation made of their effectiveness in meeting the needs for which they have been created.

It is of prime importance for us to assess the role played by our correctional institutions as an effective deterrent to crime. Do the programs instituted at our prisons and reformatories meet the rehabilitative needs for which they have been established or do they really reinforce deviant patterns of behavior? Examination of the "treatment" facilities available in two most important rehabilitative areas, academic training and mental hygiene will reveal the inadequateness of our present system. For the most part, the lack of adequate treatment in these areas serves as a principle causative factor related to criminal behavior. Once the offenders are received by the prisons, however, because of overcrowded conditions and understaffed personnel, they can do little to correct these underlying faults. In many of our penal institutions all that is offered for the psychotic inmate is custodial care, aimed at sedation and restraint rather than development of a treatment program directed at facilitating his recovery.

In terms of providing academic and vocational training most penal institutions have fallen far short of that which is required. Again, because of the lack of adequate funds, qualified teachers, and proper books and equipment, this most important need is not fulfilled. Often, an inmate teacher who has not graduated from high school himself, will be given the responsibility of instructing classes at a lower level.

In this respect many correctional institutions have failed at the task of rehabilitation. What they have provided, however, is an increased opportunity for exposure to a delinquent element and further socialization into the criminal sub-culture. On the outside the potential deviant at least has a choice of contacts and associates. As Sutherland has hypothesized (Chapter II), the potential for involvement in crime is dependent upon the frequency, duration, priority and intensity of an individual's legitimate and illegitimate contacts. If he has an excess of illegitimate contacts (and has thus internalized a criminal behavior pattern) he stands an excellent chance of committing a deviant act. What we have created, for the most part in the penal environment, is a social system void of the opportunity for legitimate associations which were available to the inmate prior to incarceration. He is thus left with no other alternative than to associate with criminals.

If our penal systems are self-defeating and destructive in this sense, what alternative methods of rehabilitation can be used in the case of the youthful offender? In the United States there has been exhibited a reluctance to experiment with so-called unconventional methods. As Tunley (69) points out, many European countries on the other hand, have developed new techniques of attacking the problem which have proven to be relatively successful. Among these alternatives have been probation, citizenship training groups, short-term arrest homes, and the halfway house.

Probation, although widely used in the United States, is practiced in name only. Because of the lack of operating expenses needed to maintain the penal institutions, many young people are placed on probationary status, whereby a specially trained officer assumes responsibility for their good behavior. Under this system they are given the opportunity to remain in the community and continue their academic or vocational training. However, if any of the conditions of the probation are broken, the youngster is brought before the court for immediate sentencing. The case loads that most of the probation officers carry are enormous, leaving little time for individual counseling. It has been estimated that an average of seventy-five cases are assigned to each officer working in the metropolitan areas, with most of the correspondence between them and the youngster being in the form of a report post card mailed once a week (69).

High qualifications coupled with low wages have been cited as the principal reason for the lack of adequate personnel to do an effective job. If we take into account the high cost of sending an offender to prison, this money might better be used to improve the efficiency of the probation system, since it at least permits the youngster a choice in choosing his associates.

The Citizenship Training Group was established in Boston for boys who needed "more than probation but less than custody." The assumption is made that most delinquents are not emotionally disturbed, but rather are in desperate need of specialized training. Instead of being sentenced to a penal institution, the boy is assigned to a training program for two hours after school each day. The program is directed at correcting physical problems as well as vocational shortcomings. Since its inception twenty-five years ago, 2,100 boys have received training. Seventy-three per cent of these boys have never appeared before the courts again (69). Although this program has not been adopted by any other major city in the United States, it has been readily accepted in England, where it now operates in forty different sections of the country with considerable success.

At the short-term arrest home, which is a German innovation, there is considerable flexibility allowed in sentencing policies. Instead of committing a youngster to a long term in prison, in which case he would have virtually

no contact with the normal law-abiding society, the time spent in confinement is reduced to shorter periods. The youth may be incarcerated on weekends, for a week at a time, or in extreme cases up to four weeks. During his stay he is given work to do which he completes with the other inmates. The great advantage provided under this system is that the youngster still has access to his legitimate associations. German courts feel that this alternative has been so successful at reducing the recidivism rates, that nearly half the youths found guilty of juvenile delinquency are assigned to the program (69).

