THE IMPACT AND AFTER-EFFECTS OF WAR ON A STATE PRISON SYSTEM

By

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A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1949

Acknowledgment

The investigator extends his sincere appreciation to Dr. Ernest B. Harper, under whose supervision the project was begun. For assistance in methodology, the writer expresses cordial thanks to Dr. Charles R. Hoffer. For constructive criticism and general assistance, the investigator expresses his appreciation to Dr. Charles P. Loomis, Dr. Christopher Sower, Dr. Duane Gibson, Dr. Cecil Millard, Dr. William H. Combs, and Mr. John M. DeHaan.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The influence of cultural factors on personality development and change is well known. Crises in the culture and social organization frequently exert a terrific impact on individual personalities and social institutions. War has an impact on world commerce, industry, politics, personalities, and society as a whole. Mobilization for war, the development of an all-out war program on a national basis, and the re-conversion to peace-time pursuits must have had an effect on social institutions. World War II exceeded in magnitude and fury any similar upheaval in social organization and culture prior to that time. World War II was a total war. The influence of this major cultural crisis, the greatest of all wars, has been felt by every social institution in the world to a greater extent than ever before. In this war, social workers even foresaw the demise of their profession[1].

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study is the investigation of the impact and after-effects of war on a State prison system as a social institution. Given "normal" or rather stable cultural factors, it has been found that the total crime rate in a given area remains substantially unchanged over a period of years. In a study of crime and the business cycle in England between 1857 and 1913, for instance, Dorothy Thomas found no close relationship between

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1. See Mann, Ruth Z.S.; "The War and Case Work", The Family, March, 1943, pp. 3-8.

the business cycle and "all indictable offenses"[2]. However, World War II produced a greater social anomaly than was ever produced by the business cycle or any other cultural trauma. Many previous wars were fought by volunteers or mercenaries. In this war, governments had to rely on conscription to get enough soldiers to maintain belligerency. All industry was keyed to war production, perhaps induced by lucrative and risk-less cost-plus government contracts, and labor was relatively scarce as compared with the prewar labor situation. Workers were transported by industry, itself, from poorer rural sections of the country into the industrial areas.

Penology and crime were affected by this movement. Binford emphasized that the etiology of delinquency, at least in Chicago, was facilitated by business interests which exploit youth for profit, although the problems, such as postwar inadequate housing, family disorganization, mental illness, child labor, and the liquor problem also contribute to delinquency[3]. These factors are increased when migrant labor is involved. The exodus of young manpower into the armed services, the influx of new workers from the South and the northern rural areas, and the absorption of all employable persons and some "unemployables" by industry presented marked socio-economic changes.

Michigan's predominantly industrialized culture was no exception to these changes. Probably Michigan was affected to an even greater

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2. Thomas, Dorothy Swaine; SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE BUSINESS CYCLE, London, 1925, pp. 135-144.
3. Binford, Jessie F.; "Postwar Problems of Youth", Federal Probation, October-December, 1947, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 7-11.

extent. Combined with these changes was an intensified propaganda campaign by radio, newspapers, cinema, and other available media, designed to mobilize the sympathies and efforts of the populace for the all-out prosecution of the war. Many of these propagandistic efforts seemed to be more emotionalized than realistic, suggesting that such widespread mobilization of aggression has emotional involvements. These emotional involvements may have stimulated drives to serve accepted purposes generally, but in some areas they may have stimulated drives which are not in accord with social standards.

The impact and after-effects of war and its related activities on a State prison system as a social institution may be studied in terms of shifts in types of behavior causing persons to be committed to prison, their social backgrounds, their attitudes, and their behavior in prison. As a consequence of all these disturbing elements, the admissions to prison changed somewhat. Particularly was this noticeable in background, age, type of crime, and similar social factors. They therefore present the problem of this study. It is in these areas where the impact and after-effects of war on the State prison system as a social institution may be manifest that this investigation purports to explore.

A search for literature in the field produced meager results. By far the best contribution in the field was Sorokin's famous study of internal disturbances and external war[4]. Sorokin pointed out that

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4. Sorokin, Pitirim A.; SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS, Vol. 3, FLUCTUATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS, WAR, AND REVOLUTION, New York, 1937.

periods of social transition must of necessity be periods of comparative conflagration of war to allow disintegration of cultural systems of values, transition between the main types of social relationships--familistic, contractual, and compulsory--and other cultural transition[5]. Conversely, one of the main "weapons against war is the crystallization of the system of cultural values and of social relationships"[6]. However, Sorokin was highly theoretical and he was not concerned with a prison system. His contribution to this investigation, therefore, was of general nature. He emphasized that the social changes in a major social fluctuation are far-reaching, to include all the elements of the culture.

Chandler has presented some phases of the impact of war on the federal probation system, but he confined himself to personnel changes[7]. The plight of social welfare agencies has been well written[8]. Dr. Lowell Selling in 1944 reported that one of eight offenders who were referred to the Psychopathic Clinic of Detroit's Recorder's Court were veterans of World War II who were psychoneurotics who were insufficiently treated after their discharges from service[9]. In another article, Selling commended public cooperation in the areas of health and safety regulation, indicating that the increased economic opportunities act as a neutralizing effect on the increased opportunities for major crimes[10]. Maverick presented a summary of the contribution of the State prisons to the war effort, suggesting

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5. Ibid., pp. 375-376.
6. Ibid., p. 380.
7. Chandler, Henry P.; "Wartime Activities of Federal Probation Officers", Federal Probation, January-March, 1943, pp. 6-13.
8. See Hoey, Jane M.; "The Impact of the War on the Public Assistance Programs", The Social Service Review, December, 1943, Vol. 17.
9. The Spectator, inmate paper at the State Prison of Southern Michigan, February 19, 1944.
10. Selling, Lowell S.; "Specific War Crimes", The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, January-February, 1944, pp. 303-310.

that gains made in wartime be consolidated through a ten-point program[11]. At the same time, Maverick and Burke, who was formerly Michigan's Assistant Director of Corrections in charge of the Bureau of Prisons, released a 62-page mimeographed report on prison industry which covered much the same material[12].

Dr. Marvin Sukov felt that in certain instances the individual personality which caused the person committed to prison to be maladjusted in his community would cause him also to fail in the armed services of the nation[13]. Others, he felt, would have made good soldiers. Most prisoners are accustomed to life without many physical comforts, and this circumstance would prove to be excellent training for military campaigns. In many cases a partial explanation of criminal behavior would be found in the overdevelopment of aggressive tendencies. It is only in war that the anti-social tendencies of men can easily be channelled into socially desireable activities.

Willbach presented a cursory survey of crime in New York City as affected by the war[14]. He felt that normal standards and values were uprooted and replaced during wartime. During this procedure, a lag is apparent, and a state of imbalance results. An unchanging, or much slower changing, penal code is not in harmony with changing standards. Even so, a downward tendency in crime rate is noticeable. The higher rate of decrease in crimes against property is probably

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11. Maverick, Maury; "American Prisons Go to War", The New Republic, November 22, 1943, pp. 712-714.
12. Maverick, Maury, and Burke, Major William H.; Prisons in Wartime, Washington, November, 1943.
13. Sukov, Marvin; "The Prisoner in Wartime", Federal Probation, January-March, 1943, pp. 14-16.
14. Willbach, Harry; "Crime in New York City as Affected by the War", The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, March-April, 1944, pp. 371-376.

due, Willbach feels, to better economic opportunity. Comparing 1940 crime rates with those of 1942, he found an increase in the rate for crimes against the person, which suggested that force was being regarded as an instrumentality even off the battlefield. Further, it indicates an instability which shows itself in lawlessness when sharp disturbances occur in the social order.

Thus, in summary, the literature emphasizes the far-reaching impact of war on all elements in our culture and social organization. These changes have been reported to be noticeable in the impact of war on the family, loss of good personnel from social agencies and correctional programs, increased industrial activity, attitudes of prisoners in Illinois toward military service, and a shift toward greater violence in New York City. Again, the emphasis in the literature is on the far-reaching effects of war on culture and social organization.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of the present investigation has several phases which are of importance. In the first place, the knowledge of the problems of types of prisoners by which commitments to prison are reduced in wartime may be helpful in crime prevention programs. They may suggest the substitution in peacetime of socially accepted programs containing the elements present in wartime that are important in avoiding sentence to prison. If it is found that a specific group avoids being sentenced to prison in wartime, and is subsequently able to make a successful adjustment in society, then the importance of the study has practical crime prevention or rehabilitative

implications. In this case, even negative results would be interesting if they tend to be conclusive.

The manner in which inmates of a prison gain substitute satisfactions to alleviate exaggerated frustrated aggression as a consequence of war phenomena is important in a phase of morale. Since morale programs are usually programs of channelizing substitute satisfactions, the programs accepted by the prisoners in this area would be "naturals" and almost spontaneous. Spontaneous substitution for frustrated aggression points the way to the most effective morale--sustaining programs.

The study presents some insight into the effect of war on a social institution, namely a prison system. Some of the findings pertaining to the effect of war on the prison system may vary quite widely from the effect of war on some other social institutions because of the negative or restraining character of the former. In many instances the effect would be different. By furnishing a study of the effects of war on a State prison system, these similarities and differences may be pointed out in later treatises. This record is important, therefore, in that it gives insight as to the functioning of prisons and similar institutions during periods of crisis. This recording may be used as an administrative guide as to what to expect in a similar wartime situation at a future date.

Tentative Hypothesis

Wartime mobilization of aggression and increased activity in military and civilian population movement create an impact of war and after-effects on the State prison system as a social institution.

The nature of the impact and after-effects of war is illustrated by shifts during and after the war in types of crime for which the men were committed to prison, socio-economic areas from which they came, their attitudes toward war and patriotism, general personality adjustment, and the behavior of prisoners.

With the armed services absorbing many of the young men in the State, and the industrial plants providing greater employment opportunities for persons not in the armed services, there may be a reduction in the number of commitments to prison within a certain age range, and possibly in other specific groups. It is suspected that this phenomenon occurs despite the rising concern over juvenile delinquency and crime during wartime as shown by newspaper publicity, former Michigan Governor Kelly's Youth Study Commission, and other evidences during the war years. Such a reduction in commitments to prison during a period of increased concern over delinquency and crime would suggest the presence of a social anomaly of greater import by far than the business cycle or other "normal" cultural fluctuations.

During a war period, all propaganda devices available to the government and other interested parties are directed toward mobilizing and channellizing the efforts and energies of all the people into the prosecution of the war. As worded by Ruch, "War is not the result of man's 'aggressive instinct' but of the habits, attitudes, and beliefs that he has acquired as a result of social conditioning"[15].

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15. Ruch, Floyd L.; PSYCHOLOGY AND LIFE, New York, 1948, p. 689.

The propaganda process tends to condition us so as to mobilize the aggressions in all of us. This mobilization of aggression occurs on a personalized basis, and may be manifest in a shift in the types of crime committed to proportionately greater violence and a greater proportion of crimes against the person. In her discussion of the impact of war on family life, Zitello pointed out that war mobilizes the aggressions in everyone[16]. The better organized individuals are able to shift these aggressions to useful ends, and have no noticeable demoralizing effects on others. Some more poorly organized individuals attempt to regain lost security and react as though all will be lost if they are unable to regain the objects of their former gratification. Propaganda devices may mobilize the aggressions in the populace, which may lead to a rise in proportion of crimes of violence and crimes against persons.

When this mobilization of aggression is frustrated by confinement in prison, substitute satisfactions have to be found by the prisoners or provided by the administration. The continued mobilization of aggression outside the walls and the frustration by prison bars may accentuate the condition of the prisoners.

Then after the cessation of hostilities, the aggressions which have been mobilized in the populace appear not immediately to subside. A continuance of manifestation of this aggression may result from failure of wartime propaganda media to continue directing

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16. Zitello, Adelaide K.; "The Impact of the War on Family Life: II. Mother-Son Relationships", The Family, New York, November, 1942, pp. 257-263.

the aggression against out-groups. Hence, some of the same shifts toward violent crimes and crimes against persons may still occur in greater proportion during postwar than prewar periods, but may not be so great as during wartime.

Basic Assumptions

In order to pursue this investigation, it must be assumed that 1939 is an adequate peacetime year for purposes of this study. The country was rather prosperous, having just revived from a period of economic depression. Civilian peacetime production was pursued throughout the country. No previous year could be used with confidence because prison records were too inadequate prior to 1939. The year 1940 could not be used with confidence because American mobilization was beginning, the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 had been passed, and America was fast becoming the "Arsenal of Democracy". Although in 1939 France and England had declared war on Germany, American participation in the war was not foreseen. English and French armies were trying to maneuver the German armies into the open for battle. American participation was regarded as unnecessary. Supporting evidence that 1939 is a typical prewar year is found when it is included in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports charts in the prewar period 1938-1941[17]. Further evidence that 1939 was a normal prewar peacetime year is found in the consumers' price index tabulations based on the 1935-1939 average as 100.0, made

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17. F.B.I.; Uniform Crime Reports, Annual Bulletin, 1947, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, p. 83.

by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, which are shown in table 1.[18]

Table 1

Average Consumers' Price Indexes, 1928-1947

Year	Index	Year	Index
1928	122.6	1938	100.8
1929	122.5	1939	99.4
1930	119.4	1940	100.2
1931	108.7	1941	105.2
1932	97.6	1942	116.5
1933	92.4	1943	123.6
1934	95.7	1944	125.5
1935	98.1	1945	128.4
1936	99.1	1946	139.3
1937	102.7	1947	159.2

It is noted that the consumers' price index in 1939 is 99.4, which is close to the 1935-1939 average from which the indexes were computed. Hence, 1939 can be considered to be a typical prewar year as far as the average consumers' price index is concerned.

It must further be assumed that the two-year period 1943-1944 constitutes an adequate wartime period. The first eight months of 1942 were devoted to somewhat unsuccessful holding actions in the fields of battle, and industrial transition from peacetime to wartime production. In 1943, the nation was engaged in all-out production for total war. The War Manpower Commission felt that the nation had been drained of non-essential manpower, and that further shifts of manpower must be made on the basis of essentiality of the present work as compared with the essentiality of the proposed job. Italy's unconditional surrender was announced on September 8, 1943. In 1944,

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18. THE WORLD ALMANAC AND BOOK OF FACTS, 1949, New York World-Telegram, New York, 1949, p. 434.

all holding actions in the field had become American offensives. Only a slight shift back to the production of some civilian commodities was noted in industry. It seems to be justifiable, then, to consider 1943-1944 the wartime period.

The 1945-1946 period must be assumed to comprise the demobilitory--postwar period. In 1945, Germany and Japan were forced to end hostilities. The American military forces were demobilized, the greatest demobilization occurring between September, 1945, and March, 1946. Industry geared itself to peacetime civilian production. The first new automobiles since 1942 appeared in the 1946 models. 1945-1946 seems to be the optimum demobilitory-postwar period.

The assumption must be made that 1947 or the 1947-1948 biennium can be termed postwar. There were no American military forces engaged in belligerency. Occupation forces were maintained in Germany, Japan, Korea, and other areas considered strategically important. The diplomatic situation was tense, however, with Russia and the United States being engaged in a "cold war". The Berlin crisis increased world apprehension. The Chinese civil war raged, fighting in Greece, Palestine, and Indonesia continued. However, there was no shooting war between great powers, American industry continued to gear itself for civilian production, and the American military was reduced to what was considered to be peacetime proportions. Consequently, consideration of 1947 or 1947--1948 as postwar peacetime may be justifiable.

A fifth assumption concerns the problem of measuring attitudes. In the first place, it must be assumed that attitudes can be adequately

measured. It must be further assumed that attitude scales standardized on civilian populations will measure relative positions on the attitudinal continuum of prisoner groups.

Definition of Terms

A definition of the terms used in this study is conducive to uniformity of understanding. The prison system on which this study is based is the prison system of the State of Michigan. It is that system which was included in the Bureau of Prisons under the 1937 law[19], and in the Division of Prisons and Industries under the 1947 law[20]. It includes the State Prison of Southern Michigan in Jackson county, the Michigan State Reformatory at Ionia, the State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette, and since 1943 the minimum security Cassidy Lake Technical School near Chelsea. The State of Michigan has a contract with the City of Detroit whereby the State's female felons are cared for at the Detroit House of Correction. It must be added that the Marquette Honor Camp is operated as part of the Branch Prison at Marquette. The term, "prison system", is used in this study to designate these three prisons, the minimum security Cassidy Lake Technical School, the honor camp at Marquette, and the State's contracted benefits from the Detroit House of Correction.

Direct and indirect substitute satisfactions refer to the techniques by which prisoners relieve the frustration which they experience in prison. It is noted in this connection that aggressive

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19. Act 255, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1937.
20. Act 9, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1947, Extra Session.

action may be operationally distinguished from substitute response[21]. Substitute responses or substitute satisfactions may or may not be aggressive. They are merely the removing of the interference or the shifts of goals so that the interference may be partially circumvented. A goal-object has two meanings for the individual, (1) primarily, the intrinsic meaning, and (2) secondarily, the symbolic value[22]. In many substitute satisfactions the symbolic meaning may become primary, and the intrinsic value relegated to secondary importance.

Organization of the Investigation

This investigation begins with a general introduction, including a statement of the problem, comments on the status of present research, an outline of procedure, and a statement of sources of data. A general descriptive statement of the commitment data in peacetime, wartime, demobilitory-postwar, and postwar periods follows to determine changes in the quantity or quality of the groups committed to prison during wartime. A study of prisoner attitudes toward war and loyalty to the Constitution of the United States was made, as well as an evaluation of the attitudes of the prisoners toward personal participation in the war. A short treatment of the effects of Selective Service was then presented. The devices used by prisoners as substitute satisfactions forms an important part of the investigation. A final chapter summarizes the entire study, including recommendations based on the findings.

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21. Dollard, John; Doob, Leonard W.; Miller, Neal E.; Mowrer, O.H.; and Sears, Robert R.; FRUSTRATION AND AGGRESSION, New Haven, 1939, p. 9.
22. Newcomb, Theodore M., and Hartley, Eugene L., editors; READINGS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, New York, 1947, p. 281.

Summary

In short, the problem of this investigation is to determine in what manner a wartime situation affects a State prison system as a social institution. Cultural and behavioral characteristics, attitudes toward war and patriotism, and general personality adjustment will be considered. It has been assumed that 1939 is an adequate peacetime year, 1943-1944 is an adequate wartime period, 1945-1946 can be considered demobilitory-postwar, and 1947 or 1947-1948 can be considered postwar. The problem is important in that any reduction, and characteristics associated with the reduction, of the commitments to prison in wartime would indicate areas in which commitments in peacetime could be avoided were adequate preventive programs devised. It is also important in indicating to some extent the power of propaganda media to mobilize aggression and some of the ways by which aggression can be satisfied when it is frustrated. A partial recording of the effect of war on a prison system and its inmates can be used as an administrative guide in devising programs for substitute satisfactions when further wartime situations occur.

Chapter II

PROCEDURE AND SOURCES OF DATA

As stated in the previous chapter, the hypothesis of the present study is that wartime mobilization of aggression and increased activity in military and civilian population movement creat an impact of war and after-effects on the State prison system as a social institution. The nature of the impact and after-effects of war is illustrated by shifts during and after the war in types of crime for which the men were committed to prison, socio-economic areas from which they came, their attitudes toward war and patriotism, general personality adjustment, and the behavior of prisoners. During peacetime, the total number of commitments to prison are relatively stable, but during wartime, the total number of commitments to prison are reduced, primarily within certain groups that can be defined in terms of age and other social factors. Propaganda devices employed by the government to enlist the sympathies of the populace to total war tends to mobilize personalized aggressions, and this tendency is reflected in a shift in types of crime in the direction of more crimes of violence and increased number of crimes against persons. When this mobilized aggression is frustrated by confinement in prison, and the condition is continued by further mobilization of aggression and further confinement, then substitute satisfactions must be found within the prison, either by the inmates or by the administration. After the cessation of hostilities and the propagandistic campaign, the mobilized aggressions in the general population do not subside immediately, and therefore there

is a continuation of the shift toward greater violence in crimes, crimes against the person, and in search for substitute satisfactions.

Procedure

In order to test the hypothesis, social data for peacetime (1939), wartime (1943-1944), demobilitory-postwar (1945-1946), and postwar (1947 and 1947-1948) periods were collected and analyzed. A general survey of the Michigan penal system is presented as background material for the decade covered by the study[23].

In an effort to determine the nature of the groups by which prison commitments during wartime are reduced, social data were tabulated in each of these periods. Crimes and crime patterns were compared to determine the number of commitments to prison during prewar, wartime, demobilitory-postwar, and postwar periods. Age, race, and sex data were compared to determine the bio-social shifts in the commitment populations during peacetime, wartime, and demobilitory-postwar periods. Occupation and marital status were similarly compared. Courts of sentence, State of nativity, and State or county of residence for these periods were tabulated and compared with each other. These data were classified according to economic divisions so that the number of commitments from the industrial counties could be compared with those of the agricultural, upper peninsula cutover, upstate cutover counties, and Wayne county, including Detroit. Intelligence and education of the commitments in these periods were compared to determine any changes in these areas during wartime.

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23. See the presentation of Michigan's prison system in Appendix A.

Differences found in the comparisons of the above social data give some information as to the nature of the groups by which prison commitments may be reduced during wartime. Governmental reports were used where comparable data were available on a national scale.

An analytic review of the propaganda drives and devices used in World War II is presented. The comparison of crime and crime patterns in the periods considered was studied to determine how the mobilization of aggression by the propaganda drives may have caused shifts toward greater violence in the crime pattern during wartime.

A study of personality differences during wartime and during the postwar period seemed to show differences that were interesting. During a six-months period in 1944 for purposes of this study, the Bernreuter Personality Inventory was administered to 1,235 consecutive new admissions to the State Prison of Southern Michigan. In 1948, Bernreuter Personality Inventories were administered to 500 consecutive admissions for purposes of comparison. Statistical comparisons were made to determine differences. In a previous study[24], it was found that on the Bernreuter, assaultive persons scored unfavorably in their lack of self-sufficiency (B2-S), and their inability to dominate social situations (B4-D). The homicide group scored high in neurotic tendency (B1-N), and did not show favorable scores on any of the scales. In crimes of violence, as in sneak-thief behavior, feelings of insecurity and inadequacy in social situations seem to be dominant. Also, basic personality differences may assist in determining the

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24. Fox, Vernon; "Bernreuter Patterns in Various Crime Groups", an unpublished study, December, 1948.

nature of the group by which prison commitments during wartime are reduced. However, conclusions in this area would be less conclusive than would be the case if a 1939 sample were also available.

In order to obtain some insight as to the frustration, attitude scales relating to loyalty to the United States Constitution and to war in the abstract were administered to 500 prisoners in the State Prison of Southern Michigan in 1944. Again in 1948, the same scales were administered to 500 prisoners for comparison. They were also administered to 100 ex-servicemen in prison in 1945 to compare for enlightenment as to the conditioning effect of military service. The scales used in this connection were in the series edited by Louis L. Thurstone, and included Droba's scale for measuring attitude toward war[25], Peterson's scale for measuring attitude toward war[26], and the scale for measuring the attitude toward the Constitution of the United States by Rosander and Thurstone[27]. Differences in the results of these scales gives insight as to the shifts in abstract mental sets during wartime as compared to postwar peacetime.

The scientific literature was unsuccessfully searched for a scale that would measure attitude toward participation in the war. In order to fulfill this need, a scale was constructed by the investigator, using Thurstone's method with some modification that will be discussed later. This scale was administered to 500 prisoners for comparison

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25. Droba, D.D.; Attitude Toward War, Chicago, 1930.
26. Peterson, Ruth C.; Attitude Toward War, Chicago, 1931.
27. Rosander, A.C., and Thurstone, L.L.; Attitude Toward the Constitution of the United States, Chicago, 1931.

of wartime and postwar attitudes. Five hundred prisoners in 1944 and 500 prisoners in 1948 were given the scale. The personalized attitudes toward participation in the war would furnish further insight as to the extent of the aggression that had been mobilized partially by propagandistic devices.

The search for satisfactions to substitute for the release of frustrated aggression was then considered. The Spectator, the Hill-Top News, and Weekly Progress, the inmate papers for the State Prison of Southern Michigan, the Michigan Reformatory, and the State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette, respectively, were scanned for editorial opinion and news content. The extent of prison industry and employment in these periods under consideration were compared. The rise of military drill units was reported. These and other evidences of aggression and its satisfaction during the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods were considered on a comparative basis to determine to some extent the mobilization of aggression during wartime.

The crime and crime pattern comparison would indicate the extent of postwar violence as compared to prewar periods. The personality comparison on the basis of the Bernreuter Personality Inventory would assist to diagnose group differences between war and postwar populations coming to prison. Increased neurotic trends would probably suggest an increase in conflicting problems, and further analysis of the personality inventory results could be made in order to clarify the experiment relating to the hypothesis. The comparison of the use of alcohol in prewar and wartime periods would suggest

differences in needs for escape from reality in the different periods. Finally, a consideration of the substitute satisfactions in prison as compared with postwar aggressiveness in the populace would shed some light on the effect of mobilized aggressions after the cessation of hostilities.

Sources of Data

The social data used in this study has come from the court records and the classification committee studies which have been provided for by law since 1937[28], and which have been informative since 1939. These studies have been made at the reception centers of the Michigan penal system at the State Prison of Southern Michigan in Jackson county, the Branch Prison at Marquette, and for the women at the Detroit House of Correction. These institutions have been designated the reception units for felons in Michigan. Nine-tenths of all the prisoners are processed at the State Prison of Southern Michigan[29]. These classification studies are made up of an identification sheet, social history, educational report, psychologist's report, medical report, police report, and sometimes reports from the chaplain or vocational director with specific regard to religious and occupational experience, respectively. The classification studies are essentially similar in all reception units.

The court records include the indeterminate sentence record, which presents a legal account of the crime committed and the sentence

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28. Act 255, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1937.
29. See Department of Corrections; Annual Bulletin, 1946, State of Michigan, p. 5.

of the court. In this study, the crime and court of sentence was taken from the indeterminate sentence record. Frequently, a pre-sentence investigation report by the probation officer accompanies the indeterminate sentence record. These pre-sentence investigations are required in all cases by law[30], but they have been present in little more than half the cases. When they are present, they constitute a more adequate confirmation of the social history data than would otherwise be available.

The identification sheet includes height, weight, color of eyes, and other identifying data. In addition to other data, a short summary of military or C.C.C. service is included. This sheet included a question on the use of alcohol during some of the period studied[31]. For purposes of this study, the identification sheet is reported only as part of the classification study, for the data it contains that is pertinent to this investigation is more completely available in the social history.

The social history is a somewhat detailed history of each man's family, occupational, religious, and personal background, which is summarized by an attempt on the part of the social worker to analyze the man's problem and recommend an institutional program. The social history is based primarily on the material resulting from interviews with the man by the social worker. In most cases, however, this is confirmed by information from relatives, previous employers, schools attended, social agencies which register with central clearing

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30. Act 255, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1937, and Act 9, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1947, Extra Session.
31. This routine question was included at the request of the chaplain about 1936, but it was discontinued when the form was revised in 1945.

houses, court records, and other miscellaneous sources. The data for this investigation which was taken directly from the social history was age, race, sex, occupation, marital status, State or country of birth, State of residence, and use of alcohol.

The educational report is prepared by the Director of Education in the State Prison of Southern Michigan at Jackson and in the State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette. However, they are not exactly similar, since the Marquette version contains no tests of academic achievement. The reports from the State Prison of Southern Michigan contain results of the Stanford Achievement Tests, as well as the grade the men claimed he completed in school.

The psychologist's report presents the results of intelligence tests, and sometimes includes tests of mechanical and/or clerical aptitudes. Most of the intelligence tests were based on the Army Alpha examination, with the Wechsler-Bellevue scales used for illiterates. In 1939, however, I.Q.'s were based on the Kuhlmann--Anderson tests[32]. While there may be individual differences between these tests, it was felt that their results were comparable in groups.

The medical report has been throughout the period covered by this study, a short statement as to whether or not the man was capable of performing ordinary labor. Impaired vision and the presence of venereal disease or history of it was also reported. More detailed medical reports were available at the institutional medical facilities.

The police report includes a history of each man's arrests and

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32. Testing for intelligence was begun for all new commitments to the prison system in March, 1939. Prior to that time, testing was only for applicants to school.

convictions. The items in the police report are generally supported by fingerprints, and an asterisk is placed before each notation not supported by fingerprint identification. The report includes reports of clearance of fingerprints, real names, and aliases through the F.B.I. files in Washington, D.C., and the files of the Michigan State Police at East Lansing. Simultaneous with clearance, each man is registered in the above files for future reference. The previous criminal pattern was taken from the police reports for purposes of the present investigation.

The method of tabulation of data in the prewar, wartime, demobilitory-postwar, and postwar periods varied according to the means available. Manual tabulation of the 1939 and 1943 data was laboriously completed. Machine tabulation was set up in July, 1943, and data was recorded on I.B.M. cards. The 1943-1944 biennium data were punched on cards, as was the 1945-1946 demobilitory-postwar data. Some of the postwar data were tabulated manually, and some was taken from the records of the various institutions.

Further sources of data were the Bernreuter Personality Inventory results on the 1,735 men to which it was administered for purposes of this study; the results of the 1,100 Droba scales of attitude toward war; the results of the 1,100 Peterson scales of attitude toward war; the results of 1,100 Rosander and Thurstone scales of attitude toward the Constitution of the United States; and the results of 1,100 of the scales constructed by the investigator to measure attitudes toward the prisoners' personal participation in the war. All these were given specifically for this study.

Other sources of data were the inmate papers of the different institutions. The reports of production by the Michigan State Industries were made available. An interesting source of data was the former head of the inmate Basic Training Unit at Jackson during the war. In 1944, the director of Selective Service System in Michigan, with offices in Lansing, was cooperative in furnishing personally some classification information he considered sufficiently confidential that he did not want to send it through the mail. Also, the results of the work of the travelling induction unit for inducting prisoners into the army was made available for this study through the Selective Service System. The data on draft rejectees and veterans sentenced to prison between December 7, 1941, and July 1, 1944, was the result of individual tabulation as new men were interviewed by the investigator who functioned at the time as psychologist for the State Prison of Southern Michigan[33].

Summary

The hypothesis of this study is to be tested by statistically comparing social data from prewar peacetime, wartime, demobilitory-postwar, and postwar peacetime periods. Further information is made available by employing a group personality device, scales to measure attitudes toward war loyalty to the constitution of the United States, and personal participation in the war to measure differences between prisoner groups during wartime and in the postwar era. The search for substitute satisfactions by prisoners whose

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33. See Fox, Vernon; "The World War II Veterans in Prison", a report to the Michigan Corrections Commission, September, 1944.

aggressions were frustrated is concerned, as was the role of Selective Service in frustration.

Social data for the study came from classification studies made at the three reception units in Michigan's prison system. The data for the prewar year of 1939, the wartime year of 1943, and part of the postwar year of 1947 were tabulated manually at the State Prison of Southern Michigan and the Department of Corrections offices in Lansing. The data for part of 1943 through 1946 were tabulated mechanically by using I.B.M. punch-cards and tabulating machines. Other sources of data were inmate newspapers, Michigan State Industries reports, interviews with prisoners and the head of the Basic Training Unit at Jackson during the war, and the Selective Service System in Michigan.