The hostel or halfway house has served as a successful alternative to imprisonment in such countries as England, Germany and Switzerland. The youth is normally assigned to a house for a year or more. During his stay a job is secured for the youngster in the local village, thereby making it possible for him to pay for his room and board at the hostel. To cite an example of the success of this program we may look at Les Ormeaux, which is located just outside of Geneva, Switzerland, where the recidivism rate has been reduced to a meager 5 per cent (69). Obviously all hostels cannot boast of this fine record, but it certainly seems to be a step in the right direction.

Keeping in mind the relatively low rates of success that our present rehabilitative programs are yielding, it

seems appropriate that we begin to experiment with alternative methods of treating the delinquent. The Michigan Training Unit approach appears to have a promising future. At this institution the conventional methods of "treatment" are set aside, having been replaced by an educational program which prepares the youngster to assume his responsibilities and take his place in society upon release. The relatively low rate of recidivism from the unit when compared with the other institutions for the youthful offender in the State of Michigan offer us considerable encouragement. However, we are still in need of an expansive research program if we are to assess the value and effectiveness of our correctional system. It is suggested as a follow-up to this thesis, that a similar study be conducted involving inmates assigned to the camp programs and other institutions throughout the state. We must concern ourselves not only with the rates of recidivism, but also with the ability of an inmate to adjust to a rehabilitative program. With the establishment of new, modern institutions such as the training unit, the speculation for the future in the field of corrections is bright, for our prisons can be emptied only if we want them to be.

APPENDIX I

IDEAL SELF SCALE

PLEASE DO NOT PROCEED WITH THIS INVENTORY UNTIL THE
FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS ARE WELL UNDERSTOOD

You are asked to express your feelings concerning the traits you would really like to possess. Try to establish a mental picture of the person you would really like to be and rank the traits in each of the 52 numbered items according to importance. In the parenthesis () before the trait, place the number (1) if you feel that this trait is more characteristic of the person you would like to be than either of the other three listed under the item. Place the number (2) before the trait which is the next most desirable for yourself, the number (3) before the third most desirable and the number (4) before the trait which you feel you would like least (of all four traits) to possess. YOU MUST RANK ALL TRAITS.

EXAMPLE:

0. The person I would really like to be is one who

- (3) a. is a free thinker
- (2) b. has charm
- (4) c. is lively
- (1) d. is progressive.

In the above example, let us suppose that you would like to possess all of these traits. However, you might feel that to be "progressive" is more characteristic of the person you would really like to be than the other three traits. In this case you would place the number (1) before the letter (d) which corresponds with this trait (as we have done in

the example). Again, let us assume that you feel that the next most desirable trait for yourself is to "have charm," the third most desirable for yourself is to be a "free thinker" and it is least characteristic (of all four) of the person you would like to be to be "lively." Then you would place the number (2) before the letter (b), the number (3) before (a) and the number (4) before (c), as we have done in the example.

TAKE YOUR TIME AND THINK BEFORE RANKING THE TRAITS
YOU MAY ERASE AS MUCH AS YOU LIKE

1. The person I would really like to be is one who
 - ☐ a. is self-satisfied
 - ☐ b. has a knowledge about government
 - ☐ c. is gracious
 - ☐ d. is reasonable
2. The person I would really like to be is one who
 - ☐ a. does not speak out of turn
 - ☐ b. is mobile
 - ☐ c. is creative
 - ☐ d. has charm
3. The person I would really like to be is one who
 - ☐ a. is a good companion
 - ☐ b. has religious convictions
 - ☐ c. is resourceful
 - ☐ d. has vocational skills
4. The person I would really like to be is one who
 - ☐ a. is secure
 - ☐ b. is happy
 - ☐ c. is versatile
 - ☐ d. treats others as he wishes to be treated
5. The person I would really like to be is one who
 - ☐ a. is able to use what is available to the best advantage
 - ☐ b. is aggressive
 - ☐ c. is able to know others
 - ☐ d. has a purpose in life
6. The person I would really like to be is one who
 - ☐ a. understands human nature
 - ☐ b. is willing to teach others
 - ☐ c. is capable of happiness in marriage
 - ☐ d. is a good sport
7. The person I would really like to be is one who
 - ☐ a. has an understanding of nature
 - ☐ b. is lively
 - ☐ c. has ability to select good associates
 - ☐ d. believes in democratic principles

8. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. has self-esteem
☐ b. does not use obscene language
☐ c. has faith
☐ d. tends to give without a pressing need to receive
9. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. has group spirit or esprit de corp
☐ b. is thrifty
☐ c. has fortitude
☐ d. has the ability to do sound reasoning
10. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. does not judge other people
☐ b. gives generously of himself
☐ c. is not complicated
☐ d. is undogmatic
11. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is affectionate
☐ b. attempts to improve himself
☐ c. is able to see the good in others
☐ d. has dignity
12. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is able to speak other languages
☐ b. has pride in his fellowmen
☐ c. is patient
☐ d. is loyal
13. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is modest
☐ b. is devoted
☐ c. is obedient in appropriate situations
☐ d. is able to look forward
14. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. has personal ability
☐ b. tends not to gossip and use small talk
☐ c. tends to make the most of himself
☐ d. is interested in good reading material
15. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is alert
☐ b. is able to accept the notion that there are
unattainable goals
☐ c. has understanding for others
☐ d. has common sense

16. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is patient with himself
☐ b. has a sense of humor
☐ c. has esthetic sensitivity
☐ d. is generous
17. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is magnanimous
☐ b. is able to concentrate
☐ c. is kind
☐ d. is interested in other people
18. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is mature
☐ b. is kind toward nature
☐ c. is tactful
☐ d. is interested in sports
19. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. has social status
☐ b. is realistic
☐ c. believes that all men are equal
☐ d. has ability to get along with others
20. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is genuine
☐ b. is flexible
☐ c. has the ability to love
☐ d. has honor
21. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. tends to seek perfection in all things
☐ b. has many interests
☐ c. has charity
☐ d. is compatible
22. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is willing to learn
☐ b. controls his temper
☐ c. has high respect for non-material things of life
☐ d. has a pleasing disposition
23. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is outgoing
☐ b. is a good listener
☐ c. is easy going
☐ d. is reliable

24. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is somewhat uninhibited
☐ b. is a good provider
☐ c. has individuality
☐ d. has respect for others
25. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. loves life
☐ b. makes decisions easily
☐ c. is interested in community affairs
☐ d. has emotional control
26. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is respectable
☐ b. is intelligent
☐ c. is decent
☐ d. is persistent
27. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is able to express himself well
☐ b. is courteous
☐ c. respects his parents
☐ d. has imagination
28. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. conforms
☐ b. accepts changes easily
☐ c. has no racial prejudice
☐ d. is sincere
29. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is useful
☐ b. has a spirit of competitiveness
☐ c. strives to get ahead
☐ d. is neighborly
30. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is objective
☐ b. is courageous
☐ c. is stable
☐ d. is conservative
31. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. does not push his way into groups
☐ b. accepts himself
☐ c. is helpful
☐ d. is popular

32. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is sensitive
☐ b. has respect for the aged
☐ c. is interested in recreational activities
☐ d. has good health
33. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is adventurous
☐ b. is self-reliant
☐ c. is level headed
☐ d. is patient with others
34. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is thankful
☐ b. is frank with others
☐ c. has ability to take concrete action
☐ d. has sense of responsibility
35. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. has ingenuity
☐ b. is cultured
☐ c. is sexually adjusted
☐ d. is not selfish
36. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. doesn't object to voicing his opinion
☐ b. is organized
☐ c. does not drink
☐ d. is fair
37. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is able to follow as well as lead
☐ b. understands himself
☐ c. has self-confidence
☐ d. is contented with what he has
38. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is not self-righteous
☐ b. is neat
☐ c. is conscientious
☐ d. is a good conversationalist
39. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is progressive
☐ b. has poise
☐ c. exercises self-control
☐ d. is industrious

40. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is not nosey
☐ b. is willing to forgive others
☐ c. is an educated person
☐ d. is concerned about self-preservation
41. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. tends to plan before acting
☐ b. is rigid
☐ c. has sufficient hobbies
☐ d. is devoted to his family
42. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is capable of giving himself to a worthy cause
☐ b. tends to encourage others
☐ c. is truthful
☐ d. is capable of leading others
43. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. exercises good conduct
☐ b. has respect for authority
☐ c. is interested in learning new things
☐ d. enjoys his work
44. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is able to accept criticism
☐ b. is discreet
☐ c. can hold a friendship
☐ d. is an honest person
45. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. has a humanitarian interest
☐ b. is economically secure
☐ c. does not practice snobbery
☐ d. is not envious
46. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. appreciates music
☐ b. has pride
☐ c. is physically attractive
☐ d. does not smoke
47. The person I would really like to be is one who
☐ a. is willing to receive as well as to give
☐ b. has high moral standards
☐ c. has confidence in others
☐ d. has courage to admit when he is wrong