Chapter III

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE MOBILIZATION OF AGGRESSION IN THE POPULATION

In modern war, when all governments have to rely on conscription to obtain enough soldiers to maintain belligerency, the mobilization of hatred of the enemy and the arousal of aggression in the populace is essential. The importance of the arousal of hatred, aggression, and motivation for military action cannot be over-emphasized. Motivation for the prosecution of the war and more favorable attitudes toward military functions have been shown to be of greater operational value to the army than relatively superior intelligence, education, civilian work experience, and other recorded abilities[34]. Skillful propaganda can mobilize hatred and aggression by directing public attention to certain aspects of the course of events, and by placing interpretations on them that are conducive to the mobilization of aggression. Propaganda is not the only factor involved in mobilization of aggression. Mobility of population, loss of loved ones killed in action, increased industrial activity, and other factors are of contributory nature. Propaganda, however, attempted to guide the mobilization of aggression. In order to win a war, military forces, economic strangulation of the enemy, and psychological persuasion are employed. Prior to the entrance of the United States into World War II, propaganda devices were aimed at reducing isolationist opposition to making the United States

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34. Fox, Vernon; "A Study of the Promotion of Enlisted Men in the Army", Journal of Applied Psychology, June, 1947, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 298-305.

the "arsenal of democracy", and assisting France and England while simultaneously attempting to maintain some semblance of pseudo-neutrality of legal nature. During World War II, the Office of War Information "screened" news stories and other information of wartime nature. After World War II, propaganda drives were confused, sometimes seeming to be at cross-purposes, or did not exist at all. A study of the mobilization of aggression by propaganda during wartime is basic to the completion of the present investigation.

Prewar Propaganda

Propaganda in wartime received an enormous impetus in World War I. In World War I, the Allied propagandists proved themselves to be near geniuses in their manipulation of psychological warfare. The Süddeutsche Monatshefte in April, 1924, credited Allied propagandists with having taken over the leadership of the German people during the last stages of the war. By the fall of 1918, the majority of German people placed greater trust in Woodrow Wilson than in their own leaders[35].

With regard to foreign policy, American public opinion remained relatively unchanged from 1935 until after the Munich crisis in 1938[36]. Subsequent to that event, however, opinion for and against assisting the Allies in their World War II effort was hotly contested by the interventionists and isolationists, but the mass of public opinion swayed according to the direction of world events[37]. The American people, rightly or wrongly, were induced to feel that the

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35. Bruntz, George G.; "Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of German Morale in 1918", Public Opinion Quarterly, January, 1938, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 63.
36. Jacob, Philip E.; "Influences of World Events on U.S. 'Neutrality' Opinion", Public Opinion Quarterly, March, 1940, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 48-65.
37. Ibid., p. 65.

Allied interests were closest to their own.

During the "cold war" prior to the German invasion of Poland in 1939, propagandistic issues were being discussed. Goulding suggested the establishment of an American Bureau of Propaganda, and outlined a tentative plan[38]. In 1939, courses were given in the New York public schools to combat propaganda[39], and in the following year the teachers were given courses in propaganda[40]. The actual effectiveness of propaganda at that time was in doubt, and propaganda was generally in disrepute, though interesting. Professor E. E. Muntz held that propaganda was overrated in value[41], but Dean Russell solemnly warned against the dire effects of propaganda[42]. Dr. P. Cornell considered propaganda useless[43], while Dr. C. Seymour warned against mass hysteria as a result of it[44]. Many persons foresaw curbs on the freedom of the press through censorship, should war break out[45].

Early efforts in shaping public opinion immediately prior to World War II were based on ideological principles. The democracies were aligned against the totalitarian states, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia. Churchill's famous, "Give us the tools", was effective in bringing America into position in the early stages of the European war as the "Arsenal of Democracy". Even so, the American public was

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38. The New York Times, May 28, 1939, part X, p. 3.
39. Ibid., March 19, 1939, part III, p. 3.
40. Ibid., September 29, 1940, p. 35.
41. Ibid., April 23, 1939, p. 26.
42. Ibid., July 7, 1939, p. 15.
43. Ibid., July 20, 1939, p. 3.
44. Ibid., June 19, 1939, p. 10.
45. See The New York Times, January 13, 1939, p. 14; April 21, 1939, p. 21; May 1, 1939, p. 17; July 13, 1939, p. 16; September 23, 1939, p. 11; and October 3, 1939, p. 30.

so divided that the isolationists and interventionists waged their own propaganda war. At the outbreak of the European war in 1939, nearly 60 per cent of the people thought America had made a mistake in entering World War I[46].

The Fortune poll of December, 1941, almost on the day of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, though just before, indicated that 42.2 per cent of the persons interviewed did not feel it was our war at all, as compared with 54.0 per cent who felt that American interests were sufficiently at stake so that we should back England, while only 10.7 per cent favored active intervention against Germany.[47] The same poll of the same date indicated that 46.5 per cent of those interviewed did not want to fight Japan, while only 37.2 per cent were interested in military intervention against the Japanese[48]. Feeling against Russia and Germany was 39.7 per cent and 40.5 per cent, respectively, in the October, 1941, Fortune poll[49]. However, the government leaders were aligning the country against the old enemy of 1917-1918. Kirchway pointed out that suppression of selected news is a form of propaganda, and that was what the government was doing[50]. The War Department imposed censorship in connection with its "defense" program after the fall of France[51]. However, press censorship was denied by President Roosevelt and Secretary Knox[52].

At the outbreak of war, America wanted to stay out of the conflict.

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46. Cantril, Hadley; "Opinion Trends in World War II, Some Guides to Interpretation", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1945, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 37.
47. Report of the Fortune poll; Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1942, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 149.
48. Ibid., p. 150.
49. Ibid., p. 152.
50. The New York Times, January 18, 1940, p. 24.
51. Ibid., June 14, 1940, p. 12.
52. Ibid., April 9, 1941, p. 12.

American ships were forbidden to enter zones of combat. Citizens were refused passports to travel in belligerent countries. The Gallup poll of February, 1941, showed that 61 per cent of the respondents would not favor declaring war on Germany even if American ships with American crews were sunk while convoying aid to England[53].

The fall of Norway, Denmark, Holland, France, and other countries alarmed us. Government vigilance was translated into action. The Federal Alien Registration Act of 1940 was passed without serious debate. The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 became the nation's first peacetime draft. The Research and Analysis Branch of the Bureau of Public Relations of the War Department was established and it prospered well. The Special Defense Unit of the Department of Justice watched the foreign language press. The Office of Government Reports, established in 1939, was busy with war-connected information. In 1941 was established the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service. The Department of Agriculture was especially active in sampling public opinion, and reported agreement with administration policy. In the spring of 1941, the Office of Civilian Defense was established.

In the summer of 1941, the Office of Facts and Figures was established to facilitate the dissemination of factual information to the public on the progress of the defense effort and on defense policies and activities of the government[54]. In practice, the OFF

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53. May, Mark A.; A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE, New Haven, 1943, p. 237.
54. Kane, R. Kieth; "The O.F.F.", Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer, 1942, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 209.

served to implement the policies adopted by the Committee on War Information and to execute programs in conformity with policy decisions. The OFF worked in cooperation with the Office of Government Reports and the Office of Censorship[55].

It is obvious that the government propagandized intensively during the prewar period. "Defense" was the keyword when there was little actual danger of attack, and when a substantial number of the citizens did not feel that it was our struggle and did not want to involve ourselves in war. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis compared the pacifist movement in 1917 with the pacifist movement during the prewar period[56]. Apparently, isolationism is the "wrong" stand to take when wars are so easily precipitated. Even such outstanding men as Eduard C. Lindeman and P. H. Douglas recognized this when they felt obliged to resign as directors of the American Institute of Propaganda Analysis when it was alleged that the institute was criticizing Roosevelt's "defense" policies[57].

British propaganda during the prewar period was aimed at establishing American confidence in British arms, and made an especial point in following American opinion[58]. There was an accent on common interests, and a progressively increasing number of appeals for aid. German propaganda broadcasts in the prewar period began

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55. Ibid., p. 211.
56. The New York Times, January 20, 1941, p. 19.
57. Ibid., May 31, 1941, p. 13.
58. Graves, Harold N.; "Propaganda by Short Wave: London Calling America", Public Opinion Quarterly, March, 1941, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 38-51.

in an attempt to create American sympathy for the German position. They were aimed at first at creating a feeling of intimacy. Subsequently, however, as American opinion swung against them, German broadcasts aimed at creating a suspiciousness of Britain, attacking American "war-mongers", and fomenting class struggles in America[59].

The United States was mobilizing psychological defense to meet the threat of a shooting war long before it came to America. The United States government during the prewar era admittedly and cleverly campaigned to muster national support for a foreign policy based on the premise that the nation will not be safe "until the war is won", presumably by the Allies[60]. A Defense Savings Bond program was in May, 1941, which collected a billion-and-a-half dollars, and this campaign brought a knowledge of the defense savings program to practically every resident of the United States[61]. The goal of this drive was "the enlistment in national defense of every man, woman and child in the United States"[62]. It was at this time, May, 1941, that pro-interventionist newspaper sentiment reached its peak, and it started to decline during the summer months of 1941. Opening of the Russo-German war on June 22, 1941, and American

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59. Graves, Harold N.; "Propaganda by Short Wave: Berlin Calling America", Public Opinion Quarterly, December, 1940, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 601-619.
60. McMillan, George; "Government Publicity and the Impact of War", Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1941, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 383-398.
61. See Odegard, Peter H., and Barth, Alan; "Millions for Defense", Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1941, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 399-411.
62. Ibid., p. 411.

occupation of Iceland were overt aggressive acts that stimulated sympathetic aggression and interventionist sentiment[63].

The prewar period, then, was used by the governmental leaders to align America with our former Allies of 1917-1918. This was successfully achieved despite the fact that a large segment of the population was of isolationist view. As was previously indicated, at the outbreak of war, nearly 60 per cent of the people thought we had made a mistake in entering the first World War. The alignment of America with its former Allies, however, was done admirably well in view of the dissention. Prior to entering the war, a typical study showed that students at Grinnell College and Washington State were equally suspicious of England's motives as they were of any other country[64]. Adolf Hitler's speech at Nuremberg on September 12, 1938, which precipitated the Czechoslovakian crisis and the Munich Conference on September 26, 1938, constituted an important turning point in American public opinion. The opening of World War II on September 1, 1939, with the British declaration of war on Germany assisted in mobilizing and channelizing personalized aggressions in America. Many boys joined Canadian service. American "neutrality" had become a legal myth. America had become by 1940 the "Arsenal of Democracy".

Wartime Propaganda

When American participation in World War II was precipitated

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63. See Twohey, James S.; "An Analysis of Newspaper Opinion on War Issues", Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1941, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 448-455.
64. Henderson, Mack T., and Timnes, Betty; "A Study of National Morale", Journal of Social Psychology, February, 1944, Vol. 19, pp. 241-247.

by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, American psychological warfare had already been fairly effective. The Office of Facts and Figures had already prepared the government's view of Denmark's occupation and Norway's hopeless defense. The Battle of France and the evacuation at Dunkerque had been enough to spread alarm. Censorship of news had begun for purposes of national security. The OFF was to frame all defense information[65].

However, national unity was conspicuously missing in the early stages of the war[66]. The OFF and the British-American Ambulance Corps launched separate anti-loose-talk poster campaigns[67]. President Roosevelt warned against rumor-mongering, and linked it with Axis propaganda, as did E. M. Delafield[68]. The United States system of witholding adverse news was criticized by several sources[69]. The effort to harmonize news and information was unsuccessful in the early stages of the conflict[70].

President Roosevelt established the Office of War Information, henceforth referred to as OWI, to "screen" news releases. This office was established by Executive Order 9182, dated June 13, 1942, which actually amalgamated the Office of Facts and Figures, the Office

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65. The New York Times, January 22, 1942, p. 11.
66. See Conrad, H.S., and Sanford, R.N.; "Some Specific War-Attitudes of College Students", Journal of Psychology, January, 1944, Vol. 17, pp. 153-185.
67. See The New York Times, January 30, 1942, p. 18; and February 8, 1942, p. 28.
68. The New York Times, February 24, 1942, p. 1; and May 3, 1942, part VII, p. 14.
69. See The New York Times, February 8, 1942, part IV, p. 3; June 2, 1942, p. 21.
70. The New York Times, February 15, 1942, part IV, p. 3.

of Government Reports, the Division of Information in the Office for Emergency Management, and the Foreign Information Service of the Coordinator of Information (subsequently the Office of Strategic Services)[71]. The Donovan agency's psychological warfare branch became the nucleus of OWI overseas, while the Domestic Branch of OWI had been made up of the above and other offices. The OWI was made the central news agency. The OWI had the problem of strengthening domestic morale, combatting enemy propaganda, and solidifying friendship ties with our allies. Elmer Davis, director of the OWI, considered his agency and auxillary to the armed forces. He considered it his job to counter enemy propaganda, and "not only to tell the American people how the war is going, but where it is going and where it came from--its nature and origins, how our government is conducting it, and what (besides national security) our government hopes to get out of victory"[72]. Because news is voluminous, and often confusing, general surveys were issued from time to time by the OWI to tell the people how the total picture appeared at any one time. Davis admitted that this was propaganda, but defended it by mentioning that propaganda is an instrument which may use truth or falsehoods, and by inviting anyone else to analyze the news if it should appear different than reported[73]. Of course, if one were to have accepted that challenge, it would have been difficult to avail himself of the original news items which were to be screened by the OWI. It is noted

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71. Hawkins, Lester G., and Pettee, George; "OWI--Organization and Problems", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1943, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 16.
72. Davis, Elmer; "OWI Has a Job", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1943, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 8.
73. Ibid., p. 9.

that a dominant early note in OWI propaganda was that of America's war potential.

One of the most important divisions of the OWI was the news service which "will take the news from enemy sources and set it in its proper relation to the facts of what is going on, with the background and any necessary correctives; so that the antidote comes along with the poison"[74]. Approximately $37,000,000 was spent for the first year of operation of the OWI, of which $9,500,000 was for the job of home information. The Domestic Branch of OWI prepared and issued war information through all channels of communication and reviewed, cleared and coordinated war information work of all federal agencies and departments[75]. While the overseas work of OWI was more important for purposes of this study.

The Domestic Branch of OWI considered it a duty to make itself so adequate both in reputation and facilities that the government could be heard and believed above the confusion[76]. Two principles were considered fundamental; (1) that only the truth should be released, and (2) that the OWI has a status of a war agency existing for the sole purpose of winning the war[77]. The coordination and issuance of news and the guidance and counsel provided other agencies was directed toward achieving national security and maintaining civilian morale. The News Bureau cleared all news releases. The

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74. Ibid., p. 9.
75. Hawkins, op. cit., p. 21.
76. Feller, A.H.; "OWI on the Home Front", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1943, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 56.
77. Ibid., p. 57-58.

Bureau of Publications and Graphics prepared the pamphlets and posters on war topics. Some of the pamphlets were The Unconquered People, Four Freedoms, The Thousand Million, and Your War and Your Wages. The Radio Bureau screened programs and presented sketches and scripts to maintain civilian morale. The Bureau of Motion Pictures assisted in presenting the most effective view of wartime problems through the cinema, and developed "orientation" films. The Bureau of Special Operations controlled channels of communication not covered by other bureaus, such as direct mail inquiries, foreign language press, schools and colleges, groups and forums, and other media. Feller says, "In a war which involves all the energies of all the people neither the straight reporting of events nor inspirational interpretation of policies and aimes is enough"[78]. The Bureau of Campaigns handled such activities as war bond drives, salvage collection, aluminum drives, rubber drives, scrap metal drives, register-for-a--war-job drive, conserve fuel drive, share-the-ride drive, and other campaigns. The Field Service handled the problems of information in local territories. The Bureau of Intelligence kept the entire office informed of gaps in public information, the state of public opinion, and the effectiveness of operations in clearing up misunderstanding and eliminating ignorance.

The work of the Bureau of Campaigns was highly important in the mobilization of aggression. Six war bond drives and some salvage

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78. Ibid., p. 64.

collection drives gave the non-combattant public a sense of participation in the war effort. This function was also performed by such agencies as the Office of Defense Transportation, Office of Price Administration, War Production Board, War Manpower Commission, Civilian Air Patrol, Office of Civilian Defense, and similar agencies, public and private. There was even the formulation of the Advertising Council representing advertisers, agencies, and media, for the purpose of creating machinery for more efficient use of commercial radio in the government's propaganda campaigns[79]. All was aimed at mobilizing aggression.

The work of the OWI, however, was criticized. OWI "red tape" in the news bureau was scored for holding up news[80]. Lack of news of military or naval action was criticized[81]; Wendell Wilkie attacked United States' censorship policies, and a Senate investigation was threatened[82]. The government's answer to criticism came from the U. S. Censorship Office, which warned against revealing military secrets[83].

Of major importance in actively mobilizing aggression in the populace was the work of the Bureau of Campaigns. From May 1, 1941, to September 30, 1944, $178,800,000 had been spent on war bond campaigning over radio, $76,688,000 on newspaper advertising,

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79. Ackerman, William C.; "U.S.Radio: Record of a Decade", Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1948, Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 445.
80. The New York Times, September 12, 1942, p. 7.
81. Ibid., August 23, 1942, part IV, p. 3.
82. Ibid., December 1, 1942, p. 31; and December 8, 1942, p. 3.
83. Ibid., December 27, 1942, p. 7.

$24,664,000 on magazines, $19,486,000 on outdoor advertising, and $570,000 on car cards[84].

Combatting rumors was an important task for OWI. The OWI rumor-fighting department had a most difficult job[85]. Rumors were rampant during the war. They impair public morale and confidence, and in many instances may be deliberate enemy propaganda devices. Many of the rumors in the United States during the war were traced back to axis short-wave broadcasts. Knapp defines rumor as a "proposition for belief of topical reference disseminated without official verification"[86]. He classified rumors as (1) the pipe-dream or wish rumor, such as "The Japanese do not have enough oil to last six months", (2) the bogie rumor, such as, "Several thousand bodies of soldiers have washed up off the town of X", and (3) the wedge-driving or aggression rumor, such as "Churchill blackmailed Roosevelt into provoking war with Japan"[87]. The effectiveness of rumor can be a measure of the morale and integration of a group. Rumors seem to reflect public opinion spontaneously. Rumors spread only when they satisfy by giving information and when some credence is given their contents. Rumor may be a defense against anxiety. All the defense mechanisms--rationalization, projection, etc.--play their parts in the acceptance of rumor and the success of propaganda. Knapp gives the following characteristics of a "good rumor-monger"; (1) exhibitionism,

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84. Ackerman, William C.; "The Dimensions of American Broadcasting", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1945, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 14.
85. See The New York Times, January 1, 1943, p. 22; and January 24, 1943, part VII, p. 18.
86. Knapp, Robert H.; "A Psychology of Rumor", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1944, Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 22.
87. Ibid., p. 23-24.

(2) bestowing a favor by informing friends of impending danger, (3) reassurance and emotional support, (4) aggression, and (5) projection of subjective conflicts[88]. It has been in the province of the OWI to combat rumors, as well as building and supporting morale in a constructive way.

The importance of censorship during wartime, even in minor matters, was forcefully demonstrated by Riggs when he pieced three innocent telegrams together to give militarily important meteorological information[89]. Perry described the importance of propaganda in building grim determination, but he insists that propaganda in a democracy is not to "mold" public opinion[90]. Propaganda's task in this war was one of building grim determination, and the criticisms of American public complacency seem to be official expressions of disappointment in the achieving of their propagandistic aims. It has been mentioned before that the public was divided in sentiment as to the entry of this country into the war in the first place. Kris points out that men entered this war in sadness, and as far as the soldiers were concerned, a new type of propaganda had to be used[91]. Talking down was no longer effective. They had to explain.

A technique of dealing with immigrant groups that was used in government groadcasts is demonstrated in a study of the Italian

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88. Ibid., p. 34.
89. Riggs, Arthur Stanley; "Of Value to the Enemy", Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1942, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 367-377.
90. Perry, John; "War Propaganda for Democracy", Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1942, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 437-443.
91. Kris, Ernst; "Some Problems of War Propaganda: A Note on Propaganda New and Old", Psychoanalytic Quarterly, July, 1943, Vol. 12, pp. 381-399.

immigrant. It was pointed out that propaganda should be directed toward (1) the power and potentiality of the United States, and (2) the falsity and weakness of the Fascist regime in Italy without denouncing Italy as a country[92].

Censorship and the work of OWI were subjected to criticism that became bitter toward the middle and end of the war. Captain Rickenbacker claimed that American complacency was due to witholding of bad news[93]. Hoyt urged more "realism" in reporting war news[94]. Koestler cited American failure to make the public aware of German atrocities[95]. A congressional investigation was threatened[96]. Congress finally cut the activities of the Domestic Branch of OWI, and regional offices were closed[97]. Even President Roosevelt had admitted bewilderment from conflicting statements in the press[98]. The war correspondents had expressed astonishment at censor's quirks when the home press revealed guarded secrets[99]. The U. S. Office of Censorship finally asked for a moratorium on censorship gossip[100], and the United States and Great Britain agreed to ease censorship after the cessation of hostilities in Europe[101].

The completeness and effectiveness of the concerted drive for

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92. Smith, Jeanette Sayre; "Broadcasting for Marginal Americans", Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter, 1942, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 588-603.
93. The New York Times, March 20, 1943, p. 13.
94. Ibid., December 28, 1943, p. 6.
95. Ibid., January 20, 1944, part VI, p. 5.
96. Ibid., June 16, 1943, p. 13.
97. Ibid., July 1, 1943, p. 1; and July 11, 1943, p. 36.
98. Ibid., July 27, 1943, p. 4.
99. Ibid., February 2, 1944, p. 9.
100. Ibid., January 20, 1944, p. 6.
101. Ibid., December 1, 1944, p. 9.

the mobilization of aggression is emphasized by the need of educators to defend freedom of instruction and speech[102]. Cherington felt that the means of shaping and controlling public opinion had been so strengthened and modernized, while the means for expressing this opinion and giving it contact with government processes have remained backward to such an extent that it is of serious concern to democracy[103]. Some writers were so enthused about the success of the government's propaganda campaigns that they have urged a full-time governmental propaganda agency[104].

Postwar Propaganda

After the surrender of Germany on May 8, 1945, the OWI met even greater resistance than it had previously experienced. The House of Representatives slashed the budget appropriation for OWI[105]. Senator Robert Taft (R) of Ohio urged the ending of all OWI except Pacific services. Finally, President Harry S. Truman ordered the end of OWI after V-J Day[106], which occurred on September 2, 1945. Elmer Davis resigned, and OWI was subsequently liquidated. The last that was heard of OWI was that it would end two months ahead of schedule[107].

After the end of the war in Europe, also, SHAEF (Supreme

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102. See Cerf, Walter; "Freedom of Instruction in War Time", Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter, 1942, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 576-587.
103. Cherington, Paul T.; "Our Freedoms and Our Opinions", Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter, 1942, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 617-621.
104. Pollard, John A.; "Words are Cheaper than Blood", Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall, 1945, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 283-304.
105. The New York Times, June 9, 1945, p. 1.
106. Ibid., September 1, 1945, p. 1.
107. Ibid., October 24, 1945, p. 9.

Headquarters American European Forces) announced a policy of censoring only that European news which might be of value to the Japanese. At this time, the army was accused of actual censorship by the device of annoying and apparently unnecessary regulation as to the dress, conduct and activities of correspondents[108]. Censorship continued in foreign areas where military government obtained, but it was rapidly eliminated in the United States. Radio programs stressed training and travel rather than patriotism as an incentive to promote enlistments in the postwar army and navy.

While censorship and propaganda in the United States was lifted after the war, there was discontent because it was not lifted fast enough[109]. In January, 1946, a controversy arose over the sending of American news abroad through the State Department. Associated Press and United Press wanted free access to the news by everyone, since the war was over. Dean Carl W. Ackerman, Dean of Columbia University School of Journalism, wrote to President Truman in part as follows: "Peoples throughout the world are sick, cynical and skeptical of all propaganda. This is no time for the United States government to offer American-made patent medicine in the hope that it will cure everybody or anybody. Today is the time for our government to scrap official propaganda"[110]. He continued, "Government propaganda is governmental selection of what is news",

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108. Ibid., January 2, 1946.
109. Ibid., January 15, 1946, p. 24.
110. Ibid., January 25, 1946, p. 19.

and that during the war our propaganda had an official flavor because it was cluttered up with speeches and statements of a partisan character, and that governmental use and distribution of news produces an official tone for the information sent, with the news taking on a different emphasis that shapes public opinion and may shape policy.

Associated Press shut off its supply of news to the State Department's foreign information services. The explanation was prefaced as follows: "The Associated Press stands committed to the principle of freedom of access to the news and to the free flow of news throughout the world"[111]. The flow of news to the State Department was stopped because of the government's propensity to select what is news according to its policies. The State Department objected. William Benton, Assistant Secretary of State, accused the Associated Press of (1) fearing governmental competition, (2) the desire to score a sales advantage over United Press, and (3) plain dislike of the government[112].

About the same time, Edwin L. James, managing editor of The New York Times, at the annual Phi Beta Kappa address at Vassar College, stated that the press in the United States is good, "If we admit the premise that the true role of the press is to report what goes on in the world, without trying to prove anything except

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111. Ibid., January 15, 1946, p. 1.
112. Ibid., April 1, 1946, p. 46.

on the editorial pages, and making the great effort to mirror the progress of humanity"[113].

About the time of the State Department versus Associated Press controversy, the State Department was told in a 135-page report prepared by Dr. Arthur W. MacMahon that the curbing of propaganda should be one of the United States' minimum objectives in any international agreement aimed at increasing the flow of information between countries[114].

As late as December, 1946, Dr. Robert E. Cushman feared that freedom of the press was threatened by war measures, and cited the restriction of freedom of speech in the Alien Registration Act of 1940, which has made "witch-hunting" big business[115].

During the postwar period, propaganda drives were curbed energetically. Freedom of the press, speech, and thought was publically encouraged. Communications news involved legal decisions against restrictions. The famous "Port Huron case" was decided on January 30, 1948, when the Federal Communications Commission ruled that radio stations have no right to censor libelous material from political speeches once it has agreed to broadcast the speeches[116]. On March 1, 1948, the F.C.C. opened hearings to review the "Mayflower Decision" of 1941, which prevented radio owners and

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113. Ibid., January 25, 1946, p. 21.
114. Ibid., January 6, 1946, p. 23.
115. Ibid., December 16, 1946, p. 25.
116. Ackerman, William C.; "U.S.Radio: Record of a Decade", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 451.

managers, as distinguished from commentators, from editorializing[117].

Another phase of postwar propagandistic thinking was in evaluating what had happened. Strieb generalized in such an evaluation that World War II propaganda was less idealistic, patriotic, and emotionalized than was that in World War I[118]. Speier emphasized the need for coordination of political, military, socio-psychological, and technical thought, and particularly the need for administrative coordination that was so lacking in the second world war, and without which propaganda may be useless in a third world war[119].

Postwar propaganda in the United States assumed the role of governmental information services of a factual nature, such as that of the Department of Agriculture[120]. Greater use of governmental information, such as that of the Bureau of the Census reports, the U. S. Department of Justice publications, and U. S. Printing Office documents has proved to be advantageous to farmers, sociologists, penologists, industrialists, and many others. Fitzpatrick reported that despite criticism, most Washington correspondents have come to rely on the government information man for assistance[121].

The postwar period, then, forces a sharp decline in propaganda drives. Propaganda and censorship was eliminated in the United States

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117. Ibid., p. 451.
118. Strieb, Gordon F.; "Idealism and War Bonds: Comparative Study of the Two World Wars", Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer, 1948, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 272-279.
119. Speier, Hans; "The Future of Psychological Warfare", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1948, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 5-18.
120. See Harding, T. Swann; "Genesis of One 'Government Propaganda Mill'", Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer, 1947, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 227-236.
121. Fitzpatrick, Dick; "Public Information Activities of Government Agencies", Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter, 1947, Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 539.

for all practical purposes, though the State Department took over some of the functions of the defunct OWI. Short wave broadcasts to foreign countries were continued on a limited scale by the State Department and its "Voice of America". However, for the American public, official propaganda on a formal basis had ended. Quasi-official pressure continued within continental United States on an anti-communist ideological note. The House Un-American Activities Committee, Governor Kim Sigler of Michigan, and other politicians and political organizations began "ferreting out" communists and carrying out their own anti-communist campaigns. These were relatively unorganized random aggressive movements, which, while some may have had the favor of the State Department, were not official expressions of the government.

Summary

Propaganda in World War II went through three definite temporal stages. The prewar era found our government leaders issuing statements and news designed to align America with its Allies of 1917-1918. The country was divided between isolationist and interventionist sentiment. Public opinion in America had been almost truly neutral until the Czechoslovakian crisis and the Munich Conference of 1938, when there was a swing against Germany. Following that swing, our political leaders aligned their foreign policy with England and France until American neutrality was a farce, and we were the "Arsenal of Democracy". The Office of Facts and Figures and the Office of Censorship carried out the policy of coaxing support for this foreign policy.

Propaganda during the war was active but not always coordinated. The Office of War Information censored news, issued interpretations, withheld news, and sometimes made so much news of statements of minor statesmen when more important news was available that an "official" flavor was obvious. American wartime propaganda has been judged all the way from "highly effective" to "incompetent". As in so many other areas, truth may lie between the extremes. At any rate, the purpose of wartime propaganda was to mobilize the aggressions in the American populace so as to obtain the maximum effort for the prosecution of the war.

The postwar era brought an abrupt end to propaganda in America. Herein lies a phase of the hypothesis of this study. From 1938 to the end of the war in 1945, there were propaganda drives of official nature. With the lifting of these propaganda drives, the mobilized aggression of the populace has no channelized outlet. The release of mobilized aggression must continue, even if at an abated rate from that experienced in wartime. In public, this release may continue in senate investigations, the House Un-American Activities Committee, investigations and re-investigations of the prison system in Michigan, auto dealers, violations of the Hatch Act in political party financing, and other investigations. The release of aggressions may also continue in crime patterns.

Chapter IV

COURTS OF SENTENCE AND RESIDENTIAL BACKGROUNDS OF PERSONS COMMITTED TO MICHIGAN'S PRISONS

Population shifts during wartime were marked. As stated by the U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Never before in the history of our country had there been so great a shuffling and redistribution of population in so short a time"[122]. The same report stated that the volume of civilian migration during the war was roughly two-thirds greater than that during the prewar period 1935-1940, the annual average figures being 4,700,000 and 2,800,000, respectively. About 7,800,000, or more than half the migrants, crossed State lines[123]. In the total picture, the West gained 1,200,000, while the South lost 900,000 and the North lost 300,000[124]. About 1,000,000 migrants moved from South to North, while 600,000 moved from North to South[125].

Michigan's population during the war years remained fairly static on a plateau reached in 1940, and rose sharply after the war. By November 1, 1943, Michigan's net loss of manpower to the armed services was 392,441. The natural increase was estimated at 232,425 between 1940 and 1943, and the net migration gain was 813,000, second only to California in terms of volume of increase[127]. The

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122. Bureau of the Census; Civilian Migration in the United States: December, 1941, to March, 1945, Series P-S, No. 5, p. 1.
123. Ibid., p. 1.
124. Ibid., p. 1.
125. Ibid., p. 2.
126. Bureau of the Census; Interstate Migration and Other Population Changes: 1940 to 1943, P-44, No. 17, August 28, 1944, p. 3.
127. Bureau of the Census; Estimates of the Population of the United States, By Regions, Divisions, and States: July 1, 1940 to 1947, Series P-25, No. 12, p. 1.

States with the greatest relative gains in population during this period were California (42.1 per cent), Oregon (41.8 per cent), Washington (35.8 per cent), District of Columbia (29.8 per cent), Arizona (26.4 per cent), and Florida (22.7 per cent), while Michigan showed a relative increase of 15.5 per cent[128]. By July 1, 1947, Michigan's net loss of manpower to the armed services had dropped to 72,000[129]. The estimated average annual net migration gains for Michigan were estimated at 36,000 during the prewar period between April 1, 1940 to June 30, 1941; 71,000 through the war period to June 30, 1945; and 24,000 during the postwar period from July 1, 1945, to June 30, 1947[130].

The areas in Michigan in which these migrants reside were largely industrial and agricultural, as distinguished from other economic areas in Michigan, such as cutover, timber, mining, and fishing. Population movements and shifts in industrial activity could well be reflected in the number of commitments from respective economic areas. The distribution of the industrial, agricultural, and other economic areas of Michigan add significance to the proportionate number of commitments from the different counties.