48. The person I would really like to be is one who
 ☐ a. is capable of thinking constructively
 ☐ b. is humble
 ☐ c. is friendly
 ☐ d. has intellectual curiosity
49. The person I would really like to be is one who
 ☐ a. has a sense of justice
 ☐ b. is temperant
 ☐ c. is practical
 ☐ d. is tolerant
50. The person I would really like to be is one who
 ☐ a. likes to be on time
 ☐ b. is not overbearing
 ☐ c. is active
 ☐ d. can put himself in another's position
51. The person I would really like to be is one who
 ☐ a. is appreciative
 ☐ b. is able to maintain a confidence
 ☐ c. keeps bills paid
 ☐ d. has will power
52. The person I would really like to be is one who
 ☐ a. has compassion for others
 ☐ b. is adaptable
 ☐ c. is consistent in action
 ☐ d. has a good reputation

APPENDIX II

ACTUAL SELF-CONCEPT SCALE

PLEASE DO NOT PROCEED WITH THIS INVENTORY UNTIL THE
FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS ARE WELL UNDERSTOOD

Below are a number of traits or characteristics which a person might have. Everyone might possess most of these traits, but to varying degrees. You are asked to rate yourself on each trait. The scale following each trait provides for you five degrees "unlike" yourself to "like" yourself. Place a check mark in the parenthesis (✓) corresponding to the extent or degree to which you feel you possess each trait.

Place only one check mark after each trait, but be sure that every trait has been checked somewhere on the scale.

REMEMBER: THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT YOU BE AS HONEST AS POSSIBLE.

WHAT I AM REALLY LIKE

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1. I am self-satisfied | () | () | () | () | () |
| 2. I have a knowledge about government | () | () | () | () | () |
| 3. I am gracious | () | () | () | () | () |
| 4. I am reasonable | () | () | () | () | () |
| 5. I do not speak out of turn | () | () | () | () | () |
| 6. I am mobile | () | () | () | () | () |
| 7. I am creative | () | () | () | () | () |
| 8. I have charm | () | () | () | () | () |
| 9. I am a good companion | () | () | () | () | () |
| 10. I have religious convictions | () | () | () | () | () |
| 11. I am resourceful | () | () | () | () | () |
| 12. I have vocational skills | () | () | () | () | () |
| 13. I am secure | () | () | () | () | () |
| 14. I am happy | () | () | () | () | () |
| 15. I am versatile | () | () | () | () | () |
| 16. I treat others as I wish to be treated | () | () | () | () | () |
| 17. I am able to use what is available to
the best advantage | () | () | () | () | () |

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| 18. I am aggressive | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 19. I am able to know others | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 20. I have a purpose in life | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 21. I understand human nature | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 22. I am willing to teach others | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 23. I am capable of happiness in marriage | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 24. I am a good sport | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 25. I have an understanding of nature | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 26. I am lively | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 27. I have the ability to select good associates | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 28. I believe in democratic principles | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 29. I have self-esteem | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 30. I do not use obscene language | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 31. I have faith | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 32. I tend to give without a pressing need to receive | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 33. I have group spirit or esprit de corp | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |
| 34. I am thrifty | () | () | () | () | () (like me) |

35. I have fortitude () () () () () (like me)
36. I have the ability to do sound reasoning. (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
37. I do not judge other people (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
38. I give generously of myself (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
39. I am not complicated (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
40. I am undogmatic (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
41. I am affectionate (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
42. I attempt to improve myself (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
43. I am able to see the good in others (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
44. I have dignity (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
45. I am able to speak other languages (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
46. I have pride in my fellowmen (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
47. I am patient (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
48. I am loyal (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
49. I am modest (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
50. I am devoted (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
51. I am obedient in appropriate situations . (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
52. I am able to look forward (unlike me) () () () () (like me)

53. I have personal ability () () () () () (like me)
54. I do not gossip or use small talk (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
55. I tend to make the most of myself (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
56. I am interested in good reading material. (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
57. I am alert (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
58. I am able to accept the notion that there are unattainable goals (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
59. I have understanding for others (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
60. I have common sense (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
61. I am patient with myself (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
62. I have a sense of humor (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
63. I have esthetic sensitivity (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
64. I am generous (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
65. I am magnanimous (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
66. I am able to concentrate (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
67. I am kind (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
68. I am interested in other people (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
69. I am mature (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
70. I am kind towards nature (unlike me) () () () () (like me)

71. I am tactful 1 2 3 4 5
 (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
72. I am interested in sports
 (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
73. I have social status
 (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
74. I am realistic
 (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
75. I believe that all men are equal
 (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
76. I have the ability to get along with
 others (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
77. I am genuine (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
78. I am flexible (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
79. I have the ability to love (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
80. I have honor (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
81. I tend to seek perfection in all things . (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
82. I have many interests (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
83. I have charity (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
84. I am compatible (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
85. I am willing to learn (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
86. I control my temper (unlike me) () () () () (like me)
87. I have a high respect for non-material
 things of life (unlike me) () () () () (like me)

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|
| 88. I have a pleasing disposition | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 89. I am outgoing | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 90. I am a good listener | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 91. I am easy going | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 92. I am reliable | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 93. I am somewhat uninhibited | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 94. I am a good provider | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 95. I have individuality | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 96. I have respect for others | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 97. I love life | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 98. I make decisions easily | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 99. I am interested in community affairs | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 100. I have emotional control | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 101. I am respectable | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 102. I am intelligent | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 103. I am decent | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 104. I am persistent | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |
| 105. I am able to express myself well | (unlike me) | () | () | () | (like me) |

		1	2	3	4	5
106.	I am courteous	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
107.	I respect my parents	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
108.	I have imagination	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
109.	I conform	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
110.	I can accept changes easily	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
111.	I have no racial prejudice	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
112.	I am sincere	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
113.	I am useful	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
114.	I have a spirit of competitiveness	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
115.	I strive to get ahead	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
116.	I am neighborly	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
117.	I am objective	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
118.	I am courageous	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
119.	I am stable	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
120.	I am conservative	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
121.	I do not push my way into groups	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
122.	I accept myself	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)
123.	I am helpful	(unlike me)	()	()	()	(like me)

141. I do not object to voice my opinion . . . (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
142. I am organized (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
143. I do not drink (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
144. I am fair (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
145. I am able to follow as well as lead . . . (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
146. I understand myself (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
147. I have self-confidence (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
148. I am content with what I have (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
149. I am not self-righteous (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
150. I am neat (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)
151. I am conscientious (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)
152. I am a good conversationalist (unlike me) () () () () () (like me)
153. I am progressive (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)
154. I have poise (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)
155. I exercise self control (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)
156. I am industrious (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)
157. I am not nosey (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)
158. I am willing to forgive others (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)
159. I am an educated person (unlike me) () () () () () () (like me)

- 1 2 3 4 5
160. I am concerned about self-preservation. . (unlike me) () () () (like me)
161. I tend to plan before acting (unlike me) () () () (like me)
162. I am rigid (unlike me) () () () (like me)
163. I have sufficient hobbies (unlike me) () () () (like me)
164. I am devoted to my family (unlike me) () () () (like me)
165. I am capable of giving myself to a
worthy cause (unlike me) () () () (like me)
166. I tend to encourage others (unlike me) () () () (like me)
167. I am truthful (unlike me) () () () (like me)
168. I am capable of leading others (unlike me) () () () (like me)
169. I exercise good conduct (unlike me) () () () (like me)
170. I have respect for authority (unlike me) () () () (like me)
171. I am interested in learning new things . (unlike me) () () () (like me)
172. I enjoy my work (unlike me) () () () (like me)
173. I am able to accept criticism (unlike me) () () () (like me)
174. I am discreet (unlike me) () () () (like me)
175. I can hold a friendship (unlike me) () () () (like me)
176. I am an honest person (unlike me) () () () (like me)
177. I have a humanitarian interest (unlike me) () () () (like me)

178. I am economically secure () () () () () (like me)
179. I do not practice snobbery () () () () () (like me)
180. I am not envious () () () () () (like me)
181. I appreciate music () () () () () (like me)
182. I have pride () () () () () (like me)
183. I am physically attractive () () () () () (like me)
184. I do not smoke () () () () () (like me)
185. I am willing to receive as well as to
give () () () () () (like me)
186. I have high moral standards () () () () () (like me)
187. I have confidence in others () () () () () (like me)
188. I have courage to admit when wrong () () () () () (like me)
189. I am capable of thinking constructively () () () () () (like me)
190. I am humble () () () () () (like me)
191. I am friendly () () () () () (like me)
192. I have intellectual curiosity () () () () () (like me)
193. I have a sense of justice () () () () () (like me)
194. I am temperant () () () () () (like me)
195. I am practical () () () () () (like me)