Courts of Sentence

Population movements in Michigan have not been so adequately recorded that population trends can be studied exactly. However, the

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128. Ibid., p. 10.
129. Ibid., p. 6.
130. Ibid., p. 9.

county courts from which men were sentenced show the general vicinity in which takes place the social interaction of the men involved. Hence, comparison of the courts of sentence during prewar, wartime, demobilitory-postwar, and postwar periods may at least suggest the direction of shifts in population activity during and after the war. A tabulation of the commitments from each of Michigan's 83 counties and two city courts in the prewar, wartime, demobilitory-postwar, and postwar periods is presented in Table 2, along with the tabulation of the 1940 population, according to the 1940 census.

Table 2

Number of New Prisoners Received from Michigan Courts During Prewar, Wartime, Demobilitory-Postwar, and Postwar Periods

County	1940 Census	Prewar 1939	Wartime 1943-4 annual average	Demobilitory 1945-6 annual average	Postwar 1947
Alcona	5,463	7	1.5	1.0	1
Alger	10,167	3	4.0	4.5	4
Allegan	41,839	21	3.5	11.0	8
Alpena	20,766	4	4.0	6.0	6
Antrim	10,964	4	2.0	5.0	2
Arenac	9,233	2	1.5	0.5	2
Baraga	9,356	10	7.5	1.0	11
Barry	22,613	5	5.5	8.0	4
Benzie	7,800	6	3.5	2.0	9
Bay	74,981	43	21.5	22.5	28
Berrien	89,117	59	42.5	36.0	53
Branch	25,845	15	11.0	12.0	2
Calhoun	94,206	54	71.0	70.5	65
Cass	21,910	11	9.0	6.5	11
Charlevoix	13,031	16	1.5	7.5	11
Cheboygan	13,644	5	7.5	6.0	5
Chippewa	27,807	15	6.5	14.0	14
Clare	9,163	9	6.0	4.5	3
Clinton	26,671	8	7.0	7.5	6
Crawford	3,765	5	0.5	0.0	4
Delta	34,037	5	7.0	4.5	9
Dickinson	28,731	12	4.5	4.5	3
Eaton	34,124	24	11.0	15.0	10
Emmet	15,791	4	4.0	5.5	6
Genesee	227,944	110	86.5	100.0	110

Gladwin	9,385	4	0.0	1.0	6
Gogebic	31,797	13	5.5	3.5	9
Grand Traverse	23,390	11	7.5	19.5	31
Gratiot	32,205	19	10.5	3.5	12
Hillsdale	29,092	11	9.0	7.5	7
Houghton	47,631	14	3.0	6.0	4
Huron	32,584	11	2.0	4.5	5
Ingham	130,616	104	120.0	125.5	118
Ionia	35,710	39	27.5	34.0	33
Iosco	8,560	9	4.0	6.0	3
Iron	20,243	8	2.0	3.5	4
Isabella	25,982	15	4.5	7.0	7
Jackson	93,108	98	92.0	76.0	107
Kalamazoo	100,085	63	54.0	59.5	46
Kalkaska	5,159	2	0.0	0.5	13
Kent	246,338	26	19.0	29.0	35
S.C.G.R.		103	34.5	84.5	89
Keweenaw	4,004	2	0.0	2.0	0
Lake	4,798	6	1.5	4.5	2
Lapeer	32,116	7	10.5	10.5	8
Leelenau	8,436	3	2.0	2.5	3
Lenawee	53,110	38	21.0	18.5	31
Livingston	20,863	4	4.0	3.5	4
Luce	7,423	2	2.0	3.0	5
Mackinac	9,438	7	2.5	0.5	3
Macomb	107,638	47	29.5	31.5	18
Manistee	18,450	9	5.0	8.5	7
Marquette	47,144	9	17.5	15.0	36
Mason	19,378	11	3.5	7.5	2
Mecosta	16,902	14	3.5	7.5	13
Menominee	24,883	5	5.0	4.5	8
Midland	27,094	7	8.0	9.0	13
Missaukee	8,034	4	2.0	3.0	2
Monroe	58,620	46	26.0	27.5	38
Montcalm	28,581	11	15.5	17.0	22
Montmorency	3,840	3	0.5	3.5	3
Muskegon	94,501	39	42.5	42.5	53
Newaygo	19,286	9	8.0	10.0	14
Oakland	254,068	85	72.5	89.0	96
Oceana	14,812	19	6.0	6.5	8
Ogemaw	8,720	2	1.5	1.5	2
Ontonagon	11,359	4	0.5	0.5	2
Osceola	13, 309	1	3.5	6.5	5
Oscoda	2,543	2	3.0	1.0	0
Otsego	5,827	5	1.0	0.5	5
Ottawa	59,660	32	11.0	15.0	11
Presque Isle	12,250	4	3.5	1.0	2
Roscommon	3,668	4	0.0	3.5	2
Saginaw	130,468	49	43.5	50.0	36
St. Clair	76,222	33	31.5	32.5	31
St. Joseph	31,749	14	5.5	12.5	11
Sanilac	30,114	2	3.5	7.0	14

Schoolcraft	9,524	9	5.0	7.5	7
Shiawassee	41,207	3	5.5	9.0	10
Tuscola	35,694	20	10.5	7.0	9
VanBuren	35,111	14	9.5	15.0	11
Washtenaw	80,810	37	49.0	42.5	53
Wayne	2,015,623	96	82.5	82.5	54
Recorder's Court		998	998.5	1,094.5	954
Wexford	17,976	12	8.0	10.5	5
TOTALS		2,724	2,286.5	2,554.5	2,529

Inspection of this table suggests a movement from upper peninsula and upstate cutover areas toward the industrial centers during and after the war. From the ecological or economic standpoint, Michigan can be divided into upper peninsula cutover timber and mining counties, the upstate cutover timber counties, the predominantly agricultural counties, the industrial counties, and Wayne county, which includes Detroit. The same division used by Wiers in his study of Michigan delinquency[131] can be used for purposes of this study. His classification of counties was as follows:

1. Upper peninsula cutover timber and mining counties: Alger, Baraga, Chippewa, Delta, Dickinson, Gogebic, Houghton, Iron, Keweenaw, Luce, Mackinac, Marquette, Menominee, Ontonagon, and Schoolcraft.

2. Upstate cutover timber counties: Alcona, Alpena, Antrim, Benzie, Charlevoix, Cheboygan, Clare, Crawford, Emmet, Grand Traverse, Iosco, Kalkaska, Lake, Leelanau, Manistee, Mason, Missaukee, Montmorency, Ogemaw, Osceola, Oscoda, Otsego, Presque Isle, Roscommon, and Wexford.

3. Agricultural counties: Allegan, Arenac, Barry, Branch, Cass, Clinton, Eaton, Gladwin, Gratiot, Hillsdale, Huron, Ionia, Isabella, Lapeer, Lenawee, Livingston, Mecosta, Midland, Montcalm, Newaygo, Oceana, St. Joseph, Sanilac, Shiawassee, Tuscola, and VanBuren.

4. Industrial counties: Bay, Berrien, Calhoun, Genesee, Ingham, Jackson, Kalamazoo, Kent, Macomb, Monroe, Muskegon, Oakland, Ottawa, Saginaw, St. Clair, and Washtenaw.

5. Wayne county, including Detroit.

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131. Wiers, Paul; ECONOMIC FACTORS IN MICHIGAN DELINQUENCY, New York, 1944, p. 13.

Table 3 shows the commitments from counties in Table 2 classified in economic areas.

Table 3

Number of New Prisoners Recieved from Courts in Different Socio--economic Areas in Michigan During Prewar, Wartime, Demobilitory--Postwar Periods

Economic Area	1940 Census	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average	1947
Upper peninsula cutover	323,524	118	72.5	74.5	119
Upstate cutover	264,725	147	78.0	118.0	134
Agricultural	733,832	337	213.5	251.0	281
Industrial	1,918,382	1,028	841.5	934.0	987
Wayne county	2,015,623	1,094	1,076.0	1,177.0	1,008
TOTALS		2,724	2,286.5	2,554.5	2,529

It is noted that there was a proportionate decrease in the number of prison commitments from the upper peninsula and upstate cutover areas, and some drop in the agricultural areas. Commitments from the industrial areas remained proportionately steady, while the commitments from densly populated Wayne county showed a proportionate increase. This suggests a rise in number of crimes resulting from increased social interaction. Postwar numbers of commitments seem to be approximately up to prewar levels in all except the agricultural areas.

In some areas where the influx of new workers was apparent, special censuses were taken. Besides specific censuses in smaller communities, it was found that by June, 1944, Muskegon county showed an increase in population of 14.4 per cent over the 1940 census[132]. Romulus Twp., Wayne county, increased 86.9 per cent from 1940 to

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132. U.S. Bureau of the Census; Special Censuses Conducted by the Bureau of the Census Since 1940, Series P-SC, No. 183, October 15, 1946, p. 3.

July 16, 1945, undoubtedly because of increased activity caused by the large air base there during the war[133]. While surrounded by industrial areas, no specific industry located at Royal Oak, and the population decreased 57.3 per cent, but part of this decrease was caused by the incorporation of Hazel Park, formerly included in Royal Oak Twp. figures[134]. In the postwar period, industry flourished in Pontiac and Oakland county, particularly in the automobile industry. The population of Oakland county increased 32.4 per cent from 1940 to January28, 1947[135]. However, there were no significant numerical increases in prison commitments from these areas.

Residential backgrounds of the commitments are given in terms of population of home town or residence, rather than by cities, because of clarity of presentation. The courts of sentence may be a relatively good index of residence in respective counties. The residential backgrounds in terms of population for prewar, wartime, and demobilitory--postwar periods are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Populations of Places of Residence of New Prisoners in Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Population of town of residence	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average
Rural	395	679.0	235.5
1,000 to 5,000	116	142.5	223.5
5,000 to 10,000	131	140.5	259.0
10,000 to 50,000	356	270.0	336.5
50,000 to 100,000	247	203.0	304.5
100,000 to 250,000	236	183.0	189.5
Over 250,000	1,098	580.0	949.0

133. Ibid., p. 4.
134. Ibid., p. 4.
135. U.S. Bureau of the Census; Special Censuses Conducted by the Bureau of the Census Since January 1, 1947, Series p-28, No. 235, September 5, 1947, p. 1.

These figures suggest a rise in number of commitments with rural residence during the war and a drop during the demobilitory-postwar period. The smaller cities experienced some drop during the war, and a rise during the demobilitory-postwar period. The larger cities also decreased somewhat in number of commitments during the war and demobilitory-postwar period. Residents of Wayne county were imprisoned on proportionately fewer occasions during the war, but the numbers rose to prewar proportions during the demobilitory-postwar period.

A comparison of the residential background data in Table 4 with the courts of sentence in Table 3 indicates that there must have been a temporary migration of individuals who live on farms to the industrial cities, particularly Detroit and Wayne county. Further, many of these farm residents were arrested in Detroit and the industrial centers and imprisoned, without having changed their rural residences. Simultaneously, it is apparent that many young men with residences in Detroit and other industrial centers were taken from the population for service in the army and navy.

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Population movements can be shown by determining the place of birth of persons in any specific area. Birthplaces of the white and Negro persons committed to Michigan prisons in the various periods studied are tabulated in Table 5.

Table 5

Birthplaces of New Prisoners Recieved in Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-postwar Periods

State	1939		1943-4 annual average		1945-6 annual average	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Alabama	14	69	7.5	99.0	10.0	109.5
Arizona	1	1	2.5	3.0	1.0	0.5

Arkansas	12	31	14.5	36.5	16.5	34.0
California	66	2	3.5	0.0	2.5	0.5
Colorado	2	1	3.5	1.5	1.0	0.5
Connecticut	4	0	2.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
Deleware	2	1	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
District of Columbia	0	1	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.5
Florida	3	26	3.0	17.5	2.5	15.0
Georgia	00	102	66.0	98.5	8.0	97.5
Idaho	1	0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
Illinois	101	11	65.0	17.0	68.0	18.0
Indiana	67	7	48.5	9.5	47.0	9.5
Iowa	17	2	7.0	4.5	9.0	2.0
Kansas	11	2	6.0	2.5	7.0	2.0
Kentucky	41	22	48.0	18.0	64.5	24.0
Louisiana	2	16	2.0	21.0	2.5	20.0
Maine	1	1	1.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
Maryland	1	2	3.5	1.5	4.5	0.5
Massachusetts	7	0	5.5	1.0	9.5	0.0
Michigan	1,200	58	884.0	103.5	1,052.0	126.0
Minnesota	24	0	13.0	0.0	9.0	1.5
Mississippi	5	31	6.0	52.0	6.5	56.5
Missouri	24	12	26.0	22.5	23.5	28.0
Montana	11	0	2.5	1.0	1.0	0.5
Nebraska	3	0	3.5	0.5	2.5	2.5
Nevada	0	0	2.0	0.0	2.5	0.0
New Hampshire	1	0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
New Jersey	13	0	12.0	1.5	6.0	1.0
New Mexico	0	0	1.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
New York	64	3	31.0	2.5	27.0	3.0
North Carolina	5	13	4.5	12.5	6.5	15.0
North Dakota	8	0	2.0	0.0	4.5	0.0
Ohio	123	28	67.5	24.0	72.5	30.0
Oklahoma	13	10	5.0	10.5	3.5	8.5
Oregon	3	0	0.5	0.0	1.5	0.0
Pennsylvania	84	9	45.5	7.5	51.0	6.5
Rhode Island	2	0	2.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
South Carolina	5	24	2.0	31.5	2.5	27.0
Tennessee	25	43	49.0	45.5	61.0	60.0
Texas	17	12	8.0	16.0	9.0	13.0
Utah	0	0	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
Vermont	2	0	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
Virginia	6	11	9.0	9.0	8.0	9.5
Washington	3	1	3.5	0.0	2.0	0.0
West Virginia	30	11	17.5	5.0	19.0	5.0
Wisconsin	30	0	21.5	1.5	23.5	1.0
Wyoming	1	1	2.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Canada	58	0	20.0	0.0	31.0	1.5
Foreign-born	125	4	59.5	4.0	63.0	3.5

Combining these figures into the regions used by the Bureau of

the Census to compute inter-State migration[136], it is apparent that the greatest in-migration as shown by nativity of new prisoners was from the South, with Negroes predominating. The data are shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Comparison of Michigan-born and In-Migrant Colored and White New Prisoners in Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Region	1939		1943-4 annual average		1945-6 annual average	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Northeastern States	178	24	101.0	12.5	98.0	9.5
Other North Central States	408	62	260.0	82.0	252.5	94.5
The South	173	424	187.0	477.5	225.0	496.5
The West	18	6	21.5	6.0	16.0	2.0
Totals	777	516	569.5	578.0	591.5	602.5
Yearly In-Migrant Totals	1,293		1,147.5		1,194.0	
Michigan-born	1,200	58	884.0	103.5	1,052.0	126.0
Yearly Michigan-born Totals	1,258		987.5		1,178.0	

According to these figures, there were actually fewer in-migrants sentenced to Michigan's prison system each year during the war and demobilitory-postwar periods than in the prewar period. A similar phenomenon occured to an even greater degree among men who were sentenced to prison for charges growing out of the Detroit race riot of 1943[137]. During the war and demobilitory-postwar period, there were more Negro in-migrants imprisoned than white in-migrants. In

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136. See Bureau of the Census; Civilian Migration in the United States: December, 1941, to March, 1945, Series P-S, No. 5, p. 8.

137. See Akers, Elmer R., and Fox, Vernon; "The Detroit Rioters and Looters Committed to Prison", The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, July-August, 1944, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 105-110.

Comparison with Michigan-born white commitments, fewer white in-migrants were imprisoned throughout the prewar,wartime, and demobilitory-postwar periods. In comparison with Michigan-born Negroes, a far greater number of in-migrant Negroes were imprisoned in Michigan throughout the prewar, wartime, and demobilitory-postwar periods. Further, the in-migrants ex ceeded Michigan-born persons in number of commitments to prison during all periods considered. This indicates that persons more stable from the standpoint of residence do not come in contact with law-enforcing agencies as frequently as do less stable migrants. It may be noted in this connection that Selling has reported that crime probably increases largely with "inferior types", and not because of any one group becoming more anti-social[138]. He maintains that wartime crimes have been committed by persons who were "basically anti-social" and only needed the extra stimulus of greater opportunity with a smaller chance of getting caught.

Conclusions

The unprecedented mobility of the migrant population, almost amounting to motility, had increased the social interaction in the areas in which an influx of migrants occured. This increased interaction, the heavier strain on recreational and service facilities would tend to increase irritation in the areas involved. In Michigan, some specific areas were in Muskegon, Washtenaw, Wayne, Oakland counties, and in various selected communities, such as Adrian. Special censuses were taken in these areas to measure increases in population attracted by industrial development.

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138. Selling, Lowell S.; "Specific War Crimes", The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, January-February, 1944, pp. 303-310.

A proportional decrease in number of commitments was observed in the upper peninsula and upstate cutover areas. Some drop in the number of commitments from agricultural areas was also observed. Industrial areas outside of Detroit remained relatively stable in number of commitments, but densly populated Wayne county rose proportionately in number of commitments to prison. It was apparent that many of the commitments from Wayne county and other industrial areas actually resided in rural areas, and were temporarily in the industrial areas to work in factories producing war materials. Some engaged in agricultural pursuits in the summer and worked in factories during the winter. The number of actual legal residents of Detroit and other industrial areas dropped during the war.

More in-migrants than Michigan-born persons were committed to prison in the prewar, wartime, and demobilitory-postwar periods. In the case of whites, more Michigan-born persons than in-migrants were sentenced. However, the great number of Negro in-migrants imprisoned in Michigan brings the total of imprisoned in-migrants above that of Michigan-born commitments. The only effect of wartime living was the reduction of white in-migrants who were sentenced below the number of Negroes during the wartime and demobilitory-postwar periods.

Chapter V

CRIME PATTERNS

The criminal patterns apparent in the commitments of prewar, wartime, demobilitory-postwar and postwar periods will assist in learning whether or not there is a reduction of commitments during wartime. Further, it will assist in showing to what extent there may be a shift toward proportionately greater number of crimes of violence and against persons, accompanied by mobilization of aggression during wartime. It will also aid in determining the extent of any continuance of the shift toward violence and crimes against the person after the end of the war.

On the national level, the homicides, robberies, burglaries, and larcenies followed the same general pattern through the war years, being less frequent during the war than in the prewar period, and rising sharply immediately after the war, with a slight decline in 1947[139]. Auto thefts rose sharply during the war to a high position in 1946, and declined sharply in 1947[140]. Rape and aggravated assault rose sharply during the war years, and continued to rise in 1946 and 1947[141].

Nationally, there was a reduction in the number of crimes, according to the F.B.I.'s Uniform Crime Reports. Some of the differential between the peacetime crime rates and wartime figures was compensated

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139. F.B.I.; Uniform Crime Reports, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, January, 1948, p. 81.
140. Ibid., p. 81.
141. Ibid., p. 81.

by the military offenses. The following table presents the number of Army General Prisoners between 1940 and 1946, inclusive.[142]

Table 7

Number of Army General Prisoners from 1940 to 1946

Year	Number
1940	486
1941	1,496
1942	4,389
1943	11,701
1944	24,217
1945	32,253
1946	15,774

While the comparison is not exact, it is noteworthy that when these figures are compared, year by year, with Michigan's commitments, the reductions and increases in Michigan's yearly commitment rates are respectively compensated for by the army data. This suggests that a fairly stable number of persons are maladjusted in our culture to the extent that institutionalization is deemed advisable, whether in the military forces or in civilian society.

The offenses found in military and naval prisons in 1943 as compared with national figures of arrests are shown in Table 8.

Table 8

Comparison of Offenses Found in Military Prisons with Offenses Found in National Arrest Figures in 1943

	Commitments in Military and Naval Prisons[143]		National Arrests[144]	
Offense	Number	Rate per Ten Thousand	Number in Thousands	Rate per Ten Thousand
Murder	4	.004	2	.154
Manslaughter	26	.027	2	.154
Robbery	108	.111	24	1.886

142. From Bureau of the Census; Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories, 1946, Washington, 1948, p. 103.
143. Bureau of the Census; Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories, 1943, Washington, 1946, p. 72.
144. F.B.I.; Uniform Crime Reports, Vol. XIV, p. 58, and Vol. XVI, p. 117.

Assault	177	.182	23	1.808
Larceny	277	.284	337	26.488
Auto Theft	56	.058	89	6.995
Embezzlement and Fraud	84	.086	9	.700
Stolen Property	11	.011	3	.231
Forgery	66	.068	4	.308
Rape	26	.027	5	.393
Other Sex Crimes	148	.152	14	1.100
Violating Drug Law	7	.007	2	.154
Violating Defense Law	5	.005	0	.000
Disorderly Conduct	73	.075	163	12.811
Miscellaneous	78	.080	30	2.310

The greatest difference between civilian and armed forces criminality seems to be in the relatively more auto thefts and disorderly conduct arrests among civilians. Because convicted imprisonment can be compared only roughly with arrest figures, however, no statistical computation was attempted. Impressionistically, the military and naval prisoners showed slightly more manslaughter, assault, rape, robbery, forgery, embezzlement and fraud, and more "other sex offenses", which presumably refers to homosexual behavior. The military and naval prisoners were imprisoned less for disorderly conduct, auto theft, and larceny. The military and naval prisoners seemed to show a slightly greater propensity for assaultive crimes and crimes against the person than the civilian arrestees.

A comparison of the national arrest figures and the Michigan commitments to prison in the various periods is shown in Table 9. Again, because convicted imprisonment can hardly be compared with arrest figures, exactly, no statistical computation was attempted. Cursory inspection of these figures suggests similarity between Michigan commitments to prison and national arrests. Michigan figures may show less manslaughter and assault, but more rape, robbery, and auto theft.

Table 9

Crimes of Michigan Prisoners Compared With National Arrest Figures During Prewar, Wartime, Demobilitory-Postwar, and Postwar Periods

Offense	Prewar		Wartime		Demobilitory		Postwar	
	Michigan	Nation[145]	Michigan	Nation[146]	Michigan	Nation[147]	Michigan	Nation[148]
	1939	1939-41 average	1943-4 average	1943	1945-6 average	1945	1947	1947
Murder	60	2,632	50.0	2,345	42.5	3,711	50	4,178
Negligent Homicide	55	1,978	47.0	1,796	60.5	2,966	83	2,923
Rape	163	4,286	151.0	5,224	131.5	7,800	135	8,615
Aggravated Assault	133	21,864	109.0	23,421	123.5	40,435	50	49,291
Robbery	356	26,965	199.0	23,894	274.5	36,697	261	40,677
Burglary	635	143,313	457.5	128,656	493.5	209,190	511	229,571
Larceny	386	388,309	336.5	337.208	373.0	518,115	429	566,080
Auto Theft	225	84,293	208.0	88,897	289.5	163,269	296	124,353
TOTAL	2,013	673,640	1,558.0	611,441	1,988.5	982,183	1,815	1,025,688

Crimes in Michigan

With the varying number of commitments, the population of the State has changed. A comparison of the number of commitments with the population as estimated by the Bureau of the Census[149] was made for the purpose of determining the rate of commitment per ten thousand

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145. F.B.I.; Uniform Crime Reports, Vol. XIV, No. 2, January, 1944, p. 58.
146. Ibid., Vol. XIV, No. 2, January, 1944, p. 58.
147. Ibid., Vol. XVI, No. 2, January, 1946, p. 78.
148. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, No. 2, January, 1948, p. 79.
149. See Bureau of the Census; Estimated Population of the United States, By States: 1910 to 1944, Series P-45, No. 9, p. 4. Also, Bureau of the Census; Estimates of the Population of Voting Age, By States, 1948, Series P-25, No. 15, p. 4. Also, Bureau of the Census; Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Regions, Divisions, and States, July 1, 1940, to 1947, Series P-25, No. 12, p. 8.

population for the years 1937 through 1948 for Michigan. The results are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Yearly Rates of Commitments to Prison in Michigan per Ten Thousand Population from 1937 to 1948

Year	Michigan Population	Number of Commitments	Commitments per Ten Thousands Population
1937	4,967,787	2,428	4.9
1938	5,055,518	2,726	5.4
1939	5,156,210	2,628	5.1
1940	5,275,090	2,398	4.6
1941	5,404,279	2,236	4.1
1942	5,530,982	2,338	4.2
1943	5,423,377	2,238	4.1
1944	5,429,641	2,209	4.1
1945	5,388,000	2,353	4.4
1946	5,855,000	2,742	4.8
1947	6,059,000	2,655	4.4
1948	6,195,000	2,563	4.1

This reflects the rate only of commitments to prison, rather than the offenses known or number of convictions. For instance, in 1945 in Michigan, there were 202.6 major offenses known to police in every 10,000 population[150]. Many offenders committed several crimes, which explains the high rate of offenses known to police as compared with number of commitments. Further, during the war there was greater use of probation[151] and of suspending charges with the provision that the offender enlist in the military services. In 1946, the crowded condition of Michigan's prison system became known to the judiciary who responded by making greater use of probation[152].

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150. F.B.I.; Uniform Crime Reports, Vol. XVI, No. 2, January, 1946, p. 92.
151. See Michigan Department of Corrections; Corrections in Michigan, Fourth Biennial Report, 1943-1944, 1946, p. 9.
152. See Michigan Department of Corrections; Annual Bulletin, 1947, 1948, p. 6.

The previous records of the incoming prisoners reveal something of the nature of the group which is unable to adjust during specific periods. A tabulation of the previous records in the various periods covered by the study is shown in Table 11, tabulated according to the single most serious category.

Table 11

Previous Records of New Prisoners During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Previous Record	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average
No previous record	1,062	1,117.0	996.5
Juvenile commitments	186	342.5	518.0
Jail terms	399	641.5	554.5
Probation	378	647.0	1,044.5
Prison	612	748.0	789.5

These figures show that more commitments to prison during and after the war have had previous records than was the case during the prewar period. When viewed in relation to the rate of commitments per 10,000 population, these figures suggest that since the prewar period, the juvenile institutions, jails, and probation are being used with greater frequency before the judiciary gives up and sends men to prison. This conclusion is also substantiated by a previous study[153], as well as by probation figures[154].

The crimes for which persons were sentenced in Michigan during the periods considered are shown in Table 12. A reduction in number of commitments during wartime is noted and, as shown above, the rate

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153. Fox, Vernon; "Juvenile and Probation Records of Men Committed to Prison in the Decade 1934 to 1944", an unpublished report to Dr. Garrett Heyns, Michigan's Director of Corrections, for Governor Kelly's Youth Study Commission, 1944.

154. Michigan Department of Corrections; Annual Bulletin, 1947, 1948.

Table 12

Crimes for which Persons were Sentenced to Prison in Michigan During Prewar, Wartime, Demobilitory-Postwar, and Postwar periods

Crime	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average	1947
Murder, First degree	42	29.0	20.5	19
Murder, Second degree	18	21.0	22.0	31
Manslaughter	55	47.0	60.5	83
Robbery	356	199.0	274.5	261
Felonious Assault	111	72.0	86.5	92
Aggravated Assault	22	37.0	37.0	50
Burglary	635	475.5	493.5	511
Larceny	386	336.5	373.0	429
Auto Theft	225	208.0	289.5	296
Buying, Receiving Stolen Prop.	33	28.5	21.0	26
Forgery	126	83.0	96.0	110
Embezzlement and Fraud	86	86.5	76.0	70
Rape	163	151.0	131.5	135
Indecent Liberties	84	127.0	61.5	75
Commercialized Vice	25	39.0	28.5	25
Other Sex Offenses	93	15.0	105.5	103
Adultery	66	10.5	6.0	0
Non-Support or Neglect	41	41.0	60.0	66
Violation State Drug Act	45	12.5	9.5	12
Violating Traffic Laws	33	28.0	20.0	12
Violating Liquor Laws	11	9.5	7.5	4
Gambling	2	5.5	12.0	2
Drunk and Disorderly, 3rd Off.	84	40.0	56.0	57
Carrying Concealed Weapons	53	109.5	79.5	71
Escaping Jail or Prison	38	41.0	48.5	43
Miscellaneous	51	61.0	78.0	94
Totals	3,824	2,285.5	2,054.0	2,676

of commitments per 10,000 population was also reduced during the war. A rise in rate of commitment was noted at the end of the war, but a knowledge of crowded conditions in the prisons has encouraged the use of probation. This resulted in a drop in rate of commitments in 1948 to wartime levels, but the population of the prison system remained high. The reasons for the rise in commitment at the end of the war seem to involve the undirected mobilization of aggression, population migration and the search for substitute satisfactions

after the cessation of hostilities. Tolman's approach was in the conditioning of natural drives so that fighting a war becomes psychologically facilitated, and these drives have to be reconditioned for peacetime[155]. Mannheim explained the postwar rise in crime in England rather vaguely by pointing out the disturbing effects of six years of total war with all its inevitable moral, psychological, and economic repercussions[156].

The proportion of crimes committed against person and against property, and the ratio of violent to non-violent crimes in the prewar, wartime, demobilitory-postwar, and postwar periods are of greater significance in establishing or disproving our hypothesis than the crime rate per se. In order to compare crimes against person and against property, and non-violent crimes with violent ones, the crimes were classified according to these criteria. Crimes against person were indecent liberties, commercialized vice, other sex offenses (homosexual), adultery, non-support, violators of narcotic laws, violatord of traffic laws, violations of liquor laws, gambling, drunkenness and disorderly conduct, carrying concealed weapons, escaping jail or prison, murder, manslaughter, felonious assault, aggravated assault, and rape. Crimes against property were robbery, burglary, larceny, auto theft, buying or receiving or possession of stolen property, forgery, and embezzlement and fraud. Non-violent crimes were indecent liberties, commercialized vice,

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155. See Tolman, Edward Chase; DRIVES TOWARD WAR, New York, 1942.
156. Mannheim, Herman; "Crime and Its Treatment in Postwar England", Federal Probation, October-December, 1947, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 3-7

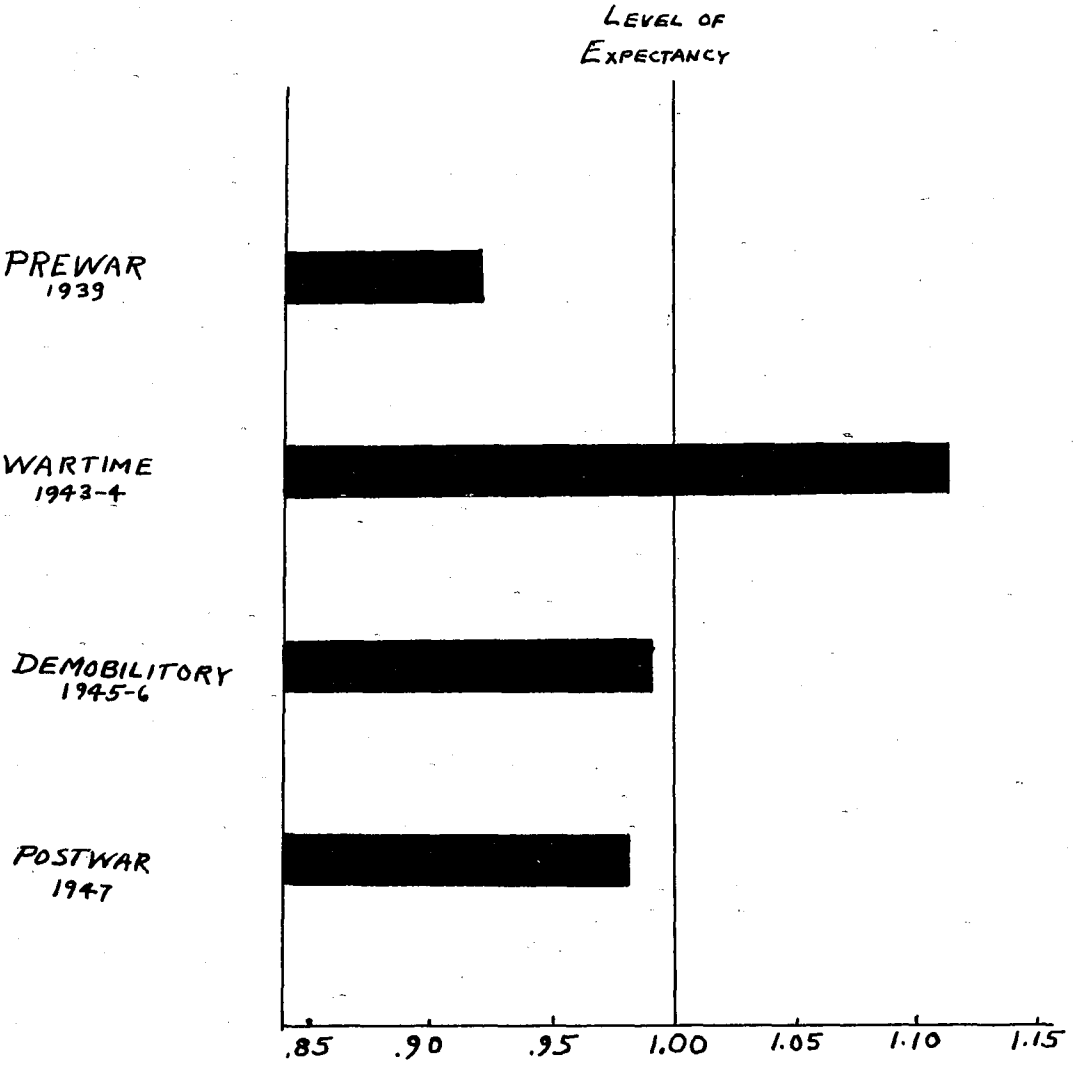
other sex offenses (homosexual), adultery, non-support, violation of narcotic laws, violation of liquor laws, gambling, drunkenness and disorderly conduct, escaping jail or prison, robbery, burglary, larceny, auto theft, buying and receiving and possession of stolen property, forgery, and embezzlement and fraud. Violent crimes were first degree murder, second degree murder, manslaughter, felonious assault, aggravated assault, and rape.

The crimes against person and the crimes against property were tabulated in the chi-square setting shown in Chart I to compare the respective ratios in prewar (1939), wartime (1943-1944 annual average), demobilitory-postwar (1945-1946 annual average), and postwar(1947) periods. Further, the relationships were expressed in $\frac{\text{observed frequency}}{\text{expected frequency}}$ ratios for each period. The resulting ratios are shown graphically in Chart I. The chi-square computations revealed that the differences were significant beyond the 2 per cent level. On the basis of the table, the prewar proportion of crimes against person was only .92 of the level of expectancy. During wartime, however, the proportion of crimes against persons rose to 1.11 of the expectancy level, or more than 10 per cent above expectancy. The proportion of crimes against persons levelled off to near or slightly below expectancy during the demobilitory-postwar and postwar periods. These figures are indicative of greater irritation and social interaction during wartime, and after the war, since the proportion of crimes against persons did not fall back to prewar levels.

Violent crimes and non-violent crimes were tabulated in a chi-square setting shown in Chart II for their comparison during

Chart I

Proportion of Crimes Against Persons in Various Periods

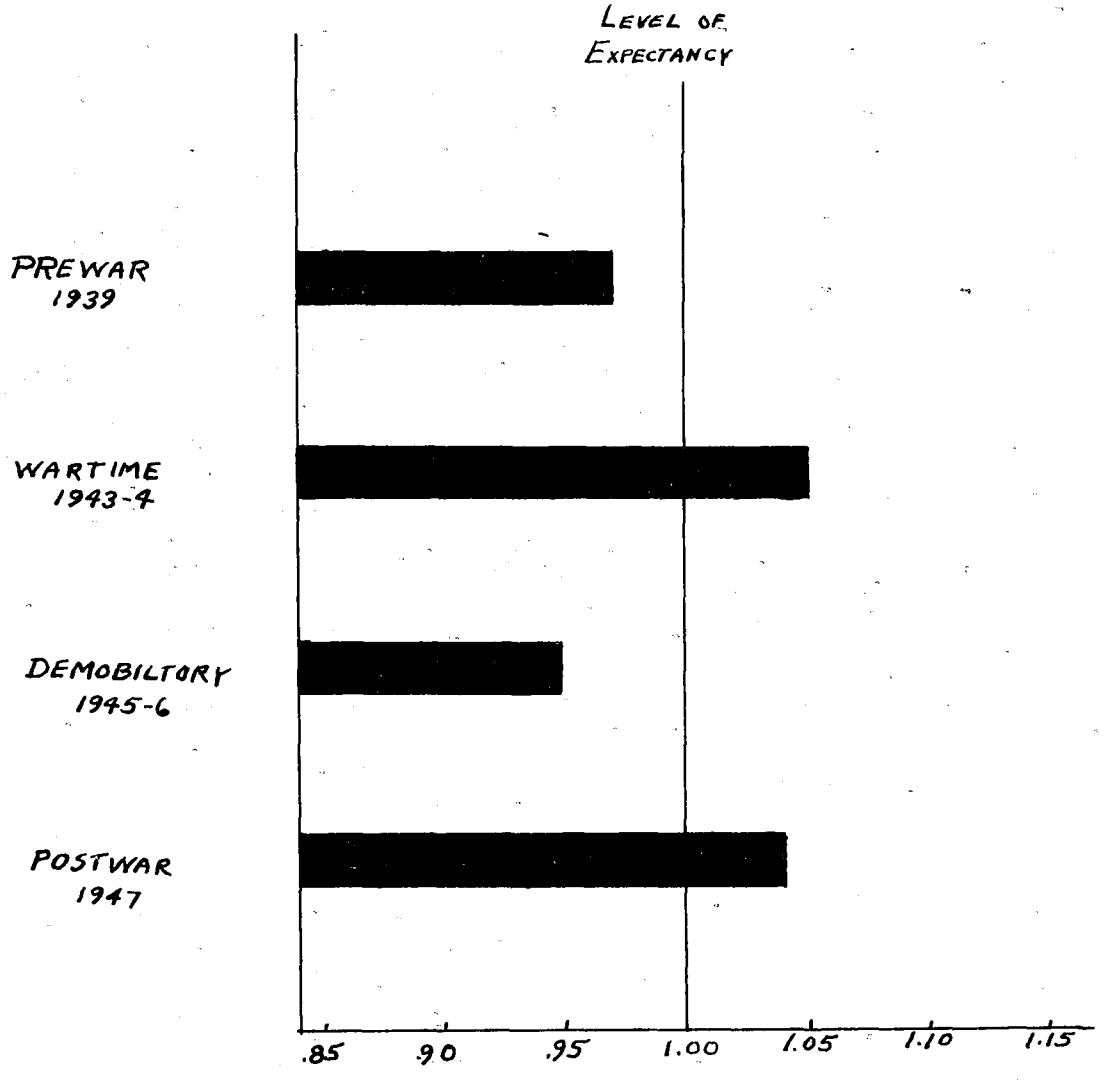


	Prewar	Wartime	Demobilitory	Postwar
Against Persons	926	835.5	852.5	880
Against Property	1,847	1,389.0	1,623.5	1,703

prewar(1939), wartime (1943-1944 annual average), demobilitory-postwar (1945-1946 annual average), and postwar (1947) periods. In the rigidly narrow sense, the differences shown can not be termed "statistically significant", since the chi-square test indicates that the differences do not reach the 5 per cent level, though they do surpass the 6 per cent level, missing the 5 per cent level by a fraction. The differences are close enough to stastical significance to merit consideration. In Chart II, these relationships were shown in the $\frac{\text{observed frequency}}{\text{expected frequency}}$ ratios for each period. These ratios show that the prewar figures were only .97 of the computed level of expectancy based on the table as a whole. During wartime, violence rose to 1.05 of expectancy in response to the mobilization of personalized aggression by propaganda campaigns and wartime living. While some of this aggression may be merely a percentage shift, the actual number of arrests for violent crimes in the nation as shown in table 9 is relatively stable throughout the war rose thereafter. While proportionately more violent criminals have been sentenced to prison, there was no appreciable change in total number of arrests for violent crimes during the war when many young men were withdrawn from the civilian population. There was no perceptible decline in the proportion of crimes usually committed more frequently by younger men, such as auto theft. At the end of the war, when peace was foremost in public thinking, the United Nations was organized, and armies were demobilized, the violent crimes dropped to .95 of the level of expectancy. After the end of the war, when the mobilized aggression of the populace was no longer directed or channelized by official propagandizing machinery to mold public thinking, the proportion of

Chart II

Proportion of Violent Crimes in Various Periods



	Prewar	Wartime	Demobilitory	Postwar
Violent Crimes	411	357.0	358.0	412
Non-Violent Crimes	2,362	1,867.5	2,118.0	2,171

violent crimes rose to 1.04 of the expectancy level, nearly that of wartime criminal violence.

Summary

In summary, a comparison by inspection was made between commitments to Michigan's prisons and the population of army prisons. It was suggested that the yearly reductions and increases in State prisons could possibly be compensated for by the populations of military and naval prisonsrduring wartime. The further suggestion was made that a fairly stable number of persons may be socially maladjusted to the extent that institutionalization is prescribed whether they are in military service or civilian life. A rough comparison between offenses found in military and naval prisons and nationalaarrests suggested that military and naval offenders are imprisoned more frequently for assaultive crimes, homosexuality, rape, forgery, and fraud, while they were imprisoned less for larceny and disorderly conduct. Comparason of Michigan's commitment figures and national arrest figures indicate proportionate similarity, with Michigan's prisoners committing more rape, robbery and auto theft, and less manslaughter and assaults than shown by national arrest figures.

Computation of Michigan's rate of commitment to prison per 10,000 population on a yearly basis shows a reduction during wartime, an increase at the end of the war, and a subsequent reduction when the judiciary learned of overcrowded conditions in the prison system. It is apparent that during and after the war, probation has been used with greater frequency before commitment to prisons. Persons probated

were first-offenders who did not commit major or heinous crimes.

The continued increase in crimes against persons in the demobilitory-postwar and postwar periods over the prewar ratio suggests a continuance of the mobilized aggressions which are manifest in an abated continuance of crimes against persons.

Crimes of violence increased appreciably during wartime over prewar figures, decreased again at the end of the war when peace became foremost in public thinking, and increased again during the post-war era. These changes surpassed the 6 per cent level of significance according to the chi-square test. These phenomena further substantiate the hypothesis that war creates an impact and after-effects on a prison system.

Chapter VI

AGE, RACE, AND SEX VARIATIONS

The variations in the groups committed to prison during peacetime, wartime, and demobilitory-postwar periods assist in delineation of the groups by which commitments to prison are reduced during wartime. Because the organic factors of age, race, and sex are basic to significant cultural differences in Western as well as other civilizations, it is reasonable to suppose that cultural crises as immense as total war would affect these groups differently. In this chapter, the commitments during the periods under study will be analyzed in terms of the biological factors of age, race, and sex.

Age Differences

Inspection of the data in Table 13 will indicate that there is an increase in number of commitments of 'teen-agers during wartime, but a substantial decrease in the commitments of the group between ages 20 and 35.

Table 13

Comparison of Ages of New Prisoners in Michigan During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Age	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average
15-19	486	598.5	578.5
20-24	692	465.0	628.0
25-29	447	330.5	391.0
30-34	353	241.5	305.0
35-39	256	220.0	221.0
40-44	187	175.0	168.5
45-49	136	101.5	112.0
50-54	112	72.5	73.0
55-59	53	41.0	41.5
60-64	28	22.5	18.0
65-59	14	12.5	11.0
70-74	7	2.5	4.0
75-79	4	0.5	2.0
80-84	0	0.0	0.5
85-89	0	0.0	0.0

A proportionate drop in the age range between 20 and 35 is noted.

On the national level, age 21 group shows the widest variation[157]. From a fairly stable 24,300-arrest rate per year during the prewar years, this group dropped to the low of 16,769 arrests during wartime 1943. The 21-year-olds then rose to 33,776 arrests in 1947. The 19 and 20 year olds followed the same pattern, but to a lesser degree than the 21-year-olds. The 18-year-old group followed a rather stable pattern in number of arrests from prewar, with a slight rise during the war, and on through the postwar periods. The 17-year-olds started from a relatively normal 17,000-arrests-per-year in prewar years, rose during the war to their record of 25,645 arrests in 1945, and dropped back to 16,561 in 1947. A comparison of age figures on a national basis is shown in Table 14.

Table 14

Comparison of Ages of Arrestees in the Nation During Prewar, Wartime, Demobilitory-Postwar, and Postwar Periods

Age	1939[158]	1943[159]	1945[160]	1947[161]
Unknown	715	455	461	3,097
Under 15	1,343	5,275	4,050	3,879
15	4,161	5,053	4,948	3,855
16	11,593	13,810	14,887	10,081
17	17,947	23,746	26,645	16,561
18	24,225	26,294	24,360	25,520
19	25,191	21,325	20,769	28,532
20	21,398	16,778	19,301	29,433
21	23,788	16,769	21,446	33,776
22	24,007	16,978	21,044	33,765
23	23,092	16,481	19,203	31,074
24	22,464	14,216	17,710	28,636

157. F.B.I.; Uniform Crime Reports, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1947, p. 120.
158. F.B.I.; Uniform Crime Reports, Vol. X, No. 4, 1939, p. 210-211.
159. Ibid., Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1943, p. 92.
160. Ibid., Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1945, p. 107.
161. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1947, p. 119.

25-29	96,506	66,981	74,949	119,357
30-34	77,358	60,940	68,594	95,023
35-39	67,829	61,587	61,587	84,350
40-44	47,495	46,082	53,425	67,682
45-49	34,155	34,091	38,624	48,878
50-up	50,654	49,917	52,813	70,842
Totals	576,920	490,764	543,852	734,041

Inspection of this table reveals that during wartime there is an increase in number of arrests in the United States of youngsters up through 18 years of age, and a decrease in arrests in the age range from 19 through 35 or 40. The ages of military and naval prisoners in 1943 are shown in Table 15.

Table 15

Ages of Military and Naval Prisoners in 1943[162]

Age	Number
15-17	8
18-19	211
20-24	582
25-29	230
30-34	89
35-39	39
40-44	11
45-49	8
50-54	3
Unknown	1

These figures show the greatest increase in the age range from 18 through 35 or 40 years. These mutually compensatory figures tend to suggest the possibility that a relatively stable number of persons are socially maladjusted to the extent that institutionalization is necessary, whether they are in military service or civilian life.

Chart III shows a comparison of the age groups committed to prison in Michigan during the prewar(1939), wartime (1943-1944

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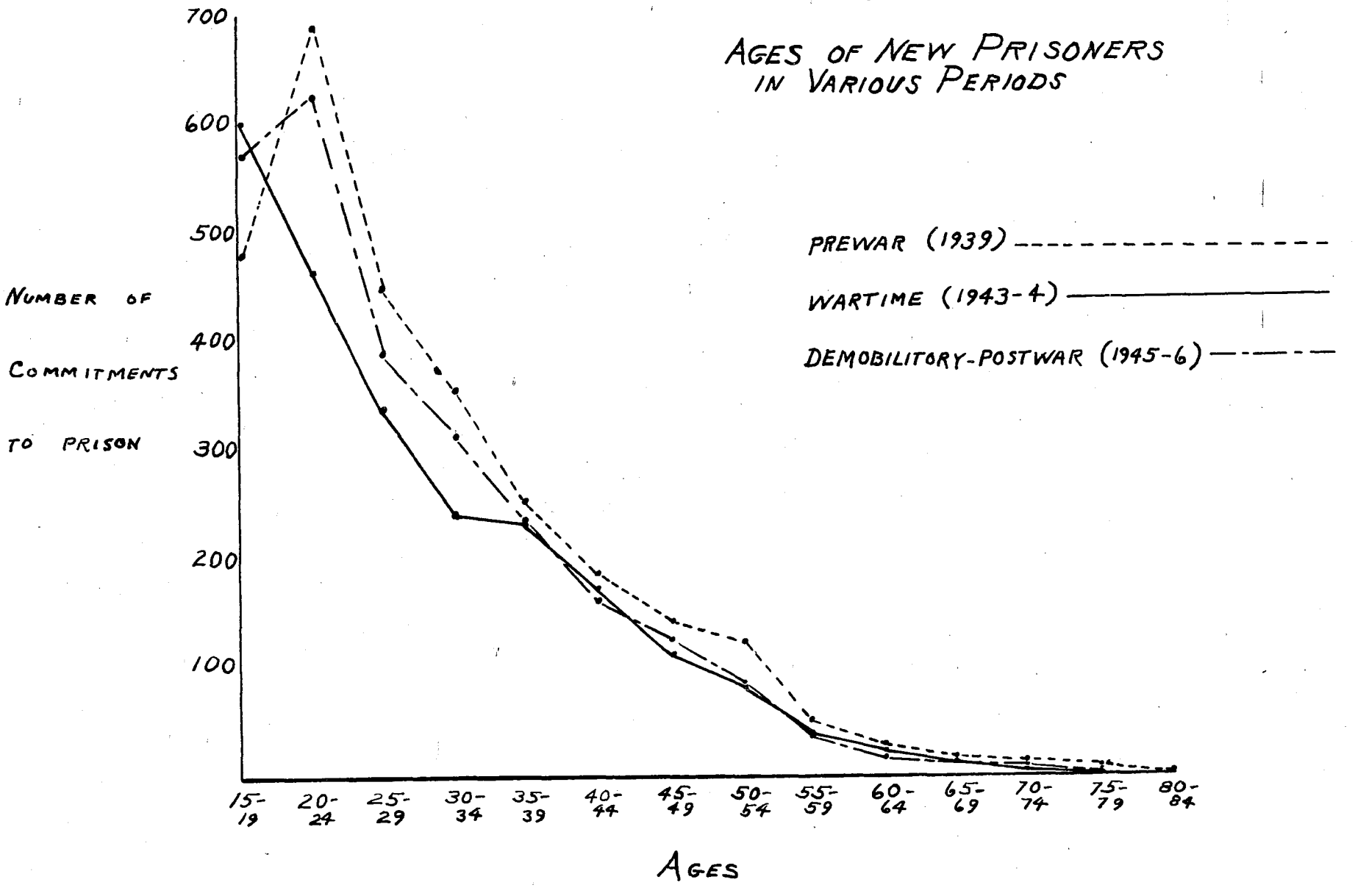
162. Bureau of the Census; Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories, 1943, Washington, 1946, p. 71.

CHART III

AGES OF NEW PRISONERS IN VARIOUS PERIODS



annual average), and demobilitory-postwar (1945-1946 annual average) periods. The prewar and demobilitory-postwar figures result in roughly congruous polygons. The wartime polygon is somewhat lower between approximately 18 to 35 year age range, after which the wartime polygon is roughly congruous with those of the prewar and demobilitory--postwar periods. These results also are similar to those found on the national scale. They substantiate the hypothesis that war creates an impact on a prison system.

Racial Variations

On a national scale, the numbers of reported arrests in the various racial groups are shown in Table 16.

Table 16

Comparison of Arrests by Races in the Nation During Prewar, Wartime, Demobilitory-Postwar, and Postwar Periods

Race	1939[163]	1943[164]	1945[165]	1947[166]
White	427,158	358,254	390,315	536,695
Negro	126,001	125,399	145,571	187,731
Indian	3,029	5,438	5,820	6,040
Chinese	942	499	544	423
Japanese	330	102	81	154
Mexican	17,638	(Included in the white groups)		
Others	1,822	1,132	1,521	2,948
TOTALS	576,920	490,764	543,852	734,041

Inspection shows a drop in arrests of whites during the war, and a simultaneous increase in arrests of Negroes and Indians. It could be that there was an increase in number of arrests of migrant Mexicans, but they were included in the white group in all except the prewar period, so no observations as to arrest trend on a national scale can be made.

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163. F.B.I.; Uniform Crime Reports, Vol. X, No. 4, 1939, p. 221.
164. Ibid., Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1943, p. 96.
165. Ibid., Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1945, p. 119.
166. Ibid., Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1947, p. 122.

Racial differences in the commitment population of Michigan were tabulated to indicate any variations that might exist in the periods studied. Table 17 shows the results of this tabulation.

Table 17

Races of New Prisoners in Michigan in Various Periods

Race	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average
White	2,160	1,542.0	1,750.5
Negro	567	688.0	736.5
Indian	29	23.5	27.0
Mexican	18	28.0	37.0
Other	1	2.0	1.0

Inspection reveals that there was a drop in number of commitments of whites and Indians during the war, accompanied by an increase in commitments of Negroes and Mexicans. As was pointed out previously, much of this increase was among the in-migrant group. At the war's end, the Indians and whites were again committed in greater numbers. The Negro rate of commitment continued to increase, but the rate of increase was lessened. The commitment of Mexicans continued unabated as more in-migrants remained in Michigan. This suggests a partial delineation of the group by which wartime commitments are reduced. The greatest reduction was in the white racial group.

Sexual Variations

The increased opportunities for employment during wartime would undoubtedly bring the female population into business interaction in greater proportion than during peacetime. Also, the lower proportion of civilian males and attendant factors would increase the proportion of recreation-bent females. It would be reasonable to

suppose, then, that a social crisis as overwhelming as total war would affect the sexes with some differences. The tabulation of commitments in Michigan on a sexual basis is shown in Table 18.

Table 18

Males and Females Committed to Prison in Michigan During Prewar, Wartime, Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Sex	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average
Males	2,673	2,176.0	2,288.0
Female	102	109.5	261.0

It is apparent that women did not increase criminal activities until the demobilitory-postwar period, after which their crime rate began to decline again, as shown by the commitments to the Detroit House of Correction reviewed in Appendix A.

The crimes committed by women are shown in Table 19.

Table 19

Crimes of Women Prisoners in Michigan During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Crime	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average
Murder, First degree	2	0.5	1.0
Murder, Second degree	2	0.0	1.5
Manslaughter	7	6.5	11.0
Robbery	3	2.5	5.0
Felonious Assault	11	5.0	4.0
Aggravated Assault	0	0.5	1.5
Burglary	1	6.0	6.5
Larceny	14	28.5	30.5
Auto Theft	3	1.0	2.5
Buying, Receiving Stolen Prop.	0	0.0	3.0
Forgery	1	7.5	9.5
Embezzlement and Fraud	10	3.0	5.5
Rape	0	0.0	0.5
Indecent Liberties	0	0.0	0.0
Commercialized Vice	17	6.5	9.0

Other Sex Offenses	5	13.5	16.0
Adultery	2	1.5	3.5
Non-Support or Neglect	0	0.0	7.0
Violating State Drug Act	6	2.5	1.0
Violating Traffic Laws	1	0.0	0.0
Violating Liquor Laws	5	2.5	1.5
Gambling	0	0.0	0.0
Drunk & Disorderly, 3rd Off.	6	4.0	6.5
Carrying Concealed Weapons	0	4.0	3.0
Escaping Jail or Prison	0	0.0	0.5
Miscellaneous	6	14.0	7.0

The crimes committed by women tabulated according to crimes against person and against property are shown in Table 20.

Table 20

Crimes Against Person and Property Committed by Women During Prewar, Wartime, and the Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

	1939	1943-4	1945-6
Against Person	64	47.0	67.5
Against Property	23	48.5	62.5

It is noted that women commit proportionately more crimes against person than men, with sex offenses and commercialized vice disproportionately high. Larceny was the most frequent offense against property.

With regard to violence as compared to non-violence, the tabulation of crimes committed by women is shown in Table 21.

Table 21

Violence and Non-Violence in Crimes by Women During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

	1939	1943-4	1945-6
Violent	22	12.5	19.0
Non-Violent	65	83.0	111.0

The women do not participate in crimes of violence so frequently as do men. Larceny was the non-violent crime committed most frequently, with felonious assault the most frequent crime of violence. While the violence and non-violence ratio remained fairly constant, there was a drop in violence during the war and after.

Summary

A tabulation of the age groups in the prewar (1939), wartime (1943-1944 annual average), and the demobilitory-postwar (1945-1946 annual average) periods indicates that during the war there was an increase in commitments of young 'teen-agers and a perceptible decrease of commitments in the 18 to 35 age range. Inspection of racial differences indicates that there was a reduction of commitments of white persons to prison during the war, and an increase in commitments of Negroes and Mexicans. As shown in Chapter IV, the Negroes, and perhaps the Mexicans, may be in-migrants to Michigan. At any rate, the tabulations suggest that during the war, prison commitments were reduced by a group of white persons between the ages of 18 and 35.

The crime rate for women did not increase appreciably until toward the end of the war and demobilization was taking place. The most frequent crimes committed by women were larceny, sex offenses, and commercialized vice. Sex offenses and commercialized vice immediately after the war may be manifestations of the search for substitute satisfactions needed to relieve the continued frustration brought about by the cessation of hostilities and the absence of propagandistic machinery to channelize public thinking.

Chapter VII

OCCUPATION AND MARITAL STATUS

Industrial production and rapidly moving populations during wartime would seem to be of consequence if they manifested changes in occupations and marital status of the commitments to prison. Occupational changes and shifts in marital status suggest changing social and economic values, which contribute to the impact and after-effects of war on the State prison system as a social institution. Hence, occupations and marital status of the commitments to prison during the prewar (1939), wartime (1943-1944 annual average), and demobilitory-postwar (1945-1946 annual average) periods were tabulated.

Occupations

The occupations of new commitments to prison during prewar, wartime, and demobilitory-postwar periods are shown in Table 22.

Table 22

Occupations of New Prisoners in Michigan Received During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Occupation	1939	1943-4 annual average	1945-6 annual average
Common labor	1,601	1,855.5	1,877.0
Farm labor	399	168.0	128.0
Farmer	21	6.5	14.0
Skilled trade	161	89.5	191.0
Own business	17	17.5	19.5
Professional	41	20.0	22.5
Housewife	34	28.5	24.5
Domestic	279	14.0	6.5
Clerk	162	31.0	31.0
Student	34	8.5	12.5
Professional criminal	20	0.0	5.0
None	1	33.5	116.0
Unknown	1	13.0	106.5

No statistical computations were made on these data because of the apparently non-uniform and hit-or-miss manner in which they were collected and verified. The claim the man made as to his occupation was seldom checked in 1939, and was verified sometimes, but not always in later periods. Consequently, the data are presented for inspection only. It is noted, however, that more men claimed agricultural occupations in the prewar period, more men and women claimed to be clerks during the prewar period, and fewer women claimed to be domestics during the war, but entered more lucrative occupations in factories. Fewer claimed to be skilled tradesmen during the war. During the war, 58 men who claimed skills were tested as to their skills, using Thompson's test questions[167]. According to Thompson's ratings, the competence of these men who claimed skills is presented in Table 23.

Table 23

Competence of Prisoners Claiming Skills in 1943

Rating	Number of Men
Competent	3
Journeyman	12
Apprentice	20
Handyman	4
No skill	19

Two of the men receiving "competent" ratings were carpenters and the other was a blacksmith. The results of this examination of men claiming skills adds to the doubt as to the reliability of the data in Table 22. Occupational information is an area in which prisons could obtain more adequate information.

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167. Thompson, L.; TRADE QUESTIONS, Cincinnati, 1936.

Marital Status

Marital status presents a problem of controlling racial factors when the proportions of whites and Negroes vary from period to period. The reason is the social factor of the prevalence of common-law marriage to a greater relative extent among colored groups. For this reason, the white and Negro marital status data are presented separately. Table 24 shows the comparison of the marital status of whites during the periods covered by this study.

Table 24

Marital Status of White New Prisoners During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Marital Status	1939	1943-4	1945-6
Single	1,121	788.5	844.5
Married	282	398.0	466.5
Widowed	70	40.0	36.5
Divorced	230	149.5	203.0
Separated	144	129.0	159.0
Common Law	10	36.5	39.0
Unknown	0	0.5	2.0

A greater proportion of married men were committed to prison during the war and after than were committed during the prewar period. There was also an increase in number of common-law relationships. During routine interviews, some men said that they had married to obtain deferments from Selective Service induction.

Table 25 presents the marital status of Negroes for the same period.

Table 25

Marital Status of Negro New Prisoners During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Marital Status	1939	1943-4	1945-6
Single	273	278.5	279.0
Married	135	139.5	177.5

Widowed	11	19.5	19.0
Divorced	18	14.0	30.5
Separated	82	96.5	110.0
Common Law	48	130.0	119.0

Inspection of these data emphasizes the high proportion of common-law relationships which are prevalent in the Negro group. These relationships rose sharply during the war, and continued at an abated rate during the demobilitory-postwar period. Otherwise, the marital status of the colored group remained fairly stable throughout.

It is noted that the impact of war on family life was telling. Cohn reported that the Canadian social services had felt the impact of war for several years by 1942[168]. He indicated that the volume of work increased for family and child care agencies, and that much of the added volume included problems of neglect, illegitimacy, and delinquency. Jane Hoey discussed the impact of war on family values[169]. She also referred to the mounting case loads of family agencies, dwindling staffs, combined with social change at so rapid a pace that agency policies and programs have difficulty in meeting a constantly changing need.

Summary

Any study of occupations is handicapped by the fact that the data were not uniformly collected and verified. However, the presentation is justified in that claims may reflect shifts in terms of occupational values and aspiration. According to the claims by the new prisoners, there were more farmers, clerks, and domestics

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168. Cohn, Martin M.; "Effects of War on Canadian Social Service", The Family, July, 1942, pp. 177-180.
169. Hoey, Jane M.; "The Conservation of Family Values in Wartime", The Family, April, 1943, pp. 43-50.

committed to prison during the prewar years than during the war or after. This may be explained in terms of increased industrial opportunity and demand during the war. Also, there were fewer skilled tradesmen, and of those committed, only a small proportion were competent.

A higher proportion of white married men were committed to prison during the war and after. It is suspected that some of them married to obtain draft deferments. Also, there was an increased number of whites with common-law relationships. The high proportion of common-law relationships among colored persons was outstanding, and this proportion increased during the war. Otherwise, the marital status of the colored group remained fairly stable.

Chapter VIII

INTELLIGENCE AND EDUCATION

Further description of the group by which prison commitments are reduced in wartime may be in terms of intelligence and education Recruitment in the armed forces presupposes a certain level of literacy or capacity for becoming literate. By accepting the more intelligent persons for military service, the suggestion is that there may be a drop in intelligence and education during wartime. Another factor may be the increased industrial opportunities which tend to temporarily discourage educational pursuits.

Intelligence

The intelligence quotients of the persons committed to prison in the prewar, wartime, and demobilitory-postwar periods are shown in Table 26.

Table 26

Intelligence of New Prisoners Received During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

I.Q.	1939	1943-4	1945-6
130-up	31	15.0	26.0
120-129	67	94.5	82.0
110-119	184	104.5	179.0
100-109	359	581.5	332.5
90-99	422	269.0	431.0
80-89	555	545.0	568.5
70-79	390	432.5	473.0
60-69	279	193.0	221.5
50-59	135	31.5	82.0
0-49	70	5.0	10.5
Mean	85.7	87.8	88.8
S.D.	19.1	16.5	16.7

The critical ratio between the prewar (1939) and the wartime (1943-1944 annual average) is 4.1. The critical ratio between the prewar (1939) and demobilitory-postwar (1945-1946 annual average) distributions is 4.3. The critical ratio between the wartime and demobilitory--postwar distributions is less than one. The difference between prewar distribution and the other two distributions is statistically significant. However, the explanation for it would be difficult, inasmuch as different tests were used in the prewar period. In 1939, various standard tests were used, such as the Otis, Kuhlmann-Anderson, and Henmon-Nelson. In the wartime and demobilitory-postwar periods, the Bregman (1940) revision of the Army Alpha was used predominantly, with "institutional norms" made specifically for the State Prison of Southern Michigan. Consequently, interpretation of the differences as valid would be dangerous, despite high critical ratios, without further evidence. At any rate, it is known that rather than the average intelligence quotient going down as expected, it rose during the war.