196. I am tolerant 1 2 3 4 5
 () () () () () (like me)
197. I like to be on time (unlike me) () () () (like me)
198. I am not overbearing (unlike me) () () () (like me)
199. I am active (unlike me) () () () (like me)
200. I am able to put myself in another's
 position (unlike me) () () () (like me)
201. I am appreciative (unlike me) () () () (like me)
202. I am able to maintain a confidence (unlike me) () () () (like me)
203. I keep my bills paid (unlike me) () () () (like me)
204. I have will power (unlike me) () () () (like me)
205. I have compassion for others (unlike me) () () () (like me)
206. I am adaptable (unlike me) () () () (like me)
207. I am consistent in action (unlike me) () () () (like me)
208. I have a good reputation (unlike me) () () () (like me)

APPENDIX III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

CODE

Institution

- 1 - Ionia Reformatory
- 2 - Michigan Training Unit

Recidivism

- 1 - "First-timer"
- 2 - Recidivist

Offense

- 1 - Auto theft
- 2 - Armed robbery
- 3 - Breaking & entering, day time
- 4 - Breaking & entering, night time
- 5 - Carrying concealed weapon
- 6 - Embezzlement
- 7 - Escaping prison
- 8 - Felonious assault
- 9 - Forgery
- 10 - Grand larceny
- 11 - Gross indecency
- 12 - Indecent liberties
- 13 - Kidnapping
- 14 - Larceny from building
- 15 - Larceny from person
- 16 - Manslaughter
- 17 - Murder 1st degree
- 18 - Murder 2nd degree
- 19 - Rape
- 20 - Robbery unarmed
- 21 - Sodomy
- 22 - Statutory rape
- 23 - Uttering & publishing
- 24 - Violation check law

Race

- 1 - White
- 2 - Negro
- 3 - Other

I.Q. = Intelligent quotient

A.G.A. = Average grade rating.

Sample Number	Institution	Pre Σ (S-C)	Pre Σ [WR(S-C)]	Post Σ (S-C)	Post Σ [WR(S-C)]	Age	Recidivism	Education	Offense	Race	I.Q.	A.G.R.
001	1	261	598	146	323	21	2	10	4	1	95	6.1
002	1	290	782	217	521	22	1	10	8	1	111	7.1
003	1	376	925	304	735	20	2	9	14	1	90	7.6
004	1	302	726	274	752	22	2	12	4	1	111	9.6
005	1	428	1,106	470	1,192	21	2	7	14	2	62	2.0
006	1	224	548	227	582	18	1	6	15	2	72	4.7
007	1	203	474	150	354	16	2	7	2	2	66	3.4
008	1	325	746	243	534	19	2	8	20	2	89	6.3
009	1	310	749	291	669	16	1	8	18	2	63	3.7
010	1	224	497	117	264	16	1	8	18	2	65	5.9
011	1	61	126	113	296	21	2	8	4	1	99	7.3
012	1	258	635	144	344	19	1	8	21	2	60	2.9
013	1	233	526	223	492	16	1	9	1	2	70	4.0
014	1	153	381	319	784	17	1	9	4	2	55	3.5
015	1	154	371	140	321	21	2	10	4	2	83	6.0
016	1	174	388	162	347	20	2	9	3	2	106	7.6
017	1	389	971	404	1,006	27	2	12	14	1	111	8.5
018	1	253	601	242	490	17	2	8	1	1	91	5.6
019	1	345	851	336	888	25	1	8	16	2	78	7.6
020	1	77	212	115	231	16	1	8	18	2	86	7.0

Sample Number	Institution	Pre $M(\pi-S-C)$	Pre $M[\leq WR(S-C)]$	Post $M(\pi-S-C)$	Post $M[\leq WR(S-C)]$	Age	Recidivism	Education	Offense	Race	I.Q.	A.G.R.
021	1	366	903	448	1,105	18	1	8	18	2	78	4.9
022	1	355	860	345	810	20	1	10	4	2	44	3.7
023	1	167	363	161	386	20	1	9	11	2	114	11.3
024	1	236	445	222	480	18	1	7	5	2	61	3.4
025	1	183	419	142	269	19	1	8	15	2	62	5.6
026	1	356	836	362	892	19	1	8	20	1	112	8.6
027	1	329	771	493	1,265	20	2	8	7	1	79	4.6
028	1	288	676	266	580	20	2	8	7	1	120	9.2
029	1	340	796	138	302	17	2	10	8	1	91	7.0
030	1	170	364	263	631	19	1	8	2	2	100	6.6
031	1	315	728	241	501	16	1	10	4	1	126	9.7
032	1	183	386	95	199	20	2	9	5	1	104	5.8
033	1	256	592	229	536	20	1	8	8	2	66	5.0
034	1	160	328	147	280	20	2	9	1	1	103	7.1
035	1	302	705	299	676	17	1	9	4	1	98	6.6
036	1	162	390	231	561	18	2	9	19	1	93	7.4
037	1	90	220	132	281	20	2	9	8	2	81	7.5
038	1	178	461	136	367	20	1	8	4	1	47	2.8
039	1	151	288	234	428	24	2	10	12	1	144	11.9
040	1	271	684	190	466	21	2	10	3	2	80	4.7