Education

The uniform educational achievement test given to all new prisoners in the Michigan system is the Stanford Achievement Test. The results of that test during the periods studied are shown in Table 27.

Table 27

Average Grade Ratings of New Prisoners During Prewar, Wartime, and Demobilitory-Postwar Periods

Average Grade Rating	1939	1943-4 average	1945-6 average
Illiterate	259	171.0	236.5
Second	68	65.5	38.5
Third	188	107.5	214.0
Fourth	430	392.0	322.5
Fifth	361	186.5	411.5

Sixth	196	449.0	280.5
Seventh	164	125.0	233.0
Eighth	115	276.0	186.0
Ninth	72	57.0	140.0
Tenth	147	116.5	96.5
Eleventh	12	32.0	58.0
Twelfth	5	54.0	50.0
Mean	5.1	5.7	5.8
S.D.	2.6	2.5	2.6

The critical ratio between the prewar and wartime grade placements is 7.6. Since both groups were tested with the Stanford Achievement Test, the difference is highly significant. The critical ratio between the wartime and demobilitory-postwar distributions is 0.1, which indicates no significance. The critical ratio between the prewar and demobilitory-postwar distributions is also 7.6. Since the coefficient of correlation between grade rating and intelligence quotient at the State Prison of Southern Michigan has been computed at $+0.65$[170], some credence is afforded the 4.1 critical ratio between prewar and wartime intelligence quotients.

The grades the new prisoners claimed to have completed were tabulated manually for 1939 and 1943, but they were not available for other periods. A tabulation of these data are presented in Table 28.

Table 28

School Grade Completed by New Prisoners Received During Prewar and Wartime Periods

Grade Completed	1939	1943
No school	43	32
First	27	18
Second	58	47
Third	80	77

170. Fox, Vernon; "Report of Correlation of Grade Placement with I.Q. in 300 Cases", an unpublished report to Director of Classification H.C.Watson, State Prison of Southern Michigan, November, 1943, p. 2.

Fourth	121	86
Fifth	133	101
Sixth	221	167
Seventh	293	259
Eighth	705	614
Ninth	331	246
Tenth	325	250
Eleventh	180	99
Twelfth	149	95
One year college	25	16
Two years college	29	7
Three years college	2	5
Four years college	17	14
Five years college	1	1
Mean	7.8	7.7
S.D.	2.7	2.6

A critical ratio of 0.1 between the prewar and wartime distributions of grades in school the prisoners claimed to have completed indicates no significant difference.

Summary

The prewar intelligence quotients and educational grade ratings according to tests are significantly below those of the wartime commitments, as shown by critical ratios of 4.1 and 7.6, respectively. At first, the difference in intelligence quotients was questioned on the basis of different tests for different periods, but these differences were corroborated by similar differences in grade placement of even greater significance where similar tests were used. The grades the new prisoners claimed they completed were similar during prewar and wartime periods. The evidence is that the wartime commitments were more intelligent and retained more academic education than did the prewar commitments. Further, during the demobilitory-postwar period, the intelligence quotients and tested academic achievement rose slightly above the wartime levels. This could hardly be indicative that the military forces absorbed

the less intelligent, for that would be contrary to their selection objectives. It could mean that the more intelligent psychopath was rejected by the military service during wartime, but that leaves unexplained the rise during the demobilitory-postwar period. In view of the results of studies of I.Q.'s in various sections of the country, it is doubtful that the rise could be attributed to the influx of southern Negroes. With an increase in assaultive or violent crimes, one could expect a decrease in intelligence[171]. A partial explanation may be that a general intellectual stimulation or conditioning by the mobilization of aggression and other wartime phenomena has occurred. Another possibility is that wartime socio-economic disturbances has disrupted homes of more intelligent persons so that they become more likely to be involved in crime. However, this leaves unexplained the stable grade-completed-in-school figures. Further, first-offenders are seldom committed to prison without previous benefit of probation. The intellectual stimulation or conditioning during wartime is suggested as concomitant to the increased social interaction, greater industrialization, development of ambitious levels of aspiration whether socially accepted or otherwise among unguided youth who associate with older people, attend night-clubs and taverns, and gang together.

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171. See Berg, Irwin August, and Fox, Vernon; "Factors in Homicides Committed by 200 Males", The Journal of Social Psychology, 1947, Vol. 26, pp. 109-119.

Chapter IX

PERSONALITY

Since personality is accepted by most social psychologists as the result of interaction between organic and social pressures, it is reasonable to suppose that the presence of social crisis will be reflected in the personalities functioning in society at a given time. Freud and Burlingham emphasized the importance of war in personality development in their book based on their experiences in supervising three residential English nurseries[172]. In this volume, they treat anxieties of children, but there is little reason to believe that these anxieties are not present to some extent in adults. Freud and Burlingham maintain that war is harmful to children because it makes it difficult for the small child to learn to repress his aggressions when he sees so much open aggression going on about him. Air raids produce the following anxieties in children, (1) reality anxiety, (2) fear of the instincts, (3) fear of punishment, (4) communicated anxiety, and (5) fear relating to the death of the father. In the present study, the "communicated anxiety" is important in developing aggression. In this connection, it should be noted that the basic psychological factor which makes society possible is the beginning trust of protective adults. As stated by Géza Róheim, "Child and mother together form the Ego or rather the something from which the Ego is destined to develop, while all the unpleasant sensations, all the frustrations and

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172. Freud, Anna, and Burlingham, Dorothy T.; WAR AND CHILDREN, New York, 1943.

aggressions are relegated to the outer world or Non-Ego. In other words, the child identifies himself with the mother and projects its own aggressions into the world at large"[173]. In case of war, the aggressions are "projected" right back, and a frustrating situation occurs. This frustration is not confined to children, but permeates society in general, with government functioning as the mother-object with which identification is made. Hence, it was considered important to attempt to sample personality trends in the wartime and postwar eras if it were possible.

The selection of a suitable personality test or inventory presented a difficult problem. While the individual Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test, or other projective technique would have been highly desireable, they were too time-consuming for the volume needed for statistical analysis. Group Rorschach did not seem to be adequate. An exhaustive survey of the available tests was made. The Bernreuter Personality Inventory was selected as having the fewest objections and the greatest volume of research, validation, and popularity.

Super summarized the mass of literature reporting work done on the Bernreuter, pro, con, and neutral through 1941[174], and since that time little new has been added. He maintained that although there is disagreement, the majority of investigators hold that the Bernreuter norms are adequate. The concensus among research

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173. Róheim, Géza; "War, Crime and the Covenant, Part II, Projection and the Blood-Feud", Journal of Criminal Psychopathology, July, 1943, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 143.
174. Super, Donald E.; "The Bernreuter Personality Inventory: A Review of Research", Psychological Bulletin, February, 1942, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 94-125.

workers was that the Bernreuter can be used to measure group trends with a reasonable degree of reliability. Caution should be exercised, however, when used individually. The scores have distinguished psychotics and neurotics from normals with some degree of accuracy, though not perfectly. Unfavorable scores were considered indicative of maladjustment, but favorable scores do not necessarily indicate good adjustment in the clinical sense. For instance, a psychopathic inferior would obtain a low neuroticism score. It is emphasized that a Bernreuter score represents a point on one continuum, and does not depict the complex interplay of personalities and situations which are present in behavior problems.

The six Bernreuter scales used in this study are (1) B1-N, neurotic tendency, in which a low score indicates a wholesome adjustment to the environment, (2) B2-S, self-sufficiency, in which a high score indicates a wholesome independence of others, (3) B3-I, introversion, in which a high score is indicative of withdrawing from social situations, and which Super views as identical with B1-N, (4) B4-D, social dominance, in which a low score indicates submissiveness in face-to-face situations, (5) F1-C, self-consciousness, in which a high score indicates hampering self-consciousness, and which Super considers a consistent measure of the trait assessed by B1-N, and (6) F2-S, solitariness, in which a low score indicates a wholesome gregariousness.

Unfortunately, no prewar samples were available as far as personality testing was concerned. The Bernreuter Personality

Inventory was introduced into the State Prison of Southern Michigan in 1944 by the investigator for purposes of this research project, and was continued for a year as routine psychological service. Several months after the investigator's induction into the army, the use of the Bernreuter was discontinued, so a continuous trend is not available. The obtaining of 500 Bernreuter Personality Inventory scores in 1948 for purposes of comparison with the 1,235 scores obtained in 1944 was specifically for purposes of this study.

Means and standard deviations were computed on each of the six scales for the 1944 and the 1948 distributions. Critical ratios were computed on each scale to measure the significance of any differences between the 1944 and 1948 distributions. Low scores were considered favorable on scales B1-N (neurotic tendency), B3-I (introversion-extroversion), F1-C (self-consciousness), and F2-S (solitariness-sociability). High scores were considered as favorable on scales B2-S (self-sufficiency) and B4-D (dominance--submission).

Personality Patterns in Wartime

The results of the administration of Bernreuter Personality Inventories to 1,235 consecutive commitments to the State Prison of Southern Michigan in 1944 are shown in Table 29. If the norms are adequate, and most researchers have agreed that they are, then the prisoners scored somewhat low in B2-S, indicating lack of self-sufficiency; low in B4-D, indicating a tendency toward submissiveness in face-to-face situations which may on occasion have been compensated by almost random assaultive behavior;

Table 29

Bernreuter Scores for 1,235 New Prisoners in Wartime

Class Interval	B1-N	B2-S	B3-I	B4-D	F1-C	F2-S
95-99	50	18	35	16	89	22
90-94	51	29	40	8	84	41
85-89	66	31	33	23	105	37
80-84	65	37	50	36	97	25
75-79	66	38	36	30	56	20
70-74	65	31	80	36	114	33
65-69	86	61	70	57	67	40
60-64	90	35	57	84	82	40
55-59	82	79	87	39	66	56
50-54	81	58	47	34	36	27
45-49	41	64	112	94	71	108
40-44	64	48	105	118	75	58
35-39	78	102	67	87	40	107
30-34	59	85	46	48	43	45
25-29	46	108	60	87	35	52
20-24	85	119	112	87	42	85
15-19	62	61	54	74	47	78
10-14	44	91	60	81	42	77
5-9	32	91	48	115	26	99
0-4	22	49	36	81	18	185
Mean	52.3	41.6	47.5	38.3	60.3	35.6
S.D.	26.0	25.1	25.5	24.7	26.6	27.9

high in F1-C, indicating a tendency toward self consciousness; and low in F2-S, suggesting a wholesome regard for sociability and gregariousness. These findings agree with those of Lock, who reported that 262 successive admissions to Colorado State Penitentiary were introverted, submissive in face-to-face situations, lacking in self-confidence, and were gregarious[175]. Some of this may be explained

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175. Lock, B.; "Various Factors in a Penal Population", The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1942, Vol. 32, No. 4. pp. 316-285.

in terms of conditioning. Freud distinguished between neurotic and normal anxiety[176]. Neurotic anxiety may occur in individuals who have been punished for crimes performed in a fit of rage, about which they are later sorry. Such individuals may fear their own impulses. Corsini reported significant neurotic tendency, which was not found excessively in the present study, and significant self-consciousness, which substantiates present findings[177]. The neurotic tendency found by Corsini will be considered later in this chapter.

Postwar Personality Patterns

The results of Bernreuter Personality Inventories administered to 500 new inmates in 1948 are shown in Table 30. The findings in these distributions corroborate the previous findings to an even greater degree than those reported during wartime. These findings support Corsini's finding of significant neurotic tendency previously mentioned. Corsini's tests were administered to the more intelligent inmates at the end of the war. It is noted that neither Lock's figures before American participation in the war nor the 1944 wartime figures reported in this study is indicative of significantly high neurotic tendency. On the other hand, Corsini's demobilitory figures and the postwar figures herein reported show significant neurotic tendency. There must be some factor introduced by or accompanying demobilization and the end of war which increases neurotic tendency in the population.

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176. Freud, Sigmund; THE PROBLEM OF ANXIETY, New York, 1936, pp. 90-120.
177. Corsini, Raymond; "Bernreuter Patterns of a Group of Prison Inmates", The Journal of Clinical Psychology, July, 1946, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 283-285.

Table 30

Bernreuter Scores for 500 New Prisoners in Postwar Period

Class Interval	B1-N	B2-S	B3-I	B4-D	F1-C	F2-S
95-99	22	2	16	8	51	6
90-94	41	21	32	7	26	2
85-89	39	9	17	16	33	7
80-84	24	7	49	17	59	12
75-79	19	18	21	6	46	21
70-74	46	12	11	9	47	17
65-69	23	23	29	21	38	28
60-64	42	17	32	27	39	17
55-59	27	43	38	13	27	63
50-54	48	31	18	4	22	22
45-49	7	19	47	19	28	28
40-44	13	27	21	47	11	7
35-39	28	28	24	27	6	52
30-34	27	33	27	8	3	27
25-29	20	27	23	27	16	11
20-24	21	52	21	52	9	26
15-19	12	23	39	51	11	14
10-14	26	35	18	47	12	15
5-9	8	42	10	56	5	68
0-4	7	31	7	38	11	57
Mean	57.5	39.0	53.0	34.1	66.0	38.8
S.D.	26.7	26.0	26.6	26.9	25.4	26.6

Wartime and Postwar Personality Differences

The critical ratios of the differences between the Bernreuter scores of 1,235 new prisoners during wartime and the scores of 500 new prisoners during the postwar period are shown in Table 31.

Table 31

Differences Between Wartime and Postwar Bernreuter Scores Shown by Differences Between the Means and by Critical Ratios

	B1-N		B2-S		B3-I		B4-D		F1-C		F2-S	
Period	Mean	C.R.	Mean	C.R.	Mean	C.R.	Mean	C.R.	Mean	C.R.	Mean	C.R.
Wartime	52.3		41.6		47.5		38.3		60.3		35.6	
		3.7		1.9		3.9		3.0		4.2		2.2
Postwar	57.5		39.0		53.0		34.1		66.0		38.8	

An inspection of the findings shown in Table 31 indicates that the group of 500 successive new commitments during the postwar period (1948) scored consistently more unfavorably on all six Bernreuter scales than did 1,235 successive new commitments to the same prison during wartime (1944). The scores are significantly more unfavorable during the postwar period in greater neurotic tendency, greater introversion or withdrawing from social situations, greater feelings of submissiveness and inadequacy in social situations, and more hampering self-consciousness. Since leadership is primarily a matter of relative adjustment[178], it could be said that there were fewer potential leaders among the postwar commitments to prison.

The reasons for these more unfavorable scores must be associated with the end of the war and the attendant confusion of reconversion. One could expect the opposite phenomenon to be true, in that during wartime the best of young manpower would be conscripted for military duty. Left in the civilian population were the rejectees, the men in IV-F Selective Service classifications. Many of the rejectees were so because they had been diagnosed as psychoneurotic. One could expect on the basis of chance, then, that a proportionately higher number of neurotic tendency scores would appear on the Bernreuter during the wartime period. Similar expectations for similar reasons could be drawn for each of the six Bernreuter scales. Many men were rejected for military service because of "inadequate personality".

The mobilization of aggression by various propaganda devices

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178. Hanawalt, Nelson G., and Richardson, Helen M.; "Leadership as Related to the Bernreuter Personality Measures: IV An Item Analysis of Responses of Adult Leaders and Non-Leaders", Journal of Applied Psychology, October, 1944, Vol. 28, No. 5, pp. 397-411.

account for greater proportion of violence in crime. Neurotic tendency, feelings of insecurity, and inadequacy in social situations are more frequently associated with violent crimes than with any other type of crime. However, the greatest mobilization of aggression was during wartime, rather than after the war. Hence the mobilization of aggression during wartime would tend to suggest the opposite phenomenon from that observed.

The influence of the returned veterans would not account for the observed phenomena. In the first place, only the best adjusted individuals were taken into the military services and retained until the end of the war. In the second place, the rate of acceleration of the rate of violent crimes began to decrease when the military services were demobilized. Evidence is that the crimes committed proportionately more frequently by veterans are forgery and robbery, rather than the violent crimes.

The explanation of the observed phenomena seems to lie partially in the mobilization of aggression by propaganda methods and partially in the cessation of hostilities. During the war, the personalized aggression of the populace was nobilized by radio programs, news censorship, scrap drives, and other propaganda campaigns. The labor unions gave "no strike" pledges. The entire national economy was aimed at the accomplishment of a common goal; the successful prosecution of the war. Propaganda campaigns channelized the national thinking. At the end of the war, however, the propaganda campaigns diminished abruptly. As reviewed in Chapter III, censorship and propaganda of any sort was bitterly attacked. The national thinking ceased to be channelized by government propaganda

drives. The mobilized aggression in the populace as a whole was still mobilized, but the tangible common goal to which these aggressions could be aimed was gone. The mobilized aggression found release in confused and random manners. Salient examples of such release of aggression were the numerous congressional and legislative "investigating committees" on the national and State levels. The House Un-American Activities Committee and its rampages is worthy of note. Widespread aggressive labor difficulties were experienced. Of interest in the present study were the several investigations of Michigan's prison system at the end and after the war. This aroused personalized aggression generally in the populace which is not given direction by propaganda campaigns seems to be the most plausible explanation for the more unfavorable Bernreuter scores among new commitments to prison in the postwar period.

Summary

Bernreuter Personality Inventories given to 1,235 new arrivals at the State Prison of Southern Michigan during World War II, in 1944, indicated that prisoners were low in self-sufficiency, submissive and inadequate in social situations, self-conscious, and interested in making friends. Other studies of penal populations corroborated these findings. After the war, in 1948, Bernreuter Personality Inventories were given to 500 new arrivals at the same prison. More unfavorable scores of all scales were observed in the postwar group, with the differences being statistically significant in four scales. The significant differences unfavorable to the postwar group were in greated neurotic tendency (B1-N), greater introversion

or withdrawing from social situations (B3-I), greater feelings of submissiveness and inadequacy in social situations (B4-D), and more hampering self-consciousness (F1-C). Since the most adequate personalities were chosen by Selective Service for duty in the armed forces, an opposite trend toward greater personality stability in the populace might have been expected after demobilization. The explanation seems to be in the lack of direction given to the aggressions mobilized in the populace by propaganda drives during the war. Seeking release, these frustrated aggressions may find substitute satisfactions in increased entertainment and other activities, or in crime, some of it violent.

Chapter X

ALCOHOL AND PLEAS OF GUILTY

During times of war, there is an increase in anxiety. This is particularly true when aggression has been mobilized so that tensions are increased. May refers to a rough correlation between relaxation and decrease in anxiety, and the use of alcohol to depress the anxiety by slowing down the action of the fear response[179]. Bacon agrees that alcohol is a temporary measure by which inhibitions are relaxed, feelings of self-importance are increased, and general personal tensions are relieved[180]. Wartime is a period which brings out the fear response, aggression is mobilized, and anxiety tensions mount. It would be reasonable to suppose that if such conditions are general throughout the population, there would be an increase in the amount of alcohol used to depress anxiety.

Specific inquiry was made of all new prisoners between 1937 and 1944 as to whether or not alcohol contributed to the offense for which the man was committed. Similar data is available during the postwar period only on a hit-or-miss basis. Consequently, only the data for 1939 and 1943, tabulated manually, were presented.

The number of persons who considered alcohol to have contrubuted to the commission of the crimes for which they were sentenced is presented in Table 32.

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179. May, Mark A.; A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE, New Haven, 1943, p. 94.
180. Bacon, Seldon D.; "An Introduction to Alcoholism and Its Treatment", in the PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF CORRECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION, DETROIT, 1946, New York, 1946, p. 14.

Table 32

Number of Alcohol-Involved Crimes in Prewar and Wartime Periods

	1939	1943
Alcohol Contributed to Crime	453	976
No Alcohol Involved	2,310	1,271

There was a greater use of alcohol during the war than before the war, according to these data. Postwar data which compares exactly to the 1939 and 1943 data is not available because the question involving alcohol was discarded from the routine proceedure when the identification blank containing provision for it was discarded in 1944. However, it is noted that a greater proportion of individuals blamed alcohol for their crimes during wartime than during the prewat year. This suggests the use of alcohol, as May holds, as a means of slowing down the fear or anxiety response during wartime. Interviewing men during wartime left the investigator with the impression that a major share of the drinking was started on a social basis in industrial centers, and offenses grew out of group "dare-devil" action. This is merely another aspect of May's contention.

It is interesting that there seems to be an inverse relation between use of alcohol in crime and pleas of not guilty. Guilty pleas and not guilty pleas for 1939 and 1943 are presented in Table 33.

Table 33

Number of Pleas of Guilty and Not Guilty in the Prewar and Wartime Periods

	1939	1943	1947[181]
Guilty	1,585	1,782	5,184
Not Guilty	1,143	467	1,516

181. Department of Corrections; Annual Bulletin, 1947, Lansing, Michigan, 1948, p. 13. These figures represent all pleas in all convicted cases in Michigan, rather than commitments to prison.

The 1947 data presented is actually the total of pleas entered by all prisoners convicted of charges. Since many were merely fined, jailed, or placed on probation, the data is only roughly comparable. It is noted that there was a greater proportion of guilty pleas during wartime than during the peacetime period. There were isolated cases who pleaded guilty in order to come to prison and thereby avoid going into military service. The greater proportion of guilty pleas during wartime would, in the main, seem indicative of the in-group cooperation that is associated with out-group aggression, which is what the peopaganda campaigns during wartime have attempted to foster.

Summary

During wartime there has been an increased number of guilty pleas accompanied by an increased proportion of crimes for which alcohol was blamed by the men who committed them. It was suggested that the increased number of guilty pleas was a manifestation of the in-group cooperation that accompanies out-group aggression which is mobilized by propaganda and war psychology during times of international conflagration. The increased use of alcohol seems to be in the form of a psychological catalyzer which facilitates the subjection of the individual ego to in-group cooperation.

Chapter XI

PATRIOTISM AND ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR

The attitudes of prison inmates toward war and their patriotism would seem to shed some light on the presence or absence of mobilized aggression. In order to determine these attitudes, it was considered advisable to administer to a representative group of inmates of the State Prison of Southern Michigan some standardized scales for the measurement of these attitudes.

The market was searched for standardized scales which would measure the attitudes of the men toward war and their patriotism as far as the United States of America was concerned. Two scales purporting to measure attitudes toward war were available from the series edited by Louis L. Thurstone from the University of Chicago. They were those developed by D. Droba[182] and Ruth C. Petersen[183]. While there was a scale for measuring patriotism in the series, it was not considered to be satisfactory for purposes of this study because it seemed to be too abstract, academic, and impersonal. The Rosander and Thurstone scale for measuring loyalty to the Constitution of the United States[184] was selected because it actually purported to measure loyalty to a national symbol. Two of the scales, Droba'd and Petersen's scales for measuring attitudes toward war, were used in an earlier study which concluded that among 73 college students there was a lack of clear-cut, and even

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182. Droba, D.; Attitude Toward War, Scale No. 2, Forms A and B, Chicago, 1930.
183. Petersen, Ruth C.; Attitude Toward War, Scale No. 34, Forms A and B, Chicago, 1931.
184. Rosander, A.C., and Thurstone, L.L.; Attitude Toward the Constitution of the United States, No. 12, Forms A and B, Chicago, 1931.

conflicting, attitudes toward war in 1940 and 1942[185]. The author maintained that the reason was that the scales were faulty, and Erickson agreed[186]. The investigator feels that these two authors have been a little too idealistic in expecting more uniformity of intrepretation of each item than is justifiable. At any rate, these scales seemed to be the best available on the market.

The question arises as to how many of the scales to administer to get valid results. Ferguaon reports that his experimentation indicated that 185 cases gave about the same results as 643 and 432 cases[187]. In 1944, these three scales were administered to 500 inmates under 40 years of age, selected by taking every tenth serial number from the more than five thousand inmates in the prison, starting at an arbitrary origin, and continuing through the serial numbers, re-starting at another arbitrary origin, until a sufficient number of cases had been administered the scales. In 1948, the process was repeated with the postwar population. By this method, it was felt that an index of wartime to postwar trend in prisoner attitudes toward war and general patriotism could be obtained in the abstract.

Attitudes Toward War and the Constitution

The results of the Droba scale for measuring attitudes toward war are presented in Table 34.

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185. Dudycha, George J.; "A Critical Examination of the Measurement of Attitude Toward War", Journal of Social Psychology, August, 1943, Vol. 18, pp. 383-392.
186. Erickson, Dtanford C.; "A Skeptical Note on the Use of Attitude Scales Toward War", Psychological Bulletin, 1941, Vol. 38, p. 709.
187. Ferguson, Leonard W.; "A Revision of the Primary Social Attitude Scales", Journal of Psychology, April, 1944, Vol. 17, pp. 229-241.

Table 34

Classification	1944	1948
Extremely militaristic (0-2.9)	5	4
Strongly militaristic (3.0-3.9)	8	6
Mildly militaristic (4.0-4.9)	68	46
Neutral position (5.0-5.9)	113	215
Mildly pacifistic (6.0-6.9)	129	109
Strongly pacifistic (7.0-7.9)	121	88
Extremely pacifistic (8.0-10.0)	56	32
Mean	5.9	5.6

In a chi-square setting, a chi-square value of 49.794 indicates statistical significance of the differences between these two distributions surpassing the one per cent level. The means of the wartime and postwar groups are not far apart, being 5.9 and 5.6, respectively. Both these means are in the "neutral" group, with a tendency toward pacifism, which leads us to believe that there has been little or no mobilization of abstract aggression during the war or after. The significant differences between these two groups refer to the range of the distribution, rather than the means. The postwar distribution is narrower, converging inmthe middle for a higher mode, while the wartime distribution tends more to the extremes. This suggests a wider division of feeling and stronger emotionality during wartime, and a levelling off of extreme attitudes during peacetime.

The results of the Petersen scale for measuring attitude toward war are presented in Table 35.

Table 35

Attitudes of Prisoners Toward War
During Wartime and Postwar Periods

Classification	1944	1948
Strongly opposed to war (0-2.9)	11	3
Moderately opposed to war (3.0-4.9)	188	123

Neutral position (5.0-5.9)	124	217
Moderately favorable to war (6.0-7.9)	158	147
Strongly favorable to war (8.0-11.0)	19	10
Mean	4.9	5.0

The chi-square value computed from this table was 43.844, which indicates statistical significance beyond the one per cent level. While the means are but a tenth of a point apart, the wartime mean of 4.9 falls in the "moderately opposed to war" category, while the postwar attitudes are more "neutral". This substantiates the findings in the same group by the Droba scale just discussed. Again, the significance of the differences refers to the range of the distributions, rather than to the means. The wartime distribution shows a tendency to go to the extremes, while the postwar figures show more agreement and a trend toward the center of the distribution. Again, this suggests a mellowing of abstract attitudes in the prisoner group after the war.

The results of the Rosander and Thurstone scale for measuring loyalty to the Constitution of the United States is presented in Table 36.

Table 36

Attitudes of Prisoners Toward Loyalty to the Constitution

Classification	1944	1948
Strongly prejudiced against the Constitution (0-1.9)	5	0
Prejudiced against the Constitution (2.0-3.9)	14	11
Neutral position (4.0-6.9)	299	398
Loyal to the Constitution (7.0-8.9)	178	90
Strongly patriotic and loyal to the Constitution (9.0-10.9)	4	1
Means	6.0	5.7

Computation from this table results in a chi-square value of 50.118,

and a statistically significant difference between the distributions which surpasses the one per cent level. The means are close together in the "neutral" category. The differences, again, are in the range of the distributions. The wartime distribution is broader, with feelings extending to the extremes in greater proportion than during the postwar period. After the war, there was greater agreement in the prisoner group and a trend toward the neutral position. Slightly greater patriotism and loyalty to the Constitution of the United States was in evidence during the war.

In the Thurstone-type attitude scales, the positions were at or near the neutral position. There was a tendency for the attitudes toward war to be a little opposed to war during wartime, with a slight trend toward the true middle position during the postwar period. Patriotism and loyalty to the Constitution of the United States was also in the neutral position, with slightly greater patriotism during the war. Interpretation of the findings is with caution because of the slight differences between the means, the differences being three-tenths, one-tenth, and three-tenths. In the abstract, the findings suggest an idealistic horror and opposition to war while it is present, somewhat intensified by frustration at not being able to participate. This opposition levelled off into relative acceptance on an ex post facto basis. The slightly greater patriotism may reflect the mobilization of aggression during wartime.

Attitudes of Ex-Servicemen

In the first two months of 1945, each of the scales for measuring attitudes toward war and the Constitution of the United States was given to 100 ex-servicemen who had come into the prison, in order

to evaluate the conditioning effect of military service. The results of the Droba scale for measuring attitude toward war are presented in Table 37.

Table 37

Attitudes of Prisoner Ex-Servicemen Toward War

Classification	1945
Extremely militaristic (0-2.9)	0
Strongly militaristic (3.0-3.9)	1
Mildly militaristic (4.0-4.9)	13
Neutral position (5.0-5.9)	26
Mildly pacifistic (6.0-6.9)	15
Strongly pacifistic (7.0-7.9)	26
Extremely pacifistic (8.0-11.0)	19
Mean	6.1

The distribution, with its mean of 6.1, suggests that ex-servicemen were abstractly more opposed to war than were the average prisoners.

The results of the Petersen scale for measuring attitude toward war are presented below for the 100 ex-servicemen in prison.

Table 38

Attitudes of Prisoner Ex-Servicemen Toward War

Classification	1945
Strongly opposed to war (0-2.9)	1
Moderately opposed to war (3.0-4.9)	65
Neutral position (5.0-5.9)	26
Moderatly favorable to war (6.0-7.9)	8
Strongly favorable to war (8.0-11.0)	0
Mean	4.0

This would corroborate the results of the Droba scale, in that it shows that the ex-servicemen are more opposed to war that are average prisoners.

The resultsoof the Rosander and Thurstone scale for measuring

loyalty to the Constitution of the United States are presented in Table 39.

Table 39

Attitudes of Prisoner Ex-Servicemen Toward the Constitution of the United States

Classification	1945
Strongly prejudiced against the Constitution (0-1.9)	0
Prejudiced against the Constitution (2.0-3.9)	2
Neutral position (4.0-6.9)	55
Loyal to the Constitution (7.0-8.9)	40
Strongly patriotic and loyal to the Constitution (9.0-10.9)	3
Mean	6.3

These results would indicate that the ex-servicemen show slightly greater patriotism than the average prisoners, undoubtedly the result of conditioning of military training and "orientation", which mobilized their aggressions.

The ex-servicemen tend to be more patriotic but less favorable to war in the abstract than were the 500 prisoners tested at about the same time. This could be a matter of selection or of conditioning by the armed services. The latter seems to be more probable. Men are not selected on the basis of intensity of their feelings of patriotism or their antipathy toward war. On the other hand, during military training and duty, and particularly during the "orientation" period, the attitudes of servicemen are purposefully conditioned to increase patriotism. Perhaps the physical and mental rigors of training are sufficient to develop an antipathy toward war or anything suggesting military life.

Summary

To 500 prisoners under 40 years of age at the State Prison of Southern Michigan during the wartime period of 1944 were given

the Peterson scale for measuring attitude toward war, the Droba scale for measuring attitude toward war, and the Rosander and Thurstone scale for measuring loyalty to the Constitution of the United States. Under similar conditions, 500 prisoners under 40 years of age at the State Prison of Southern Michigan during the postwar year of 1948 were given the same scales. It was found that the arithmetic means were close together on all scales, tending toward the neutral positions. Slightly greater feelings of pacifism were observed during wartime, but the differences were not significant. Slightly greater patriotism, of loyalty to the Constitution of the United States, was observed during wartime. None of these differences was significant. Significant differences between wartime and postwar distributions for all scales was shown, however, in the tendency for extremes to be reached in wartime and the general trend toward the neutral position in the postwar period. The explanation for this phenomenon seems to be that the aggression-frustration tensions in wartime are greater, and that more random, neurotic-type thinking occurs because of the greater pressures .

Among 100 ex-servicemen in early 1945, greater pacifism and stronger patriotism was observed than was present in the 500 prisoner groups. This suggests that the rigors of military training and duty have reduces to some extent the glamor of the military, and that the "orientation"programs have assisted the military thinking to increase the mobilization of aggression and feelings of patriotism of the ex-servicemen.

Chapter XII

CONSTRUCTION OF AN ATTITUDE SCALE

One of the best ways to determine the attitudes of any group toward a specific phenomenon is the interview. In some instances, however, particularly when a large number of cases is desired, the interview is too long a procedure. The attitude scale has been used with fairly great frequency since L.L.Thurstone's experiments with them at the University of Chicago. It has not been used without criticism, and the methodology, techniques, wording, and general use of attitude and opinion research has been debated to the extremes in the literature. It was felt that in order to carry on this study, it would be desirable to make available an attitude scale to measure prison inmates' willingness to participate in armed conflict.

When the market was searched for attitude scales pertaining to war, patriotism, and similar phases of attitudes for the work of the last chapter, the market was also searched for a scale that would measure prisoners' attitudes toward participating in the military forces . None was available. Since there was none on the market, the only thing left to do was build one.

Possibility of Measuring Attitudes

Whether or not such a scale is possible is a matter of debate unlimited. Johnson attacks Thurstone's method of constructing attitude scales as "index number numerology"[188]. He refers to numerology as the treatment of numbers without regard to their [illegible]

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188. Johnson, H.M.; "Index-Numerology and Measures of Impariment", American Journal of Psychology, October, 1943, Vol. 56, No. 4, pp. 551-558.

functions as nominal, ordinal or cardinal, and without regard to the characteristic of concreteness or abstractness. He refers to index numbers as a class of pure or abstract numbers which are usually ratios. The "Thurstonian index numbers" express "average" scores, but Johnson maintains that they do not show in what tasks there were deviations. This, of course, is one of those general criticisms which would also indict the use of intelligence quotients, cost-of-living index, vocational interest test results, and the Associated Press 60-stock average, along with many other convenient indices. The problems of invariant zero points through intensity analysis, as presented by Guttman[189], while pressing toward the ideal in attitude scale construction, could have been most discouraging. However, the present scale had been constructed and administered to 600 prisoners by the time Guttman's paper was published.

The attitude is a complex phenomenon with many phases which can hardly be expressed by a single number, in agreement with Johnson. Like any other index, however, a ratio may give an idea of the attitude of one individual in a group toward a specific social phenomenon in relation to the attitudes of others in the group. These can satisfactorily be measured and expressed by a single number for the sake of expediency and convenience. The various attitude scales on the market do exactly this. A man's size cannot be expressed by a single number, but one specific phase of his size can be

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189. Guttman, Louis; "Suggestions for Further Research in Scale and Intensity Analysis of Attitudes and Opinions", International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, 1947, Vol. 1, pp. 30-35.

expressed in this manner. If Joe Louis enters the ring weighing 208 pounds, one knows a little about his size, but certainly not all. The construction of an attitude scale has to take into consideration the limitation of the area to be measured.

In limiting the phase to be measured, the definition of attitudes have to be considered. There are many definitions of attitudes, usually involving the psychological concept of mental set. One of the best definitions, however, comes from L.L.Thurstone, who was a pioneer in the measurement of attitudes. He wrote that attitude is "the sum total of a man's inclination and feelings, prejudiced or biased preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specific topic"[190]. In the present study, the specific topic is active military participation in World War II.

The method to be used in the construction of an attitude scale for measuring inmates' willingness to participate in active military service necessitated study. Methods have been proposed and rejected, with none meeting with unqualified acceptance. In a use of the "panel" method, 2,000 members of the Woman's Home Companion reader-reporters furnished consumer preferences, habits, and opinions on national problems held by their respective families[191]. Guttman proposes an internal consistency type of construction[192]. Methodology

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190. Thurstone, L. L., and Chave, E. J.; THE MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDE, Chicago, 1929, p. 6.
191. Robinson, R. A.; "Use of the Panel in Opinion and Attitude Research", International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, 1947, Vol. 1, pp. 83-36.
192. Guttman, Louis; "Scale and Intensity Analysis for Attitude, Opinion, and Achievement", in Kelly, G. A.; NEW METHODS IN APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY, University of Maryland, 1947.

comparison of Likert and Thurston procedures found that the two methods produced comparable results[193]. Even the use of the distorted syllogism has been used to measure attitudes[194]. As proposed by Eysenck, however, the different methods are neither irreconcilable nor are incompatible, but are either alternative approximations or simple linear transformations of the attitude being measured[195]. A modification of the Thurstone method was used in this study, since Thurstone-sponsored scales were used elsewhere in this investigation.

Most investigators have agreed that although attitude differs from opinion in the abstract definition, opinion can be considered an expression of attitude, and opinion symbolizes an attitude. In the construction of the scales, most experimenters have agreed that the acceptance or rejection of opinion appears to be an acceptable delimitor of the attitude. Here, apparently, the agreement ends. The disputes as to methodological principles and other issues are many. Quinn McNemar reviewed 133 articles and came to what he considered to be some general conclusions[196]. Conrad wrote a reply to McNemar, challenging methodological principles[197]. Crespi also

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193. Edwards, A. L., and Kenny, K. C.; "A Comparison of the Thurstone and Likert Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction", Journal of Applied Psychology, 1946, Vol. 30, pp. 72-73.
194. Landsell, Herbert; "A Study of Distorted Syllogistic Reasoning as a means of Discovering Covert Attitudes Toward Marriage", Bulletin of the Canadian Psychological Association, 1946, Vol. 6, p. 98.
195. Eysenck, H. J.; "General Social Attitudes", Journal of Social Psychology, February, 1944, Vol. 19, pp. 207-227.
196. McNemar, Quinn; "Opinion-Attitude Methodology", Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 43, pp. 289-374.
197. Conrad, H. S.; "Some Principles of Attitude Measurement: A Reply to 'Opinion-Attitude'", Psychological Bulletin, 1946, Vol. 43 pp. 570-589.

wrote a rejoinder[198]. McNemar wrote a response to the rejoinder and the reply[199]. The debate continues.

Construction of the Attitude Scale

Prerequisite to the construction of an attitude scale is the determination of the possible categories into which the attitude might fall. For this reason, reading and interviews were undertaken. The literature did not contain much information regarding the attitudes of offenders, the only attitudes expressed being a conjecture by an Illinois psychiatrist[200]. His attitudinal categories were as follows:

1. Realists who have a paramount desire to be free. Induction in the armed services will accomplish this end; higher ideals are entirely secondary.

2. Motivated by both patriotism and a desire to be free. Their desire to enter the servive is greater than that of free men for, in addition to answering the call of patriotism, they are furthering their own individual ends.

3. Wants to bargain for their service. Society has not treated them well; they are willing to be magnaminous and let bygones be bygones. But if society insists on making them pay their full pound of flesh, they will have no part in defending it. "I'll go if they take me now. If they make me do the rest of my time, they can go to hell!"

4. Will not fight in defense of their country. They believe they have been and are being abused by society, and therefore owe society nothing. Imprisonment for draft evasion is not likely to be worse that the current sentence. Will not fight for their oppressors.

5. Want the U.S.A. to lose the war. "What have we ever got from the

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198. Crespi, L.P.; "'Opinion-Attitude Methodology' and the Polls--A Rejoinder", Psychological Bulletin, 1946, Vol. 43, pp. 562-569.
199. McNemar, Quinn; "Response to Crespi's Rejoinder and Conrad's Reply to an Appraisal of Opinion-Attitude Methodology", Psychological Bulletin, 1947, Vol. 44, pp. 171-176.
200. Sukov, Marvin; "The Prisoner in Wartime", Federal probation, January-March, 1943, pp. 14-16.

people of the U.S.A.? What have they ever done but kick us around? The Germans or the Japs couldn't be any worse."

These attitudes, after interviewing 100 prisoners with regard to their attitudes toward participation in the war, seem to need little modification. It was felt that the first two items should be reversed and another category with patriotism as the highest ideal should be added. The resulting categories would be as follows:

1. Higher ideals paramount, disregarding desire to be free. Would fight first and finish time later. Motivated by intense patriotism.

2. Motivated to service equally by patriotism and desire to be free. Wants to serve in the army in order to get out of prison just about as much as his desire to fight for his country.

3. Paramount desire to be free. Wants to get out of prison, and if fighting for his country will do it, then he'll fight for his country.

4. Wants to bargain for his services. Would go to the army if he is taken now. If he has to do the rest of his time, they can get their recruits elsewhere.

5. Will not fight for his country, nor would he fight against it. Doesn't care who wins the war.

6. Would fight against the U.S.A. Wants America to lose the war.

Numerical values were assigned to each category, in the order in which they were presented above. The above index numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 were arbitrarily assigned as the respective values.

After the determination of the categories in which the attitudes pertaining to this particular topic might fall, two hundred statements expressing opinions with regard to participation in the fighting were formulated by sociologists and the psychologist working at the State Prison of Southern Michigan. From these somewhat random statements, forty-five of the most concise, clear and pertinent statements were selected by the investigator and two sociologists,

with a minimum of seven statements falling into each of the six categories described above. The use of three judges to select statements is a variation from the Thurstone method. The sorting procedure used by Thurstone in the construction of his attitude scales was to have his subjects select two statements that most nearly agreed with the selected categories[201]. His categories differed somewhat from the ones used in the present study in that they ranged from extremely favorable through neutral to extremely antagonistic. In the present study, it was felt that the sorting procedure could be better consummated if each statement were classified according to the category into which the subjects had interpreted it. As a consequence, 100 subjects, newly arrived prisoners at the State Prison of Southern Michigan, were given a master sheet on which the six categories were widely spaced. They were also given complete sets of 45 slips on which each of the statements tentatively selected for their conciseness were typed. The 100 subjects were then asked to classify each statement according to their interpretation of the statement, indicating their classifications by placing the statement slips in the spaces provided immediately under the category labels. The several statement slips which would be assigned to a single category could be piled neatly, one above the other, on the same pile under the selected category.

Although Thurstone drew charts, plotted cumulative curves, and selected the point at which the curve crossed the 50th percentile as a

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201. Thurstone, L. L., and Chave, E. J.; THE MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDE, Chicago, 1929, pp. 30-31.

scale value, this procedure appears to be just another way of finding the median. It is agreed with Thurstone that the median is probably the best means of locating proper identifications of the statements with their respective categories. In the present study, the median was found on each statement according to the categories within which the 100 subjects interpreted it. It was found that several statements were interpreted outside the intended category, and in one case, there were only three statements in a category, where at least seven had been intended. Since the interpretation, rather than the examiner's intention, of each statement was the important item, the interpretations were accepted at face value. Since agreement in interpretation of each statement is needed to get a reliable attitude scale, the sorting procedure in this instance was helpful in eliminating statements which were interpreted in different manners by different prisoners.

It was noted that two men apparently disregarded the classifications; it was suspected that they dealt out the statements as they would a deck of cards so that they could return to their cells, for some of the statements were placed in categories directly opposite in meaning to the statements themselves. In the prison situation, such occurrances must be expected. Probably they could be interpreted as expressions of antagonism toward such "childish" routine as classifying statements. For fear of risking "card-stacking" interpretations, however, these cases were not eliminated.

The medians on each statement was computed, and the value of the statement assigned thereby. The medians were computed from the values of the categories into which the statements were interpreted by each

of the 100 subjects. Statement No. 1, for example, was found to have a weight of 1.6, for it was found to have a median of 1.6. This is the category in which the higher ideals were paramount. Statement No. 4, for another example, was shown to have a median of 6.3, indicating that the statement was interpreted by the 100 subjects as indicative that the United States should lose the war and that the participant who agreed with the statement would fight against the U.S.A.

After medians on all the statements were found, some limitation was needed to reduce the range of interpretation. Thurstone used the "Q-value"[202]. Following Thurstone, the Q-value in this scale was determined by subtracting Q_1 from Q_3 and dividing by two. The formula, $\frac{Q_1 - Q_2}{2}$, is used to find Q-value. Like Thurstone's Q-value, the present Q-value can be used to interpret the amount of spread or error. An ambiguous statement, it can be readily seen, will have a high Q-value, for the sorters will place it over a wide range of the scale according to their varied interpretations. Q-value, then, is a measure of ambiguity.

Q-values were found for each of the 45 statements which were sorted by the 100 subjects. The statements were then selected for each category in the attitude scale according to the lowest Q-values, or lowest spread, error, or ambiguity. The categorized statements with the lowest Q-values were selected so that there were three statements in each category, and the rest of the statements were discarded. The remaining 18 statements were arranged in random order on the final scale. The complete attitude scale on page 126 was thereby constructed.

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202. Thurstone, L. L., and Chave, E. J.; THE MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDE, Chicago, 1929, pp. 36-37.

Put a check mark ( ) if you agree with the statement.

Put a cross mark ( ) if you disagree with the statement.

(X) 1. I don't want to get shot at, but I'd join the army to get out of here. 1,6

(✓) 2. I won't fight for Ameerica, nor would I fight against her. 1,6

(✓) 3. I don't care about my time, I want to fight in the service. 1,6

(X) 4. My desire for freedom and my patriotism are about equal. 2,7 — 2,8

(X) 5. I want the U. S. A. to lose this war.

(X) 6. I'm willing to let bygones be bygonesif society is ready to do so.

(✓) 7. If they would let me into the service now, I would come back and start my time over again.

(X) 8. I'd do anything to get out of prison. 4,5 4,6

(✓) 9. I'll have no part of this war. 5,1 5,4

(✓) 10. I want to get out of here about as badly as I want to fight. 5,6

(✓) 11. I'll make a deal with them -- if America will give me a discharge from prison now, I'll fight in their army, otherwise I won't.

(X) 12. I don't care who wins the war, just so the U.S.A. loses it.

(✓) 13. I want to fight for my country -- I can finish my time later

(X) 14. I would fight anything to get out of prison. 2,8 4,5 7|3

(✓) 15. I will not fight for the society that imprisoned me.

(X) 16. German Government is better than the U.S. Government. 3.6

(✓) 17. If they make me do the rest of my time, they can fight their own battles.

(✓) 18. I want to fitht about as badly as I want to get out of here.

3.6

The scale values of these statements, together with their individual Q-values are presented in Table 40.

Table 40

Scale- and Q- Values of the Statements Comprising the Constructed Attitude Scale

Statement Number	Scale Value	Q-Value
1.	3.6	0.7
2.	5.4	0.7
3.	1.6	0.6
4.	2.6	0.7
5.	6.5	0.6
6.	4.1	1.4
7.	1.6	0.6
8.	3.5	0.9
9.	5.6	0.7
10.	2.8	1.1
11.	4.5	1.0
12.	6.4	0.6
13.	1.6	0.6
14.	3.6	0.9
15.	5.4	0.6
16.	6.4	0.6
17.	4.6	0.6
18.	2.7	1.0

The average Q-value, or the average spread, error, or ambiguity for the total scale is 0.8.

In scoring, Thurstone uses the mean of all the scale values that are accepted, and does not use any of the rejected statements[203]. This is not inconsistent with the idea that the acceptance or rejection of an opinion appears to be the best measure of attitude. By having either acceptance or rejection on every statement on the scale, the use of one simplifies the scoring, and simultaneously does not distort the result. By using the mean of all the scale values

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203. Ibid., p. 63.

which were accepted[204], however, Thurstone overlooks the fact that an inadvertent checking of an extreme value will distort the interpretation of the scale. Thurstone's other suggestion of the use of mean rank[205] does not avoid this error, and Thurstone considered it merely an alternate possibility. It was decided to use the median statement values for scoring the total scale, as well as for arriving at the original scale values for the statements. By using the median, the extreme values are not allowed to distort the result. Also, the necessity of reducing the values to round numbers is not introduced.

Scoring this scale, then necessitates the finding of the median score. If the number of accepted statements is even, then the total score for the scale will be the scale value of the middle two items, divided by two to obtain the median. If the accepted statements are odd in number, then the middle scale value will be the score. If all the statements, perchance, are accepted or rejected, then the average of the two middle scale values still obtains. This would mean a total scale value of 3.9. The number of such responses would be very small, and non was encountered in this study, but all possibilities should be considered. The Q-values on all of the statements range between 0.6 and 1.4, and since only two Q-values exceed 1.0, it was felt that a fairly uniform spread of error or ambiguity occurs throughout the scale. For sake of expediency, the computation of the Q-values on individual subjects was omitted, and since the Q-values are relatively uniform, accuracy was not sacrificed.

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204. Ibid., p. 64.
205. Ibid., p. 65.

Reliability and Validity

The validity of the scale of attitude toward participation in the present war was at least partially assured by the method of construction. It has been noted that the average Q-value, or ambiguity of the refined scale is 0.8. This 0.8 represents half the distance between the first and third quartiles in the classification by interpretation of each of the statements in their respective categories. This spread, being less than one, attests partially to the validity of the scale.

With regard to reliability, as well as a further support of validity, the scale was compared with inmate judgment. The use of inmate impressions in the judgment of their fellow inmates has been considered reliable. In Ferris Laune's experimentation[206], the use of inmate "hunches" were widely used in the prediction of success or failure on parole. The fact that inmate "hunches" were highly correlated with the success and failure of other inmates on parole led Laune to conclude that inmate impressions were reliable. This justifies the use of such a technique in the present study. An inmate who held a bachelor's degree in education was selected. He was presented with 35 attitude scales, and he gave them to 35 different inmates at different times in a location away from the psychologist's office. With no identification being placed on the papers and with no civilian employees near, the attitude scales were completed. Only the selected inmate knew who took the test and their individual scores. These scores were tabulated

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206. See Laune, Ferris; PREDICTING CRIMINALITY, Northwestern University, 1936.

and compared, individual by individual, with the judgment by the selected inmate of the men's "true" attitudes. The results of this comparison are presented in Table 41.

Table 41

Comparison of Inmate Judgment and Test Scores Regarding Inmate Attitudes

Test Category	Inmate's Judgment	Test Scores
1.	0	1
2.	15	16
3.	7	6
4.	7	7
5.	5	5
6	1	0

A coefficient of rank correlation of +0.95 attests to the validity and reliability of the attitude scale.

Summary

An attitude scale to measure the willingness of prison inmates to participate in military activity in the war was constructed. The Thurstone method was used in general, but with specified modifications. Two hundred statements were distributed evenly among six attitudinal categories based on reviews of pertinent literature and on results of interviews with 100 prisoners as to their attitudes toward active participation in the war. Forty-five of the statements were selected from the original 200 on the basis of conciseness and clarity of meaning, this being done by a committee comprised of two sociologists at the prison and the investigator. Master sheets containing the six categories were given to a 100-prisoner group other than those originally interviewed for exploratory purposes. The 45 statements on loose slips were presented with the master sheets, and each of

the 100 prisoners identified each statement with the category in which it should fit according to his interpretation. The three statements most frequently identified with each of the six categories were chosen to comprise an 18-item attitude scale. Validity and reliability were assured by the manner of construction, relatively low ambiguity or Q-value, and a coeficient of rank correlation of +0.95 between the scale and a selected inmate's independent judgment after conversation with 35 other prisoners in locations away from the presence of civilian employees. With this type of construction and checking, it is felt that a relatively valid and reliable scale has emerged to measure willingness of prison inmates to participate actively in the United States' military forces during wartime.

Chapter XIII

ATTITUDES TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR

Whether or not to participate in military service has always been a grave decision for a young man to make during wartime, provided he has the choice. May suggests as factors he had to consider (1) fear of disapproval, ridicule, and ostracism by friends, (2) promise of social approval, prestige, an eventual bonus, and the like, (3) escape from responsibilities of home, work, social entanglements, and of making decisions, (4) hatred of the enemy, (5) love of country, (6) sense of identity with other citizens, and (7) sense of duty[207]. On the other side are (1) dread of physical hardship, (2) fear of loss of life or permanent disability, (3) sense of responsibility for dependents, (4) prospect of unemployment on return, (5) aversion to killing others, (6) hatred of prominent leaders in charge of running the war, and (7) secret sympathy for the enemy and his cause. The inmates in prison, however, had more to gain and less to lose by entering the service. Consequently, during the war years, prison officials and employees of every station were badgered by inmates who wanted someone to intercede for them so that they might join the military service. At the State Prison of Southern Michigan, the inmate paper, The Spectator, adopted a well designed symbol for the upper right hand corner of the front page on each issue. This symbol was a prison wall with a tower, carrying the words, "CANNED MANPOWER". Inmate opinion, inmate editorials, and inmate conversation agitated

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207. May, Mark A.; A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE, New Haven, 1943, pp. 134-135.

for a chance to fight for their country. It was apparent that the expressions of prisoner attitudes had become a manifestation of frustration that needed relief.

Attitudes of Prison Inmates

In order to learn something of the actual attitudes of the inmate body, the same men who were given the scales measuring attitudes toward war and toward the Constitution of the United States were also given the attitude scale developed in the last chapter to measure attitudes toward participation in the war. The attitude scale was given to 500 inmates in 1944 under 40 years of age, selected by taking every tenth serial number from the more than five thousand inmates in the prison, starting at an arbitrary origin, and continuing through the serial numbers until a sufficient number of prisoners under 40 years of age had taken the attitude scales. In 1948, the process was repeated with the postwar population, again using 500 prisoners. For the postwar testing in 1948, the administration of the test was prefaced with, "If the Berlin crisis should erupt into open warfare---". Also, in statement No. 16, the words, "Russian Government", were substituted for the wartime "German government". While the situation was not entirely comparable, it is pointed out that the situation, itself, as well as the prisoner, is a variable in this case, and the attitude scale is a constant measure.

The results of the tabulations of the scale measuring attitude toward participation in the war are shown in Table 42. The classifying by categories was done on the basis of 1.0 to 1.9 is 1, 2.0 to 2.9 is 2, and so on through 6.

Table 42

Attitudes of Prisoners Toward Participation in War

Category	1944	1948
1. Higher ideals paramount, disregarding desire to be free from prison. Would fight now and finish time later.	23	11
2. Motivated equally by patriotism and desire to be free from prison.	261	174
3. Motivated by desire to be free from prison. If joining the army will do it, he will join the army.	133	213
4. Wants to bargain for his services. Will go into the army if his time in prison is shortened. Otherwise the army can get its recruits elsewhere.	54	79
5. Will not fight for this country, nor would he fight against it. Doesn't care who wins.	27	21
6. Would fight against this country if he got the chance.	2	2
Mean	3.1	3.4

The mean was the arithmetic average of the sum of individual scores. The chi-square value of 41.808 was computed from this table, indicating differences in the distributions which were significant to the one per cent level. Both means are in the category of motivation primarily by the desire to be free from prison, with a tendency toward wanting to use the military services as a means by which freedom from prison might be gained. The apparently greater desire to fight in the military services for patriotic reasons during wartime suggests that the mobilization of aggression during the war did have an effect on prisoners in channelizing their

personalized aggressions toward the common national goal.

Attitudes of Ex-Servicemen

One hundred ex-servicemen were given the attitude scale during the first two months of 1945 to learn of the conditioning effect of military service. The results are presented in Table 43.

Table 43

Attitudes of Ex-Servicemen in Prison Toward Participation in War

Category	1945
1. Higher ideals paramount, disregarding desire to be free from prison. Would fight now and finish time later.	20
2. Motivated equally by patriotism and desire to be free from prison.	57
3. Motivated by desire to be free from prison. If joining the army will do it, he will join the army.	20
4. Wants to bargain for his services. Will go into the army if his time in prison is shortened. Otherwise, they can get their recruits elsewhere.	2
5. Will not fight for this country, nor would he fight against it.	1
6. Would fight against this country if he got the chance.	0
Mean	2.6

The mean is indicative that the average ex-serviceman in prison is in the category of those motivated equally by patriotism and a desire to be free, and that he has greater consideration for the higher patriotic ideals than is present in the average prisoner. This suggests that the military training, propagandizing or "orientation", and the general conditioning the ex-serviceman have received has mobilized their personalized aggressions to the extent that they are

less critical in their thinking as regards patriotism, and are more willing to fight for their country than the average prisoners.

Summary

To 500 prisoners during the wartime year of 1944 was given the scale for measuring attitude toward participation in war. The same scale was given to 500 prisoners in the postwar year of 1948. The wartime group shows a greater willingness to participate in war than do the postwar group. Both groups fall into the category of motivation primarily by desire to be free from prison, but the wartime group is at the borderline of equal motivation by desire to be free from prison and the higher ideals of patriotism. This suggests a reduction in need for emotional outlets in the postwar era. Apparently frustration is greatest during wartime.

The 100 ex-servicemen in prison in 1945 showed a greater tendency to accept the higher ideals of patriotism. This corroborates the conclusions made in Chapter XI that the conditioning of the military "orientation" programs and military life was highly effective in mobilizing the aggressions and intensifying the feelings of patriotism among ex-servicemen.

Chapter XIV

THE ROLE OF SELECTIVE SERVICE IN FRUSTRATION

The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 was one of the most socially distrubing pieces of legislation enacted during peacetime by the Congress of the United States in recent years. Its effect upon family life, industry and the nation's morals and economy was most telling, according to the literature. In the present chapter, the effects of the selective service program will be considered from the prison vantage point. This vantage point emphasizes three phases, (1) the general effects on crime and commitments to prison, (2) specific cases of frustration, either by acceptance or rejection of citizens by the armed forces, and (3) the acceptance or rejection of prisoners for military service.

General Effects of Selective Service

An evaluation of the effect of Selective Service on the home life of the American family is difficult. It is admitted that the system introduced an uncertainty which was not before present. The impending threat to the security of the family was disturbing. The loss to a family of its main support, such as husband, father or other male relative taken to serve in the armed forces was disconcerting, to say the least. The uncertainty of the possibility of being drafted, the frequent short deferment, the warnings and lamentations in the news about the shortage of manpower, tended to lend uncertainty and uneasiness to family life. The effect of this uneasiness and tension was sufficient so the the Canadians procrastinated in enacting any type of conscription until long after the United States had put such a system into operation. This was done, despite the fact that Canada was at war long before the United States was attacked. A major reason for the delay was to avoid

the tensions resulting from uncertainty and impending loss of male support of various families and the social effects which would follow.

All male citizens between the ages of 18 and 45, inclusive, were required to register and were classified by the local boards as follows:

I-A through O: Available for military service.
I-A: Available fathers and non-fathers.
I-B: Available for limited service.
I-C: Already inducted, enlisted, discharged or deceased.
I-AO: Available for service, but conscientious objectors to war.
II-A: Occupational deferment, indirectly aiding the war effort (essential civilian industry, such as public safety).
II-B: Occupational deferment, in war production.
II-C: Occupational deferment, in agriculture.
(The II-classifications were also designated "F" when rejected at the induction station for disqualifications, and "L" for limited service.)
III-A through H: Deferment because of dependents.
III-D: Induction would result in undue hardship.
IV-A: Over-age.
IV-C: Alien.
IV-F: Disqualified for physical, mental and moral reasons. Also ministry.

For a cursory review of how Selective Service functioned nationally, McGill presented the conclusions developed from the operation of the Selective Service System over a two-year period[208]. One registrant in three was under 26 years of age, but more than half those inducted and enlisted by September 1, 1942, were in this age group. One-third of the registrants were single, whereas nine out of ten of the men in the armed forces by the end of the second year were unmarried. About one registrant in nine was a Negro, but only one induction in eleven was colored. A higher proportion of whites had been processed toward induction to obtain even this induction ratio, due to differences in induction rates caused by more whites being declared "essential" to civilian or was industry. The heaviest inductions have been from the less essential occupations, such as clerical, sales, domestic and other service workers. Approximately two in three registrants claimed qualifications in one of the 190 essential war occupations, but only one in fifteen of those inducted into

208. McGill, Kenneth H.; "The Statistical Program of the Selective Service System", Journal of the American Statistical Association, March, 1944, Vol. 39, pp. 10-20.

the armed forces made such claims.

The numbers of men in the various classifications in the State of Michigan as of November 30, 1944, are compared in Table 44 with the prior-to-arrest classifications of the new commitments to the State Prison of Southern Michigan and the Michigan Reformatory from June 1, 1944, to January 30, 1945, inclusive.

Table 44

Selective Service Classifications of New Prisoners
Compared with State-Wide Classifications

Selective Service Classification	Classifications of New Prisoners in Michigan	Classifications of all Persons in Michigan November 30, 1944 209
I-A through O	175	456,957
II-A	15	64,128
II-B	36	203,774
II-C	6	45,919
III-A through H	48	2,073
IV-other than F	29	3,982
IV-F	466	139,849
Totals	775	829,586

After conviction, of course, all men in the "New Prisoner" column were IV-F. During this period, 140 service-men were received, including 111 soldiers, 23 sailors, 2 Marines and 4 Coast Guardsmen. At the same time, 87,096 Michigan citizens were in the armed forces.

Inspection of chi-square computations from the data in Table 44

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209. State of Michigan Selective Service System; "Summary of Classifications as of November 30, 1944", a mimeographed report verbally referred to as confidential by the Selective Service Director for Michigan when it was obtained in January, 1945.

reveals that a greater number of I-A classified men than expected are convicted and sentenced. Since the table includes only civilians, and not persons already in the armed forces, the explanation is not in terms of military service. It is apparent that many I-A's assumed an attitude of garrulous futility and were less inhibited in their social behavior. There are relatively fewer occupationally deferred men sent to prison. The occupationally deferred men may be more stable, able to learn and ply trades that are marketable and to develop into employees who are valued highly by the employers. The men less stable vocationally also tend to be less stable socially. A few more men with dependents than expected were received in prison. While part of this may be explained by a shift from III-A dependency classifications to II-A occupational classifications toward the end of the period under consideration, it seems more reasonable to point out a salient difference between occupational and dependency deferments. A dependency deferment could be obtained by anyone with a large family. In the case of an occupational deferment, however, a man had to prove himself to be of sufficient value to his organization that his employer and the local board decided on deferment after investigating the situation. Herein may lie the clue to explain the fewer commitments to prison than expected from the II (occupational) classifications, as compared with the greater number of commitments to prison than expected from the III (dependency) classifications. It is noted that the III-A's were not contributing directly to the war effort, or they would have been II-B. Neither were they in essential civilian occupations or they would have been II-A. Further, inspection of Table 44 reveals the significant fact that many more of the IV-F classifications find their way into prison than could be explained by pure chance. The differences in these two distributions are statistically

Significant, with a chi-square value of 2178.439, which by far exceeds the one per cent level of significance.

It may be of interest to note the results of a tabulation which shoed the classifications of men committed to the State Prison of Southern Michigan between January 1, 1944, and September 1, 1944, by previous record. These data are presented in Table 45.

Table 45

Previous Records and Selective Service Classifications of New Prisoners

Selective Service Classification	Juvenile Institution	Minor Record (Jail or Probation)	Prison Record	No Record	Total
I-A through O	10	63	82	43	198
II-A	1	9	6	2	18
II-B	1	10	10	17	38
II-C	0	2	3	2	7
III-A through H	3	25	14	24	66
IV-other than F	0	8	9	9	26
IV-F	49	177	216	94	536
Totals	64	294	340	191	889

A corroboration of the unexpectedly high I (available for service), III (dependency deferment), and IV-F (unfit) classifications committed to prison is noted to support the data from Table 44.

Acceptance and Rejection of Prisoners

The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 authorized the President to defer from service "those men found to be physically, mentally or morally deficient or defective"[210]. It did not specifically

210. Selective Training and Service Act, 1940, Title 30, App. U.S.C., Sec. 305 (e) (2)

bar from service, men convicted of a felony. A Statute was in force, however, which had been enacted in 1877, providing that "No person who has been convicted of a felony shall be enlisted or mustered into military service"[211]. Therefore, an ex-felon was not permitted to volunteer. This provision was amended by an act approved July 29, 1941, to permit the Secretary of War "by regulations or otherwise" to authorize exception in special meritorious cases"[212]. The statute, which bars from enlistment in the Navy, insane or intoxicated persons and deserters, does not include the prohitition of persons convicted of a felony[213]. The machinery was set up in five steps, (1) prisoner must not be serving heinous or degenerate crimes and must be eligible for parole, (2) prison authorities must recommend the prisoner as suitable for military service, (3) physical, mental and other qualifications for military service must be met, (4) Army must approve his acceptance, and (5) Army must grant waiver if the prisoner is not to wait for 30 or 90 days before actual induction[214].