Sample Number	Institution	Pre $M(\bar{S}-C)$	Pre $M[\bar{E}WR(S-C)]$	Post $M(\bar{S}-C)$	Post $M[\bar{E}WR(S-C)]$	Age	Recidivism	Education	Offense	Race	I.Q.	A.G.R.
041	1	184	405	189	440	17	1	9	1	2	89	6.4
042	1	377	865	341	770	23	1	15	4	1	123	12.0
043	1	301	713	200	472	19	2	12	8	1	88	6.7
044	1	208	518	286	709	19	2	9	22	2	66	4.9
045	1	238	563	292	682	21	1	8	14	1	97	8.0
046	1	203	381	139	255	21	1	7	4	2	80	3.1
047	1	225	532	216	505	20	2	7	4	1	69	6.7
048	1	322	764	336	819	19	1	12	2	1	106	9.9
049	1	446	1,105	355	854	22	2	10	9	1	134	11.0
050	1	289	771	314	736	21	1	9	4	1	88	4.6
051	1	270	654	355	839	20	2	8	1	1	69	3.4
052	1	561	1,407	364	893	17	1	10	3	2	64	3.3
053	1	385	955	395	1,007	17	1	8	19	2	110	3.9
054	1	207	535	245	543	19	2	12	9	1	122	9.6
055	1	337	826	457	1,149	19	2	12	4	1	100	9.9
056	1	300	698	346	800	22	2	10	4	2	85	4.5
057	1	274	632	266	634	22	1	9	2	1	104	9.5
058	1	497	1,234	253	591	19	1	10	2	2	112	8.9
059	1	213	497	516	1,293	18	2	6	7	1	93	7.1
060	1	70	156	166	437	19	2	8	4	1	80	6.7

Sample Number	Institution	Pre $M(S-C)$	Pre $M[KWR(S-C)]$	Post $M(S-C)$	Post $M[KWR(S-C)]$	Age	Recidivism	Education	Offense	Race	I.Q.	A.G.R.
061	1	219	591	592	1,471	21	2	8	4	1	91	8.4
062	1	270	653	136	300	19	1	9	18	2	110	7.8
063	1	204	419	444	1,124	18	2	8	15	2	88	6.6
064	1	349	835	213	456	18	1	7	4	2	71	4.7
065	1	161	352	121	266	22	2	9	2	2	86	6.8
066	1	268	632	271	629	18	2	8	4	1	80	3.5
067	1	245	609	300	684	22	1	5	4	2	62	4.2
068	1	155	279	302	741	20	2	11	20	2	100	7.1
069	1	312	699	271	593	21	2	7	3	1	97	5.5
070	1	327	818	267	655	20	2	9	19	2	86	7.5
071	2	222	504	178	372	24	1	11	2	1	103	9.3
072	2	412	1,018	319	881	23	1	9	4	1	109	8.6
073	2	328	775	239	517	21	1	12	14	1	122	11.2
074	2	135	284	126	343	18	2	7	4	1	98	6.2
075	2	451	1,123	179	430	19	2	10	24	1	128	11.5
076	2	109	228	63	119	21	2	9	3	1	101	7.6
077	2	273	646	234	520	17	2	10	8	3	124	10.6
078	2	276	647	308	759	19	2	12	1	1	110	8.0
079	2	279	656	175	393	19	1	9	22	1	119	9.6
080	2	84	180	102	223	18	1	10	10	1	116	9.0