At the beginning of the war, Selective Service boards were reluctant to take parolees for induction. The change in the 1877 law in 1941 did not immediately change the practice. Since then, the Army decided to consider every applicant on the basis of his merit, notwithstanding a criminal record. It has been the experience of the Army that persons with tendencies towards acts of personal violence or tendencies toward sexual perversion disrupt Army routine. Persons convicted of crimes of this sort were, therefore, uniformaly excluded[215]. All other persons

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211. Title 1, U.S.C., Sec. 622.
212. Title 10, U.S.C., Supp. I, Sec. 622.
213. Title 34, U.S.C., Sec. 163.
214. Maverick, Maury, and Burke, Major William H.; Prisons in Wartime, Washington, November, 1943, p. 46.
215. Change 1 of Paragraph 7 (b) of Army Regulations 615-500, issued by

convicted of felonies could be admitted into the armed forces.

Neither the Army or Navy would accept men who were under any other control. Army regulations require that before entry into the Army, any "parole, conditional release, probation, or suspended sentence be terminated or suspended for the period of military service"[216]. The Navy was more reluctant than the Army to accept probationers and parolees. The attitude of both became more liberal during the war. After the end of war, however, there was official return to the old restrictions.

A travelling induction unit which screened prisoners for induction into the military services operated at the State Prison of Southern Michigan on July 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1943. This unit accepted 114 men, subject to Parole Board approval, and rejected 253. The reasons for which the travelling induction unit rejected prisoners are presented in Table 46.

Table 46

Reasons for Rejection of Prisoners by the Travelling Induction Unit

Reason	Number
Constitutional psychopathic state	84
Inadequate Personality	79
Failed minimum literacy and mental tests	16
Defective vision	10
Hernia	7
Tuberculosis	5
Administratively rejected due to old age	3
Tuberculosis, pulmonary minimal	3
Administratively rejected, morally unfit	2
Central nervous system involvement	2
Moderate gait impairment due to old injury	2
Otitis media, chronic suppurative, left	2
Otitis media, chronic suppurative, right	2
Poorly nourished and developed	2
Psychoneurosis, mixed type	2
Varicose veins	2

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the War Department on November 2, 1943, banned from all military service prisoners convicted of "the Heinous crimes of arson, sodomy, Pandering, any crime involving sex pervsion, or for any illegal dealings in narcotics or other habit forming drugs."

216. Army Regulations 615-500, Paragraph 7 (b)(6).

Administratively rejected	1
Administratively rejected pending approval of The Adjutant General's Office account "blue discharge" from U.S. Army	1
Amputation, right thumb, complete	1
Asthma, bronchial with chronic bronchitis	1
Atrophy, muscles of right shoulder, due to old injury	1
Chronic valvular heart disease	1
Enucleation, left eye	1
Enuresis	1
Eventration left diaphragm	1
Glycosuria persistent etiology undetermined	1
History of peptic ulcer and surgical laparatomy	1
History of urethral stricture (1942)	1
Legophthalmos, moderately severe	1
Limitation of motion left ankle due to old injury	1
Limitation of motion left elbow due to old injury	1
Limitation of motion right shoulder with atrophy of muscles due to birth injury	1
Lumbo-Sacral sprain	1
Melanoblastoma, right upper eye lid	1
Melanoma of iris, left eye	1
Nasal septum deviation to left, obstructive	1
Neurosis, anxiety	1
Old injury to right ankle	1
Paranoid condition	1
Perforation of right ear drum	1
Pes planus, 3rd degree, associated with one degree pronation, symptomatic	1
Radial mastoidectomy and perforation right ear drum, chronic	1
Scar, extensive, thin, friable, lower third, left leg	1
Surgical repair, peptic ulcer, 1939	1
Swelling of left ankle, severe, chronic, due to old injury	1

It is noted that the greater majority of the rejections were for psychopathic and inadequate personalities. This would suggest that the IV-F classifications by the draft boards may have been relatively accurate. The basic personality structure of defective persons may permit criminal behavior as well as IV-F classifications.

Frustration by Rejection

According to Selective Service reports, 14.9 per cent of Michigan's registrants between 18 and 38 years of age were classified as IV-F on

November 30, 1944[217]. These 139,849 men were called "unfit" for various reasons. As a result of similar figures through the nation, news correspondents in Washington had referred to American manpower as "flabby and ailing" in an argument for socialized medicine. The role of the IV-F was one of rejection during wartime.

The feeling about the IV-F classifications was stated by Major Sidney A. Moore, commanding officer of the Detroit induction center, when he defended the IV-F's against those "who think of IV-F's as useless members of society"[218]. At the same time, Major Moore continued to indicate that IV-F's are capable of contributing to the war effort at home, but that their imperfections were likely to cause trouble in a war zone.

Many of the persons who were declared IV-F had been able to function adequately in a civilian setting. Many had no inkling that they were any different than their fellows. Suddenly, however, they were declared psychoneurotic, psychopathic, or otherwise imperfect, and were set apart from the rest, labelled "IV-F". The results of this open rejection of men, when prior to that time they were the equals of the others, take the form of a salient social trauma with deep mental and emotional repercussions as far as the rejected persons are concerned.

Examples of reaction to rejection by Selective Service are legion. A presentation of a dozen cases selected at random may assist in portraying the pattern. Inmate A was a parolee from the Michigan Reformatory who was doing well enough on parole to have been recommended for induction. After his rejection by Selective Service, he became moody and indifferent,

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217. Michigan Selective Service System; "Summary of Classifications as of November 30, 1944", a mimeographed report.
218. The Detroit Free Press, July 17, 1944, p. 11.

according to a letter from his mother. More and more of his evenings were spent outside the home. He was eventually declared a parole violator and returned to prison. He and his mother attribute his violation to attitudes developed as a result of his rejection.

Inmate B was performing well on his job in Detroit, according to the report of his probation officer. After he was classified IV-F, he went about his job in an indifferent manner, was preoccupied and moody. His offense occurred soon after.

Inmate C, age 18, attributes his difficulties to rejection by Selective Service. The probation officer said that the Selective Service board found him near-sighted and pigeon chested, and that he was rejected for enlistment in the Navy. He habitually associated with boys older than himself, most of whom were then in the service. After his rejection, he was unsettled and moody. It is possible that he had been "spoiled" and was not disciplined in the parental home in Detroit, and was not accustomed to rejection. His mother substantiated the probation officer's interpretation, indicating that "he had his head set on getting in the Navy". After his rejection, he developed a "don't-care" attitude, and was very disappointed. He subsequently tried to enlist in the Marines, but was not old enough. His offense of breaking and entering resulted in a $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 year sentence soon afterward. In this case, there was a history of Boys Vocational School experience for larceny. It is not felt that the rejection in this case was causative, but it was the precipitating factor.

Inmate D, age 19, committed his offense soon after his rejection by Selective Service. His sister wrote that he became moody and irritable after his rejection by the draft board. While he was not enthusiastic about joing the Army, and did not volunteer for enlistment, his rejection seemed to be a blow to his pride. All his friends around Battle Creek

were in the Army, and he could always see soldiers from Fort Custer downtown. He did not like to be considered "different". Inmate D did not drink, and had never been in trouble before. However, his offense was the theft of three automobiles in one day, one of which was wrecked. His only explanation was that he "got disgusted and wanted to do something thrilling". The sister and inmate D attribute the origin of his behavior to the disappointment of not being declared the equal of other boys.

Inmate E, age 20, was classified IV-F, and committed his offense soon after. His employer at Cedar, Michigan, wrote that inmate E was never a particularly good worker, but that he was "absolutely worthless after he was turned down by the draft board". He broke and entered his employer's place of business soon after his rejection. While inmate E was considered somewhat of a "bum" in his neighborhood, he had never been in conflict with the law prior to this offense.

Inmate F's offense can be attributed to his rejection by Selective Service, according to a letter from his mother. She said that inmate F, age 20, accepted the rejection in a garrulour manner, highly elated, and he went out to celebrate. He and his friends had celebrated to excess, ran out of money, and broke into a tavern after closing hours to get more beer and whisky. While he had had previous contacts with the police in Flint, this was his first felony.

Inmate G, age 18, committed his crime after having been classified IV-F. He had wanted to join the Navy and serve as a demolition diver, according to the probation officer's report. The rejection embittered him, according to his mother, and he thought Army doctors were not competent. He became incorrigible at home, and remained away from home "at all hours of the night". One night he did not come home at all, but the police notified the family the next morning that he had been arrested.

Inmate G was sentenced from Pontiac on a robbery armed charge. While there had been minor contacts with the police as a juvenile, this was his first felony.

In the case of inmate H, age 23, his wife indicates that he was an attentive and adequate husband until he was classified IV-F. Then he began to neglect his family, associated with undesireable persons, drink more than usual. Soon he was in trouble. He was sentenced from Detroit following a gas station hold-up in which he was one of four participants. This was inmate H's first conflict with the law.

Inmate I, age 19, was classified IV-F, and became moody and preoccupied. He had been told that he was "psychoneurotic", and he worried about it. Prior to that time, he had never been in trouble, and had not been "different" from his friends. However, he stole a car in Muskegon and wrecked it within two weeks after his rejection. He asked the prison psychologist to define the term, "psychoneurotic".

Inmate J, age 24, was performing satisfactorily in social functions until his IV-F classification, according to his mother. He had been active in a church in Royal Oak, and had worked in the offices of a retail clothing company. After his rejection by the Army, he became moody and lost initiative. He gradually dropped out of social functions by non-attendance. Almost a year after his rejection, he was permitted to plead guilty to larceny by conversion, a charge reduced from embezzlement. He said he began taking company funds soon after his rejection by the Army, but does not claim a causal relationship. However, he forged a check within a month, the forgery charge was dropped, and he was sentenced for the larceny by conversion.

Inmate K, age 17, became moody and depressed when he was classified IV-F, according to his mother. He had no close companions, but usually

spent his leisure at the movies or walking the streets of Grand Rapids alone. He broke and entered a house within a month after his rejection. It is noted that inmate K had had two similar offenses on his record, so the extent of causal relationship between his rejection and the offense can be minimized.

Inmate L was rejected in Detroit on 6-30-43 because of his nose. He became disgusted. He had wanted to join the Army because his friends had gone. He became moody, and took long walks alone. In August, 1943, he stole a car and was sentenced for it. The probation officer attributed the offense directly to despondency resulting from his rejection.

The interpretation of these cases with the material at hand is admittedly conjectural. If the reduction in number of commitments during wartime is regarded statistically, it may be said that these boys would probably have indulged in criminal behavior whether or not they had been rejected. It can be pointed out that the factors which permitted them to be classified as IV-F also permitted them to commit crime, particularly if the rejection was for psychoneurosis or psychopathy. In most of these cases, however, it can be said with confidence that the rejection by Selective Service was the major contributing precipitating factor for the crime committed at that time. Had it not been for the rejection, some of the boys may have been able to continue performing satisfactorily for an indefinite period of time.

Summary

The prisons received a greater share than expected of I-A (Available for service), III-A (men with dependents), and IV-F (rejected as unfit) classified men from Selective Service registrants. On the other hand, fewer of the II (essential to industry) classified men were received. This suggests that men with the stability and ability to work sufficiently

well to be called "essential" were also sufficiently stable to avoid conflict with social authority.

A review of the behavior of men who committed their offenses after having been rejected by the induction station examiners suggests that the rejection was a blow to the ego-strength of each of these men. Moody preoccupation or compensatory garrulous behavior was the reaction of all men. None of these twelve men accepted the rejection without some change in behavior. It is theorized that the frustration of rejection after aggression has been mobilized sets up the same type of frustration experienced by confined prisoners. From the standpoint of mental hygiene, the change in behavior is consummated in an effort on the part of the personality to re-establish emotional equilibrium.

An examination of 367 prisoners by the travelling induction board in 1943 resulted in the rejection of 163 on the basis of "constitutional psychopathic state" or "inadequate personality". In general, this corroborates the findings of other induction boards in that a high proportion of men in prison may be inferior in mental and personality structure. This may attest to the accuracy of induction board examinations.

Chapter XV

DIRECT SUBSTITUTE SATISFACTIONS

When aggressions are mobilized and then frustrated, substitute satisfactions must be found. Since the frustration is the result of inhibition of adequate emotional expression, the alleviation depends on the finding of substitute outlets. Morgan suggests as substitute responses (1) development of more efficient behavior, (2) substitution of a different emotional pattern, (3) talking it out, and (4) distraction devices[219]. All of these substitute responses were found in prisons during the war to assist in relieving the personalized aggression that had been mobilized among the inmates. In this chapter, the direct substitute satisfactions will be considered, which may be regarded in Morgan's terminology as the development of more efficient behavior.

Industrial Production

There was some concern about how the manpower in prison could be used when this country was involved in the war. In May, 1942, Attorney General Biddle approved interstate shipment of prison-made goods[220]. This action paved the way for the greatest direct substitute satisfaction of the need to release thwarted mobilized aggression, that of industrial production contributing to the war effort. In the summer of 1942, six months after Pearl Harbor, the War Production Board surveyed 450 workshops in State penal institutions. They found a potential capacity for $44,000,000 per year in production.

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219. Morgan, John J. B.; THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ABNORMAL PEOPLE, New York, 1938, pp. 268-269.
220. The Spectator, State Prison of Southern Michigan, May 16, 1942.

Prewar production was $21,000,000, or 48 per cent of capacity; after priorities and restrictions were imposed, production dropped in the early stages of the war to $15,000,000, or 35 per cent of capacity[221]. Interest in tapping these resources was expressed when this survey was reported.

During the early part of the war, particularly in 1942, the prison industries in Michigan attempted to increase their production to assist in the war effort. Gross business, or gross sales, in the calendar years 1939 and 1940 was $2,567,830, as compared with $3,079,963.95 in the 1941-1942 biennium. Most of this $1,247,546.82 increase came in 1942[222]. At Jackson, the binder twine factory reduced activities because of federal restrictions; the textile plant increased production before any other prison industry to make Osnaburg cloth, towelling, and sheeting, and the plant worked on a continuous twenty-four hour per day basis for a greater share of the wartime period; the cannery increased production in 1943 to assist in the war effort; the stamp plant decreased operation in 1942 and 1943 because of curtailed shipments of steel, and then increased production in 1944 and through the war in the manufacture of many items necessary to the war effort, the largest being assault boats; the tailored garment factory increased production to make uniforms for the Michigan State Troops and to fill government contracts for uniform shirts and other items; and the shoe factory increased production

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221. Maverick, Maury, and Burke, Major William H.; Prisons in Wartime, War Production Board, Washington, November, 1943, p. 7.
222. Department of Corrections; Corrections in Wartime, Third Biennial Report, 1941-1942, Lansing, Michigan, p. 77.

only slightly to meet the needs of the State institutions. At Ionia, the cotton garment factory increased operation to meet government contracts; the furniture factory reduced operations during the war; and the soap factory increased operation to meet State needs. At Marquette, the tobacco factory maintained normal operation; the work clothing factory increased production sharply to fill government contracts; the snow fence and box factory increased production in making packing cases for the Quartermaster Corps; the brick factory continued to fill institutional needs; and the brush factory increased production to supply brushes to the Quartermaster Corps.

The prison industries were given two War Production Awards of Merit, and each of the three prisons was presented with the War Production Board's National Service Pennant[223].

Since 1937, the business of the Michigan State Industries may be shown in Table 47.

Table 47

Gross Business of Michigan Industries, 1937-1948

Period	Gross Business
Fiscal year ending June 30, 1937	$ 980,538.87
" " " " " , 1938	1,440,735.39
" " " " " , 1939	1,180,625.51
" " " " " , 1940	1,255,709.86
" " " " " , 1941	1,653,234.35
" " " " " , 1942	1,919,392.57
" " " " " , 1943	2,080,357.61

223. Department of Corrections; Corrections in Michigan, Fourth Biennial Report, 1943-1944, State of Michigan, p. 55.

Fiscal year ending June 30, 1944	2,187,575.83
" " " " ", 1945	2,673,255.07
" " " " ", 1946	1,970,839.10
" " " " ", 1947	2,260,702.76
" " " " ", 1948	2,761,620.39

Michigan's prison industrial contribution to the war effort was second only to California in terms of monetary evaluation of the produce.

Prison employment as a whole is shown in table 48. Departmental figures are shown in prewar and wartime figures while figures for the State prison of Southern Michigan are shown for the Postwar era. This comparison is justified because Jackson is representative of, and contributes almost four-fifths to, the departmental figures.

Table 48

Prison Employment in Various Periods

	1941-2 Average		1943-4 Average		Jackson March, 1949	
	No.	per cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Prison Industries	1,511	21%	1,199	17%	866	15%
Institutional Assignments	4,534	60%	4,612	64%	3,325	58%
Idle for Lack of Work	635	9%	609	9%	736	13%
Idle for Other Reasons	698	10%	683	10%	825	14%
	7,378	100%	7,173	100%	5,752	100%

These figures are not entirely representative of the actual situation, and the investigator has been unable to find the more accurate figures. The difficulty lies in the "labor pool" method of assigning men, which is a convenient method in prison administration. A large box is divided into two sides, one for employed and one for unemployed. Dividers separate the different work assignments on each side. Each assignment has a divider in the unemployed side and on the employed side. A card is prepared on which is listed the man's name, serial

number, skills, crime, sentence, and sentence expiration date. When a man is assigned to textile, for instance, his card is placed in the unemployed section of the labor pool, behind the textile divider. When more men are needed in textile, the cards of the number of men needed are transferred from the unemployed side to the employed side, the men assigned earliest being assigned first. After the records began to be kept in 1948, it was discovered that of the total number "assigned" to industry and institutional jobs, the number remaining in the unemployed section of the labor pool ranged between 1,535 and 1,564 for the year. How many were in the unemployed section during the war and prewar years remains conjectural. However, it has been estimated by institutional officials that 44 per cent of the inmates were unemployed in the prewar years of 1939-1940. During 1944, the investigator recalls that industry was requesting more men than previously. At any rate, any conclusions concerning the number of men unemployed at any time prior to 1948 could be open to question.

Other Direct Substitute Satisfactions

While industrial production was the greatest single outlet by which prisoners could directly express aggression, there were other manifestations of the need. These include the purchase of war bonds by prisoners; blood donations; campaigns such as "Smokes for the Yanks", "Buy a Bomber", and "Adopt a Soldier"; donation of a mobile canteen to the Red Cross; support of the U.S.O. benefit show; and attempts to enter military service from prison.

One of the first manifestations of the need for identification

with the military was the "Adopt a Soldier" movement[224]. The purpose was for each prisoner to "adopt" a soldier with whom he may be acquainted, and send him items such as combs, candy, prison-made items that might be useful, as well as frequent correspondence. This drive was suggested by a group of inmates who asked Assistant Deputy Warden D.C. Pettit to formalize it. There are no figures to indicate how many soldiers benefitted from the "Adopt a Yank" program, but its existence was evidence of a need for expression by the prisoners.

A similar drive some while later was the "Smokes for the Yanks" program[225]. In this movement, each participating prisoner made as many 25 cent contributions as he desired, and the money was sent from the prison to soldiers stationed overseas for the purchase of cigarettes.

Blood donations to the Red Cross blood bank became routine procedure in all the institutions throughout the war. Maverick and Burke maintain that throughout the country, prisoners have given far more lavishly in proportion to their numbers than have free citizens. They wrote, "Prisoners are unable to pour out their blood on the battlefield, but they have literally poured it out by the gallons in donations for their wounded fellow-Americanswho have reached foreign battlefields[226].

The U.S.O. presented shows for which the prisoners purchased

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224. See The Spectator, State Prison of Southern Michigan, April 11, 1942.
225. See The Spectator, State Prison of Southern Michigan, September 4, 1943.
226. Maverick, Maury, and Burke, Major William H.; Prisons in Wartime; Progress of State Prison Industries Under the Government Division of the War production Board, Washington, November, 1943, p. 2.

tickets, the proceeds to be used for U.S.O. services. The show at Jackson netted $800[227].

War bonds were purchased by the prisoners with frequency. The institutions participated in the "Buy a Bomber" campaign. Maverick and Burke stated that the 120,000 prisoners throughout the country contributed nearly a million dollars to buy three super-bombers, and pointed out that few free communities of that size, with vastly greater resources, have done better[228]. In this particular drive, the quota for inmates of the State Prison of Southern Michigan was set at $15,000. However, this institution led all prisons in the country with $130,000, San Quentin in California placing second with $115,345[229].

A mobile unit was presented to the Red Cross in 1942, paid for by prisoners' donations[230].

Also, requests for parole to the army were frequent. The travelling induction board's activity has been discussed in a previous chapter.

Summary

Any conclusions as to the direct substitute satisfactions to relieve prisoner frustration tensions would have to emphasize the psychological aspects rather than the statistical. Industrial production for the war effort in Michigan's prisons did rise so that their contribution to war production was second only to California

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227. The Spectator, State Prison of Southern Michigan, November 11, 1943.
228. Maverick, Maury, and Burke, Major William H.; Prisons in Wartime; Progress of State Prison Industries Under the Government Division of the War Production Board, Washington, November, 1943, p. 2.
229. The Spectator, State Prison of Southern Michigan, November 6, 1943, p. 1.
230. The Spectator, State Prison of Southern Michigan, September 26, 1942.

in terms of monetary value, so that employment figures should have risen also. There are figures available to indicate the number assigned to jobs and those unassigned, but they do not reflect the actual situation. Many men who were considered "assigned" were actually unemployed because they had not been called to the assignment. The number of such cases is known only for 1948, when it averaged about 1,550 men assigned but not working. Hence, the conclusion that employment actually rose during the war and dropped again afterward is firmly believed empirically, but remains impressionistic.

The increased value of industrial production at prices indirectly stabilized by the Office of Price Administration, the "Adopt a Soldier" movement, the "Smokes for the Yanks" program, the great number of blood donations, the favorable prisoner response to war bond drives, U.S.O. benefit shows, the donation of a mobile canteen to the American Red Cross, and the paroling of a few inmates to the army were all manifestations of need for relieving frustration tensions. These outlets were all fairly adequate direct substitute satisfactions.

Chapter XVI

INDIRECT SUBSTITUTE SATISFACTIONS

Sometimes the personality is not sufficiently well organized to behave efficiently and directly toward the outlet it seeks to attain. Inner aggressiveness is more difficult to satisfy than when overt acts are available. Sometimes satisfaction can be found by swearing under one's breath, and wishing evil to the frustrator[231]. May suggests that tensions can be relieved by almost any variant behavior, and advises people to do something[232]. Substitute satisfactions are found which tend to reduce emotion, but do nothing to contribute to a permenant resolving of the frustration tensions. The substitute satisfaction, however, displaces and substitutes to relieve the frustration temporarily. Strecker and Ebaugh say that "there is a union in consciousness between an idea or the remembrance of it and the painful emotions it induces; the union is dissolved and the original idea banished or repressed into mental strata below the level of consciousness; the free emotion or affect from which the idea has been disloged is joined to a new and inocuous idea in itself not painful"[233]. While neurotic symptoms arise whenever the original idea attempts to push back into consciousness and there is danger of remembrance, the indirect substitute satisfactions allay many tensions sufficiently well to maintain emotional equilibrium.

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231. May, Mark A.; A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE, New Haven, 1943, p. 45.
232. Ibid., p. 92.
233. Strecker, Edward A., and Ebaugh, Franklin G.; PRACTICAL CLINICAL PSYCHIATRY, Philadelphia, 1945, p. 533.

As far as this study is concerned, the frustration to be considered is that which arises when mobilized personalized aggressions are frustrated by the prison situation. The most direct satisfaction would be to satisfy the aggression by joining the army and fighting the enemy, or otherwise contributing to the war effort. That not being possible, the direct satisfaction must be pushed below the level of consciousness and a new and inocuous idea enjoined in consciousness. Thereby an indirect substitute satisfaction will have to be attained. Some of the most noteworthy substitute satisfactions were the increase in entertainment during the war as a distraction device, editorials as a matter of "talking it out", surveys of specialists, first-aid classes, and the Basic Training Unit.

The increase in entertainment was marked. Extra movies were sometimes provided. Performances by the music department were encouraged and resulted in such outstanding performances as "The Student Prince". Boxing was somewhat curtailed during the war as compared to prewar performances, but the restriction was administrative rather than self-imposed by the prisoners. U.S.O. shows discussed in Chapter XV added to the entertainment. Also, the music department sponsored a weekly radio program which was broadcast by radio station WIBM in Jackson.

The "talking it out" manifestation of need for substitute satisfaction is well exemplified in inmate editorials. There was frequent agitation for the release of prisoners to serve in the army.

It was pointed out that Kentucky worked out a plan soon after Pearl Harbor whereby first-term prisoners serving less than ten years could enter the army[234]. A report of a poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion emphasized that 66 per cent of the people favored releasing prisoners for army service[235]. Use of prisoners by New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Indiana, Ohio, and even Adolph Hitler was a continual source of editorial material for inmate papers throughout Michigan. "Talking it out" seems to be effective because it stands somewhere between aggressive thoughts and aggressive acts, and it is at least a "fractional anticipatory goal response"[236].

Surveys of the prisoner group to find specialists and the enthusiastic response by prisoners to these surveys was another manifestation of the need for substitute satisfactions. A survey of precision workers at the State Prison of Southern Michigan for the War Manpower Commission was the most elaborate survey, including psychological testing with a Dunlap Steadiness Test[237].

The response of the prisoners to first-aid classes during peacetime had not been enthusiastic. However, when the Recreation Director offered a course in first-aid during wartime, for use "in case of attack", he had more applications than he had anticipated[238]. It is conceded that war and its propagandizing mobilizes the aggression in all of us[239]. When war breaks out, many volunteers flock to the

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234. The Spectator, April 11, 1942, p. 1.
235. The Spectator, June 27, 1942, p. 1.
236. May, Mark A.; A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR AND PEACE, New Haven, 1943, p. 189.
237. See The Spectator, November 21, 1942, and December 5, 1942.
238. The Spectator, November 28, 1942.
239. See Zitello, Adelaide K.; "The Impact of the War on Family Life--II. Mother-Son Relationships", The Family, New York, 1942, pp. 257-263.

Colors. It is noted that Canada was at war for several years before conscription was necessary. In prison, the same type of behavior obtains. A clamor among many inmates to get into the armed forces was one of the reasons that the Basic Training Unit was established at the State Prison of Southern Michigan.

Military Drill

Other States have had inmate drill units. Kentucky was one of the first States to have such a unit. Ohio soon followed, as did many other States. The inmate papers of all of the Michigan prisons have clamored for military service, both inmate drill and actual fighting services, the former to lead to the latter. One of the standard ornamentations of the inmate paper at the State Prison of Southern Michigan is a replica of a wall with the words, "CANNED MANPOWER" on it.

In early May, 1942, Warden Harry H. Jackson requested Sergeant George Parrish of the custodial force at the State Prison of Southern Michigan to drill the inmate veterans of World War I for a Memorial Day review. Sergeant Parrish began drilling the men in the last part of the first week in May. After a considerable time spent in daily drills, the review was staged on Memorial Day, May 30, 1942. There were 300 guests present from the American Legion Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and other military organizations in the vicinity of Jackson. The British colors were borrowed from the British consul for the occasion.

After the men had spent three weeks drilling for the Memorial Day review, the conditioning left them with an enthusiasm to continue

the drill. It reminded them of "the good old days". Further, the success of the review as a show-piece convinced Warden Jackson that it should be a permanent organization, at least for the duration of the war. Warden Jackson assigned Sergeant Parrish to the task of continuing that type of drill, and on 6-17-42 the Basic Training Unit was officially established to train men in military drill. Sergeant Parrish described the purposes as follows:

1. To "bring back discipline" to a large prison.
2. To train men for possible military service after parole, or even, conceivably, early parole consideration for military service.
3. To develop a unit which Sergeant Parrish would "lead to the front lines" should the War Department grant permission.

Although there were many other viewpoints and opinions for and against the organization of the Basic Training Unit, these three purposes were the stated objectives.

The organization was made up of a corps of World War I veterans, many of whom having been appointed as officers and non-commissioned officers of the Basic Training Unit. New men could come in and work up in the ranks, and many new men joined. The Basic Training Unit was made up of several sub-units. There were three companies of Infantry, equipped with wooden rifles made by the prison Vocational School to resemble the new U.S. Army Garands. There was one unit of Signal Corps, which trained in various types of radio, semaphore, and heliograph. There was one hospital unit. A company of military police established its own court marshal procedure to maintain discipline within the Basic Training Unit. There were two Zouaves units organized in December, 1942, for show purposes, one white and

one colored. The white unit continued until the end of the war, but the colored unit did not endure long after its inception. The Michigan State Zouaves, as they were called, were more active than any other unit of the Basic Training Unit. The Zouaves made their first notable appearance on Memorial Day of 1943, and were active from then until the end of the war.

Any objective or statistical evaluation of this Basic Training Unit is precluded, since no records of the unit have been available. Conferences with Sergeant Parrish, who had been promoted to Lieutenant as a result of his work with this unit, as well as conferences with inmate participants failed to produce a roster of the men in the Basic Training Unit, nor any clue as to the disposition of the rosters.

There was no supervision of the Basic Training Unit, with the exception of Lieutenant Parrish. Besides the wooden rifles, he was able to procure some insignia that had been made in the textile factory for the Michigan State Troops, but they were subsequently removed from the possession of the Basic Training Unit because of regulations concerning the wearing of the insignia of a State military organization. The insignia belonged to the Michigan State Troops, rather than to the prison drill unit. Lt. Parrish maintained offices for the Basic Training Unit in the prison gymnasium, and maintained a full-time assignment of several inmate clerks. As was mentioned earlier, however, none of the work performed by the clerks was available after the Basic Training Unit was abolished. Not even a roster of the men who drilled could be found.

The Basic Training Unit presented several reviews. The largest review was on Monday, September 29, 1942, at which Col. Shanks,

Commanding Officer of Fort Custer, was an honorary guest. The high officials from the State Department of Corrections were present, as well as other State dignitaries. On this occasion, the prison athletic field was dedicated as MacArthur Field, after the American general in the Southwest Pacific theater of operations who was so popular at the time. However, this dedication has long since been forgotten, and the field now has no name. There were other reviews, including one for the University of Michigan R.O.T.C. unit and for some Regular Army officers who were touring the prison.

In December, 1942, a specialized unit was formed to act in emergencies, though it was merely a "paper" unit, and actually never met. The unit was a list of 52 men who were electricians, chemists, watch repairmen, architects, radio men, draftsmen, welders, and other technicians. Like the other lists, however, this list disappeared so the competence and composition of the unit remains unknown.

With regard to the purposes of the new unit, one was to "bring back" discipline to the large prison. Lt. Parrish pointed with pride to the fact that only three of his Basic Training Unit boys violated institutional rules. He estimated that there were 700 men in the unit, supervised by only one civilian employee. He further stated that there were very few men court-marshalled for violations of the rules of the organization. It was also a point of pride with Lt. Parrish that white and colored men were giving orders to each other, and that these orders were accepted and executed by both races with equal cooperation.

Several of the men subsequently made good in the army, but they were not paroled as a result of their work in the Basic Training Unit. There were many men in the Basic Training Unit who were not acceptable for combat duty, according to the screening by the travelling Selective Service induction unit.