Sample Number	Institution	Pre M(S-C)	Pre M[WR(S-C)]	Post M(S-C)	Post M[WR(S-C)]	Age	Recidivism	Education	Offense	Race	I.Q.	A.G.R.
081	2	267	639	306	762	18	1	9	8	2	88	8.4
082	2	342	743	346	836	19	1	11	3	1	136	11.7
083	2	222	452	235	504	18	2	10	14	1	113	10.2
084	2	305	779	231	600	22	1	10	24	1	98	8.0
085	2	364	908	406	1,002	23	1	12	1	1	112	9.2
086	2	178	391	196	436	21	2	9	4	2	106	8.1
087	2	205	416	195	415	19	1	12	9	1	129	10.5
088	2	309	774	140	303	20	1	12	2	1	136	11.5
089	2	264	653	267	668	19	1	11	1	2	106	11.2
090	2	261	616	218	485	18	1	10	16	1	112	8.8
091	2	191	395	204	434	19	1	9	14	2	84	7.2
092	2	279	651	230	573	17	1	10	4	1	111	7.8
093	2	196	458	228	575	18	2	10	23	1	111	9.7
094	2	288	694	210	489	21	2	9	24	1	132	11.4
095	2	248	609	287	691	23	1	10	19	1	106	10.2
096	2	356	873	282	734	20	1	10	9	1	106	9.5
097	2	181	407	141	296	21	1	12	4	2	117	10.3
098	2	369	921	335	800	18	1	9	1	1	114	9.4
099	2	261	539	239	464	18	1	9	4	2	106	8.9
100	2	281	664	261	611	21	1	11	20	1	105	8.4

Sample Number	Institution	Pre $M(S-C)$	Pre $M[WR(S-C)]$	Post $M(S-C)$	Post $M[WR(S-C)]$	Age	Recidivism	Education	Offense	Race	I.Q.	A.G.R.
101	2	229	548	210	524	19	1	9	20	1	135	11.5
102	2	356	901	207	506	18	2	12	4	1	119	10.6
103	2	102	196	166	378	19	1	11	9	1	97	8.2
104	2	228	522	144	326	19	1	10	11	1	125	10.6
105	2	245	577	67	161	17	1	10	13	1	103	9.4
106	2	241	569	259	616	21	2	8	4	1	111	8.7
107	2	233	540	130	246	22	1	9	22	1	97	7.8
108	2	111	248	122	240	18	1	8	16	2	84	6.1
109	2	271	627	92	203	20	2	9	4	1	103	7.4
110	2	376	946	352	867	17	1	10	23	1	99	7.9
111	2	256	633	201	467	21	1	9	4	1	101	8.4
112	2	376	907	344	827	22	1	8	2	1	91	7.5
113	2	334	810	389	986	15	1	9	4	1	85	5.6
114	2	324	741	384	915	18	1	12	3	1	104	9.8
115	2	227	500	165	379	18	1	11	4	1	110	11.2
116	2	403	932	392	929	19	1	9	4	1	114	8.1
117	2	122	228	70	119	23	1	9	15	2	107	8.1
118	2	138	389	171	456	22	2	10	2	1	106	10.6
119	2	165	340	165	403	21	1	9	4	2	85	7.7
120	2	220	525	206	468	17	1	10	4	1	111	7.7

Sample Number	Institution	Pre M (S-C)	Pre M [KWR(S-C)]	Post M (S-C)	Post M [KWR(S-C)]	Age	Recidivism	Education	Offense	Race	I.Q.	A.G.R.
121	2	207	505	289	646	19	1	12	13	1	124	10.1
122	2	128	264	201	467	18	1	9	13	1	113	10.0
123	2	264	606	259	672	18	1	9	4	1	78	5.5
124	2	147	350	108	269	17	1	9	4	2	88	6.8
125	2	183	390	52	106	21	1	10	20	2	97	9.4
126	2	276	631	156	374	18	1	9	20	1	94	9.4
127	2	326	692	464	953	18	1	10	1	1	109	10.5
128	2	428	1,086	279	694	18	2	9	10	3	107	8.6
129	2	217	510	303	688	17	1	9	14	2	85	7.0
130	2	266	660	192	444	19	1	11	20	1	95	9.4
131	2	205	494	232	651	24	1	9	15	1	101	8.4
132	2	326	839	249	582	21	1	8	2	1	115	7.7
133	2	137	240	150	283	17	1	9	2	1	108	8.4
134	2	334	775	253	566	19	1	11	1	1	99	7.7
135	2	315	769	257	605	17	1	11	4	1	130	11.9
136	2	214	530	144	338	22	2	10	22	1	102	7.1
137	2	175	396	178	390	19	1	11	14	2	109	9.9
138	2	212	455	153	335	19	1	11	4	1	103	10.0
139	2	692	1,762	141	444	60	1	16	6	1	112	9.5
140	2	146	284	107	205	18	1	11	14	1	122	10.4

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