Demobilization of the Basic Training Unit

Some of the original purposes of the Basic Training Unit were not well accepted by the custodial force. To "bring back discipline" to the large prison was a direct insult to the guards. Further, many inmates and custodial officers felt that the Basic Training Unit was a potential source of trouble. It was rumored that the wooden rifles could be used as clubs to start a prison riot, and probably a prison break. At one stage, rumor had set the date for such a riot. Many inmates, as well as civilian employees regarded the Basic Training Unit as an organization of "rape-hounds" and "degenerates". It was rumored that very few of the Basic Training Unit members had been accepted by the travelling army induction unit. This point was acknowledged by Lt. Parrish, who countered with the contention that the main purpose was to "bring back discipline" to a large prison, and not primarily to train men for service in the army. The Detroit race riot of June 21, 1943, was rumored to have kindled dissention in the Basic Training Unit. It has been estimated that the Basic Training Unit contained approximately equal numbers of whites and Negroes. It was further felt that some State officials viewed with skepticism and apprehension the operation of a Basic Training Unit within the prison.

The above criticisms might be true, or they might not be, but they were the main factors in the demise of the Basic Training Unit. They did constitute the rumor-content with regard to the Basic Training Unit in the prison. Taking into consideration these rumors, Warden Jackson and Lt. Parrish conferred during the last week of June, 1943. This was following the Detroit race riot of June 21. In that conference, Lt. Parrish was told that the Basic Training Unit should be abolished. The reasons for its abolition at that time centered mainly around the skepticism of the State and prison officials regarding the constructive value of the unit. It was "temporarily" suspended immediately following the conference and, incidentally, the Detroit race riot. The inmate paper of June 26 carried the following article:

HOT WEATHER GIVES B.T.U. A VACATION[240]

> Lieutenant George I. Parrish, commander of the local B.T.U., announced today the 30-day vacation was granted his men because of the extremely hot weather. "It is too hot for me to stand out there and watch and I know it is too hot for the men to drill", Commander Parrish stated.
>
> Rumors that the organization was breaking up have no foundation, for the units will definitely begin drilling again the middle of July or the first of August.
>
> A complete reorganization will take place during vacation as well as a training school for officers.

It is noted that this "temporary" suspension was publicly declared as having been caused by the hot weather. Inmate and civilian rumor in the prison suggested three other causes; (1) the race riot had caused

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240. The Spectator, June 26, 1943, p. 3.

dissension; (2) the travelling induction unit had accepted so few of the Basic Training Unit members that morale had broken within the unit, although the induction unit did not arrive at the prison until July, and (3) the skepticism of various State officials, as well as prison officials, concerning the constructive value of the unit.

The Basic Training Unit was never called back for reorganization. Within the fortnight following the "temporary" disbandment, Lt. Parrish was removed from inside the walls and sent to Cassidy Lake training project, some twenty miles from the prison, and was made acting director. Having lost its civilian leadership, the Basic Training Unit never reorganized. After the organization was partially forgotten, Lt. Parrish was returned to the main prison on January 8, 1943, but he was assigned to duty outside the walls. He was posted at 16-block, a trusty cell-block, and another man was made director at the Cassidy Lake project.

The organization, rise, and decline of the Basic Training Unit seemed to be in keeping with the pattern of Michigan's conservative policy with regard to sending its inmates into the armed forces. Michigan has been very conservative in such participation. The Parole Board was not interested in sending inmates to the armed forces because it never received a directive to the effect that the armed forces specifically wanted the available manpower. The opinion was expressed that Michigan had not become "emotionalized about sending its 'misfits' to the war". This was justified by referring to the welfare of the man and the welfare of the armed forces. It was felt that men who had become involved in difficulty in civilian life would stand a good chance of becoming involved in difficulty in military life,

where men are forced to live together. With "misfits" present, the efficiency of the army itself would stand to be impaired. On the other hand, a man who is maladjusted might respond to group treatment and the lack of individual consideration found in the army. At any rate, the fate of the Basic Training Unit seemed to be following the general pattern of policy throughout the State of Michigan.

Summary

The indirect substitute satisfaction of increased entertainment as a distraction device, the "talking it out" through editorials and other expression, surveys of specialists for the War Manpower Commission, first-aid classes, and the Basic Training Unit achieved their functions from the standpoint of mental hygiene very well. They assisted in relieving the frustration in many prisoners. The rise of the indirect substitute satisfactions and the favorable responses to them by the prisoner population emphasized the need for them. They indicate the presence of frustration in the prisoner population and the need for relief. As a matter of fact, the success of the Basic Training Unit in its mental hygienic function may well have been a factor in its demise. The self-confident, almost jaunty manner in which many of the B.T.U. members indulged was a source of irritation to many civilian custodial employees who felt that "a convict should remember his place". In summary, it is considered that much relief from frustration was afforded the prisoners during wartime by these indirect substitute satisfactions.

Chapter XVII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study indicate that the hypothesis proposed in Chapter I have factual support. War economy, war psychology, and all activities pertaining to the prosecution of war bring changes in public thinking and public behavior. The hypothesis was that wartime mobilization of aggression and increased activity in military and civilian population movement create an impact of war and after-effects on the State prison system as a social institution. The nature of this impact and after-effect of war is illustrated by shifts during and after the war in types of crime for which the men were committed to prison, socio-economic areas from which they came, their attitudes toward war and patriotism, general personality adjustment, and the behavior of prisoners. Some of the facets of these changes have been considered in this investigation.

Conclusions

The results of this study indicate that the State prison system as a social institution has been affected by shifts in number and types of commitments, in attitudes of prisoners, and in prisoner behavior. Commitments from the prewar (1939), wartime (1943-1944), demobilitory-postwar (1945-1946), and postwar (1947) periods have been compared on the basis of several objective factors. It was found that during wartime the total number of commitments to prison are reduced, and the reduction can be confined to a specific age range, and other social factors are present. Unusual decreases in proportion of commitments were observed in the upper peninsula and

upstate cutover areas, together with some drop in the proportion of commitments from agricultural counties. Industrial areas outside of Detroit remained relatively stable, but the number of commitments to prison from Detroit and Wayne county rose perceptibly. It was noted that there was an increase in proportion of commitments who claimed legal residence in rural areas, however. This suggests that many farmers worked in the cities, perhaps during the winter season, maintaining farm residence, and became involved in offenses while in the cities. Further, more in-migrants than Michigan-born persons were committed to prison during all periods considered, with the southern-born colored people being committed in large numbers.

There was a perceptible increase during wartime in the number of commitments of young 'teen-agers 17 years old and younger. Simultaneously, there was a perceptible drop in the proportion of commitments between 18 and 35 years of age. Commitments of men over 35 years of age remained approximately the same during prewar, wartime, and demobilitory periods.

Inspection of racial differences indicates that there was a reduction in proportion of white persons committed to prison during the war, but a perceptible increase in Negroes and Mexicans, most of them being in-migrants to Michigan. The commitment rate for women did not rise until the demobilitory period, when there was an increase in commercialized vice and sex offenses. A higher proportion of married men were committed to prison during and after the war. It was suggested that many of these marriages were the result of attempts to obtain draft deferments during the war. It is

also noted that the number of common-law relationships also increased, particularly among the Negro group.

Propaganda devices employed by the government to enlist the sympathies of the populace tends to mobilize the personalized aggressions, and this tendency is reflected in a shift in types of crime in the direction of proportionately increased violence and increased crimes against the person. While some of this shift may have been merely a percentage increase due to decrease in stealing because of higher incomes, the continuance of the shift in postwar era and the increase in actual number of crimes of violence and against property suggest that part of the explanation must lie in mobilized aggression. A review of prewar and wartime propaganda and the status of government propaganda in the postwar period emphasizes the intensity and effectiveness of propaganda and wartime activity in mobilizing aggression. Propaganda in the prewar era had begun to be effective after the Munich Conference in 1938. American interests were aligned with those of her World War I allies, and the Office of Censorship carried out the policy of coaxing support for this foreign policy. In view of the divisions in public opinion reflected by polls at the time, prewar propaganda had succeeded only partially in mobilizing aggression against Germany and Japan in favor of the foreign policy of American political leaders. During the war, however, mobilization of aggression was more effective, even though there was confusion at times in the government propaganda program. The propaganda campaign was active, but not always coordinated. The postwar era brought an abrupt end to government propaganda in America.

A significant increase in crimes against the person was evident in wartime over the peacetime rate, with a levelling off during the postwar period which continued to be considerably above the prewar rate. The significance of these changes surpassed the 2 per cent level.

Crimes of violence showed definite increase in proportion during wartime when aggression was being mobilized by the government's propaganda devices. At the end of the war, when peace was foremost in public thinking, the United Nations charter was drawn, government propaganda was fostering friendship with Russia, and the military forces were being demobilized, the proportion of crimes of violence decreased to below the prewar level. However, with the ending of the government's molding of public opinion, the proportion of violent crimes increased during the postwar era almost to wartime levels. Statistically, the differences surpassed the 6 per cent level of significance.

Indirectly, occupational changes in prewar, wartime, and demobilitory-postwar periods reflect changes in the economic situation. While the occupational data was not uniformly collected or verified, the claims of new prisoners at least point in the direction of shifts in vocational values and interests. During wartime and demobilization, there was a shift away from agriculture, clerical, and domestic occupations toward increased unskilled factory labor. While this may primarily represent increased economic opportunity, it also represents a manifestation of the shifts in values toward war production to contribute to the war effort.

The increase in intelligence quotients and performance on academic achievement tests is not explained by the influx of Negroes from the South, the selection of better equipped persons from the mental standpoint by the armed services, nor by changes in testing equipment. The grade completed in school claimed by the prewar and wartime groups was similar, being 7.8 and 7.9, respectively. A partial explanation is suggested in a general intellectual stimulation or conditioning accompanying the mobilization of aggression during wartime. The possibility of socio-economic disturbances in wartime breaking up familial security of the more intelligent persons is present. This does not explain the stable grade-completed-in-school. Some mental stimulation or conditioning is suggested as concomitant to the general increase in physical activity involved in increased social interaction, greater industrialization, and more "go" among youths who associate with older persons, attend night-clubs and taverns, and gang together.

Attitude scales developed by Thurstone to measure opinion toward war in the abstract and loyalty to the Constitution of the United States were given to 500 prisoners within the age range eligible for military service in wartime (1944) and again to 500 prisoners in the postwar (1948) period. The same scales were given to 100 ex-servicemen in early 1945 to learn of the conditioning effect of military training and experience. It was found that the arithmetic means of the attitudes of the 500-prisoner wartime and postwar groups were close together on all scales, tending toward the neutral position. Slightly greater abstract feelings of pacifism were

observed during wartime, but the differences were not significant. Slightly greater patriotism or loyalty to the Constitution of the United States was observed during wartime.

Significant differences were found between wartime and postwar distributions for all attitude scales in the tendency for extremes to be reached in wartime and the general trend toward the neutral positions in the postwar period. More extreme or neurotic-type thinking apparently occurs during wartime because of the greater pressures, though this situation appears to be true only for attitudes toward war, patriotism, and willingness to participate in the fighting.

Among the 100 servicemen in January, 1945, the findings in the general prisoner group were intensified. Greater abstract pacifism and stronger patriotism or loyalty to the Constitution of the United States was observed in the group of 100 ex-servicemen. This suggests that the conditioning effects of military training and experience have reduced even further the glamor of the military and increased the horrors of war, but that the "orientation" programs have assisted in increasing the mobilization of aggression and feelings of patriotism in the ex-serviceman.

A scale to measure attitude toward participation in the war was constructed and was given to 500 prisoners within the age range eligible for induction into the army in wartime (1944) and to 500 similar prisoners in the postwar (1948) period. Both groups fell into the category of motivation primarily by the desire to be free from prison. However, the wartime group was relatively more patriotic, though the patriotic ideal was definitely secondary.

These data suggest a reduction of the need for emotional outlets among imprisoned men during the postwar era.

The scale to measure attitude toward participation in the war was given to 100 ex-servicemen in the prison in January, 1945, to measure the conditioning effect of military training and experience. The results show a greater willingness than the average prisoners to participate in fighting on the basis of patriotism and the maan had shifted into the category of equality between higher patriotic ideals and desire to be free from prison. The conditioning and "orientation" programs of the military services seem to have been highly effective in mobilizing aggression and intensifying feelings of patriotism among the ex-servicemen.

The proportion of men with various Selective Service classifications committed to prison was compared with the proportion of Selective Service classifications in the State of Michigan as a whole. The feelings of men who were rejected by Selective Service were reviewed by interview, and the reactions of a dozen representative individuals were noted. Also, the work of the travelling induction unit for the induction of prisoners into the army in 1943 was reviewed in order to determine reasons for rejection and proportion of acceptance. It was found that the prisons received a greater share of men available for service, men with dependents, and those who were rejected as unfit than was found in the general population; and fewer men than expected who were considered "essential" in civilian or war industry. The men whose feelings toward rejection by Selective Service indicated attitudes ranging from bitter disappointment to humiliation

compensated by the fact that they would not have to be subjected to the rigors and dangers of military service. Individually, in many cases, the rejection was pleasureable from the standpoint of personal safety. However, from the social standpoint the rejection aroused feelings of insecurity and inadequacy. The induction examinations in prison resulted in a high rejection for "constitutional psychopathic state" and "inadequate personality". These, then, constitute a high proportion of the men in prison, as shown by the high rejection rate and the high proportion of men "rejected as unfit". The differential proportion of men with various Selective Service classifications is indicative of a rather rigid screening process to eliminate the more maladjusted personalities. A high proportion of these men are in prison. The observed feelings of inadequacy and their subsequent behavior on the part of these rejectees suggest frustration phenomena for which substitute satisfaction must be found.

The direct substitute satisfactions sought by inmates in prison were reviewed as manifestations of need to find substitute satisfactions to relieve frustration. Industrial production for the war effort was probably the most important single contribution to the war effort. However, from the standpoint of personal contributions, there were many other programs in which prisoners participated so that they could have a feeling of contribution to the achieving of a common national goal. Among these were the "Adopt a Soldier" movement among prisoners, "Smokes for the Yanks", blood donations

without compensation of any material sort, sponsoring of U.S.O. shows in the prisons, purchase of war bonds generally, purchase of war bonds in the "Buy a Bomber" drive, contribution of a mobile canteen unit to the Red Cross, and frequent requests for military service. The presence of these direct substitute satisfactions manifests the presence of the frustration they are designed to relieve.

Besides the direct substitute satisfactions, there were many indirect substitute satisfactions. The increase of entertainment in prison during wartime was marked, and was interpreted as a distraction device. The "talking it out" through inmate papers, editorials, and general conversations in the prison yard took the form of agitation for the release of prisoners to fight in the armed forces. Surveys of prisoner groups to find special skills met with enthusiastic response by the prisoners, even though but few skilled men were found in this manner. Even the responses to first-aid classes during wartime when they were unpopular in the prewar era was considered to be a manifestation of need for substitute satisfaction. The most important indirect substitute satisfaction, however, would seem to be the rise of military training units in prisons. The activities and experience of Basic Training Unit at the State Prison of Southern Michigan was described in as much detail as is now available. It was considered that much relief from the frustration was afforded the prisoners during wartime by these indirect substitute satisfactions.

After the cessation of hostilities and the end of the government's propagandistic campaign, the mobilized aggressions in the general

population seem not to immediately subside, and there is an abated continuation of the shift toward greater violence, crimes against the person, and in search for substitute satisfactions. A short reference was made to the bitter postwar anti-communistic investigations, the aggressiveness of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the subsequent indictment of its chairman, the political investigations, and in Michigan of the investigations of violation of the Hatch Act in financing the Republican Party campaigns, questionable practices in financing Democratic Party campaigns, used-car dealer investigations, cost-of-living investigations, and particularly the continued investigations and re-investigations of the prison system, beginning at the end of the war, and continuing throughout the postwar era covered by this study. All this activity is interpreted as the result of seeking outlets for mobilized aggression which had not been "reconverted" to peacetime thinking by government propaganda machinery.

As was noted previously, the proportion of crimes against the person during the postwar era declined below the wartime levels, but they remained considerably above the prewar peacetime level, and further, there was a perceptible rise of proportion of violent crimes in the postwar era over that of the demobilitory period.

The search for substitute satisfactions occurs again during the demobilitory period, when the female crime rate increased perceptibly, particularly in the areas of commercialized vice and sex crimes. Mobilized aggression or stimulated activity does not subside after the cessation of hostilities, and substitute satisfactions must be found.

During 1944, 1,235 consecutive new prisoners admitted to the State Prison of Southern Michigan were given Bernreuter Personality Inventories. During 1948, the same process was repeated with 500 consecutive new admissions. Statistically significant differences were found between the wartime and postwar groups on four of the six scales, all showing the postwar group to be unfavorable to the wartime group. The postwar group scored more unfavorably on all scales. Only on two scales did the differences in scores fail to reach proportions of statistical significance. The postwar group was significantly inferior in their greater neurotic tendency, their greater introversion or withdrawing from social situations, their greater feelings of submissiveness and inadequacy in social situations, and their more hampering self-consciousness. It is apparent that the lack of direction given to the aggressions mobilized in the populace by propaganda drives during the war has resulted in a general feeling of uneasiness in adjustment to peacetime living. Consequently, the personality testing indicates that mobilized aggressions do not immediately subside, but in turn become frustrated when there is no war.

Attitudes toward war, the Constitution of the United States, and participation in the fighting services have been discussed previously in this chapter. It is pointed out that with respect to mobilization of aggression, there is greater willingness to participate in the fighting, greater patriotism, but less abstract approval of war during the wartime period. During the postwar period, the feelings are less extreme, and there is less aversion to war. Consequently, it can be said that generalized aggression in the population from which men are

committed to prison is not so intense in the postwar period as it was during wartime.

Recommendations

The increased rate of commitments to military and naval penal institutions seem to complement the decreased rate of commitments to civilian prisons during wartime. However, further study would be necessary to consider this conclusion as valid. Further, James V. Bennett reported that military prisoners had never been in "serious trouble" as civilians, and feels that "had they not been subjected to the peculiar stresses of war would have remained respectable law-abiding citizens"[241]. From the point of view of this study, there are certain groups by which the commitments to prison in Michigan are reduced. This group seems to be primarily in the 18 to 35 year age range, white, Michigan-born persons with urban residence. Conversely, there was an increase of commitments of in-migrant Negroes and Mexicans, increased commitments from Detroit, with decreased commitments from agricultural and cutover counties. This suggests that in time of war, supervised recreational programs and other crime prevention devices should be particularly aimed at reaching in-migrant Negro and Mexican groups, with particular emphasis in large industrial centers.

The results of this study have shown that whenever there is increased propagandistic campaigns for the mobilization of aggression, police departments and other law-enforcing agencies must gear

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241. "Special Characteristics of Military Prisoners and their Sentences", a current note in The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1946, Vol. 37, No. 4, p. 318-319, after Director Bennett's report, FEDERAL PRISONS, 1945.

themselves to cope with increased crimes of violence, and crimes against person, riots, and other manifestations of aggressive behavior. The Detroit race riot of 1943, it has been learned from several sources, could have been avoided with the same adequate police action which was taken subsequent to the riot. It has also been mentioned before that the Detroit race riot was facilitated by war psychology[242]. The details of police action are not within the scope of this study, but it merely points out that by watching the intensity of mobilization of aggression by propaganda, the preventive machinery can be organized by police departments before riots take place rather than afterward.

The construction of morale programs for large groups of persons could possibly be improved through the findings of this study. The types of substitute satisfactions spontaneously adopted by prisoners to relieve frustration could be incorporated to advantage in a morale program. Increased entertainment as a distraction device offers excellent possibilities in indirect substitute satisfaction. The use of suggestion boxes, inmate or employee papers, and open forum discussions assist in allaying tensions by the technique of emotional catharsis or "talking it out". The offering of channels through which inmates or employees can contribute to worthy causes or a socially accepted goal assists in developing more efficient behavior in the accomplishing of the broader social goal of becoming sufficiently adequate to be recognized. The establishment of

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242. Lee, Alfred McClung, and Humphrey, Norman D.; RACE RIOT, New York, 1943, pp. 102-104.

machinery whereby inmates of institutions or employees of organizations may feel that they participate in planning policy, if only advisory, and in which they may invest money or energy and thereby achieve a personal interest in the total organization, achieves a large proportion of the goal of morale building programs. All these devices are present in the indirect substitute satisfactions found by prisoners to relieve frustration.

The reactions of men to rejection by Selective Service were sufficiently negative so that a recommendation that some type of follow-up by referral to civilian social service or treatment agencies seems to be in order. Rejection is particularly damaging to the ego, social status, and hope of meeting a high level of aspiration. Sherif and Cantril, along with others, have poignantly shown that the ego-strength of persons is highly important in social adjustment[243]. Unless there is some ego-involvement in a person's thinking, no level of aspiration is set and the individual has no concern about his own status. Civilian morale during wartime can be maintained by reassuring rejectees of their useful role, thereby maintaining a high level of aspiration.

The final recommendation is that the government assume the responsibility of continuing propaganda campaigns of a supplementary nature to assist in "reconversion of public thinking" from wartime to peacetime pursuits after the cessation of hostilities. The reasons for its failure to do so at the end of the last war are

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243. Sherif, Muzafer, and Cantril, Hadley; THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EGO-INVOLVEMENTS, New York, 1947, p. 125.

obvious, but the advisability of doing so is suggested by the increased proportion of commitments to prison of crimes of violence in the postwar era. There was intensive preparation made for the return of soldiers to civilian life[244]. The same preparation for the return of public thinking from the wartime to the peacetime frame of reference seems to be indicated.

This investigation has attempted to inquire into the impact and after-effects of war on a State prison system as a social institution. There are many phases of prison work which has not been studied, such as releases on parole, employment of parolees, decreased loss by escapes because of the Selective Service regulations which require notification of changes of addresses by its registrants, even though they are in prison, personnel changes, and other administrative problems. However, there has been sufficient data concerning commitments to prison and the behavior and attitudes of prisoners during and after wartime to demonstrate the impact and after-effects of war on a prison system as a social institution. Further, the material presented may assist the administrator of a prison system to prepare his facilities better to handle the problems fostered by war and the mobilization of aggression during and after any future wartime situation.

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244. For example, see Selective Service System; HANDBOOK: VETERANS ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, 1945, 480 pp.

APPENDIX A

MICHIGAN'S PRISON SYSTEM

Appendix A

MICHIGAN'S PRISON SYSTEM

Michigan's prison system was originally created in 1837 by the legislature only three months after the State was admitted to the union. The first temporary prison, surrounded by a high fence of tamarack poles was built at the village of Jackson on 60 acres of land privately donated for the purpose. The first prisoner was received on January 12, 1839, and a total of 35 prisoners were received that year. By 1842, the 14-foot high stone wall surrounded a stone cell-house containing 82 cells. In 1843, the contract system of labor was inaugurated, and continued until 1922, when a State account system of industry was established. In 1846, the death penalty was abolished. In 1848, the prison population was 119, as compared with 5,728 in 1948. In 1852, the women prisoners ceased being committed to Jackson, and started to be committed to the Detroit House of Correction, a practice which continues until the present time. Whipping started in 1855, and continued until 1924, when the practice was to cover the bare back with a thin sheet soaked in salt water before flogging. In 1877, the State House of Correction, now known as the Michigan Reformatory, was opened at Ionia. In 1889, the State Branch Prison at Marquette was opened. The new State Prison of Southern Michigan at Jackson was built in the decade 1924-1934, and the old prison at Jackson was closed in 1934. In 1935, the State account system of industry was abolished, and the Michigan State Industries was established.

The present prison system includes the State Prison of Southern Michigan at Jackson, the Michigan Reformatory at Ionia, the State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette, the Michigan State Industries, the minimum security Cassidy Lake Technical School near Chelsea which became an independent institution in 1945, and the Detroit House of Correction which accepts State women felons and a few men on a contract basis. The legal structure within which these institutions operated from 1937 to 1947 was considered to be a model for the nation[245]. The law provided for a five-man commission appointed for staggered terms of six years so that no governor could gain control of the commission by appointment in a single term. The commission employed a Director of Corrections from a civil service register. The Director of Corrections supervised the Bureau of Probation, the Bureau of Prisons, the Bureau of Pardons and Paroles, and the Michigan State Industries. This legal structure was termed a "model" corrections law by the American Prison Association, The Osborne Association, and other national authorities.

However, in 1945, at the end of the war, a series of "investigations", "re-investigations", and an "investigation to end all investigations" were started on the Department of Corrections, which were thought by many to have had political implications. It is not within the province of this study to discuss details and factions of such disputes and "investigations". Suffice to say, in early 1947 Governor Kim Sigler emphasized the point that in the above legal structure the Department of Corrections was beyond the political control of the people's elected

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245. Act 255, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1937.

governor in a single term of office. At the governor's request, the legislature repealed the "model" law. In an extra session of the legislature in late 1947, the legal structure was changed from control by a commission to control by a single commissioner who "serves at the pleasure of the governor"[246]. An advisory council appointed by the governor functioned in that capacity, although during the factional dispute, Governor Sigler unsuccessfully asked them to advise against continuing in office the men considered in some quarters to have been his "political prey". The advisory function was maintained with integrity.

Throughout the development of the "model" law and the turbulent investigation period, the individual institutions in the system performed the same relative functions in an integrated Department of Corrections. The State Prison of Southern Michigan remained the main prison. The population of the prison remained between 5,100 and 5,800 throughout the decade covered by the present study. The men treated at the State Prison were the majority of the State's prisoners. The State Prison of Southern Michigan has an area of 57½ acres enclosed by walls. Surrounding grounds used for farming, orchards, nurseries, and the like approximate 5,500 additional acres. The prison is the receiving depot for all men sentenced from the courts in the lower peninsula in Michigan, which comprises about nine-tenths of the State's new prisoners. The Reception Unit maintains a classification committee to study each prisoner and to recommend

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246. Act 9, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1947.

transfer to appropriate institutions or placement at Jackson. One of the most serious features of the excessive size is the difficulty of finding employment for prisoners and avoiding the destructive effect of complete or partial idleness[247].

The Michigan Reformatory at Ionia has a capacity of about 1400 men, and has a program designed to care for younger offenders. During the decade covered by this study, men were accepted from age 14[248] to an upper limit of 20 to 24, depending on factors in the cases other than age which pertained to their "reformability". Most of the men at the Reformatory have been transferred from Jackson upon recommendation of the classification committee in the Reception Unit. Seventy per cent of the men received are under 21 years of age. Outside the walls are 1,107 acres, of which 810 are tillable. Educational facilities are varied, and include trades and academic training. A high school diploma can be issued over the signature of the Michigan Superintendent of Public Instruction. The physical plant is of old construction, since the institution is one of the first reformatories for men in the country. In 1940, the institution was criticized by national authorities because of inadequate teaching staff and the use of immature inmates as teachers, now called "monitors", as well as for the partial dormatory system and some of the disciplinary measures[249].

State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette has

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247. MacCormick, Austin H.; 1940 SURVEY OF MICHIGAN PENAL INSTITUTIONS, The Osborne Association, Inc., New York, p. 8.
248. The age at which a boy may be sentenced to prison was raised to 15 by Act 54, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1944, Extra Session.
249. MacCormick, Austin H.; 1940 SURVEY OF MICHIGAN PENAL INSTITUTIONS, The Osborne Association, Inc., New York, p. 7.

a capacity of 800 men. It is a maximum-security institution designed to care for Michigan's most serious custodial cases, and is sometimes gingerly referred to as Michigan's "Siberia". Prison property for farming and forestry includes 1,403 acres owned and an additional 271 acres leased. The rehabilitative program at Marquette is limited, though academic and vocational school facilities are provided. A segregation building in Marquette is maintained as a "prison within a prison" to hold the most desperate and uncompromising custodial cases. On the other hand, the minimum security adjunct to the prison, the Marquette Honor Camp, housed 65 of the younger first-offenders during the decade of the present study. Most of the boys at the Honor Camp were used in farm and forestry projects. A friendly and sympathetic atmosphere is maintained for the boys.

The Cassidy Lake Technical School, near Chelsea, Michigan, is a minimum security institution, without walls or fences, which was taken over by the Department of Corrections in December, 1943, from the Conservation Department. The rustic buildings had been constructed by the Federal government for use by the N.Y.A. in their depression-era vocational training program. The purpose was to move out the machinery and equipment after the training need was over, leaving the cabins for use by vacation-time visitors to the Waterloo recreational area. However, the war had interrupted this program, and the Department of Corrections negotiated for the lease for the duration of the war and six months thereafter. The Cassidy Lake institution has a physical capacity of 280, but it has been held between 100 and 150 for purposes of individual treatment.

Highly selected younger first-offenders are assigned to the Cassidy Lake program. Housed separately, and making up part of the total population mentioned above, were the wayward minors, the first of whom arrived in July, 1944. These boys were "pre-delinquent" boys who were committed directly to the Cassidy Lake Technical School by the juvenile divisions of the probate courts[250]. The wayward minor population has fluctuated from one or two to as high as 60 during the decade covered by this study. Cassidy Lake's program is primarily educational, with a minimum of maintenance men housed at the institution.

The Detroit House of Correction at Plymouth, Michigan, is owned and operated by the City of Detroit. Since 1867, the State's women prisoners have been housed and treated by the Detroit House of Correction under formal contract between Detroit and the State of Michigan, although the Detroit House of Correction had received women prisoners since 1852. Also, some of the men have been housed there. Until 1937, prisoners could be sentenced directly to the Detroit House of Correction, but since that time, the law has provided that all male prisoners committed for State offenses for which prison sentences are given should be sentenced to the State Prison of Southern Michigan at Jackson or to the State House of Correction and Branch Prison at Marquette[251]. Even so, some less well-informed judges have since sentenced one or two men each year directly to the Detroit institution and to the Michigan Reformatory at Ionia.

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250. For a more complete treatment of the wayward minor program, see Fox, Vernon; Evaluation of Michigan's Wayward Minor Law, Michigan Department of Corrections, Lansing, 1948.

251. Act 255, PUBLIC AND LOCAL ACTS, MICHIGAN, 1937.

By request of the Detroit officials, however, several male State prisoners are transferred from Jackson to the Detroit House of Correction for maintenance purposes. Usually this group numbers between 30 and 50 prisoners. The program at the Detroit House of Corrections compares favorably with the better institutions for women in this country.

It may be interesting from the historical standpoint to compare crime groups in the Michigan prison populations in 1875, 1935, and 1946. The following table shows the comparison according to crime.

Table 49

Crimes for which Persons were Sentenced to Prison in Michigan in 1875, 1935, and 1946

Offense	1875		1935		1946	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Burglary	731	17.6	1,499	20.8	1,428	18.6
Robbery	191	4.6	1,651	22.9	1,197	15.6
Larceny	1,911	46.0	1,023	14.2	1,420	18.5
Forgery and Embezzlement	324	7.8	353	4.9	414	5.4
Murder and Assault	441	10.6	1,132	15.7	1,151	15.0
Sex Crimes	150	3.6	376	5.2	807	10.5
Rape	191	4.6	504	7.0	384	5.0
Miscellaneous	216	5.2	670	9.3	875	11.4
Totals	4,155	100.0	7,208	100.0	7,676	100.0

In recent years, there has been a proportionate increase in robbery and decrease in larceny. Slight increases are noted for rape, other sex crimes, assault and murder, with a slight decrease in forgery and embezzlement. Technical legal charges may account for the larceny to robbery shift. With regard to age, the average age of the prison population in 1875 was 29.1, it was 30.2 in 1935, and 33.1 in 1946.

For the past few years, the populations of the various institutions

in Michigan as of January 1 of each year have been as follows:

Table 50

Populations of Michigan's Penal Institutions, 1937-1948

Year	Jackson	Ionia	Marquette	Detroit House of Correction		Cassidy Lake	Totals
				Men	Women		
1937	4,281	1,092	790	580	183	-	6,926
1938	4,623	1,249	699	169	186	-	6,926
1939	5,053	1,307	750	25	176	-	7,311
1940	5,430	1,326	760	38	177	-	7,731
1941	5,355	1,295	768	44	193	-	7,655
1942	5,355	1,257	721	40	198	-	7,571
1943	5,254	1,228	761	46	222	-	7,511
1944	5,093	1,303	772	53	226	-	7,447
1945	5,180	1,282	768	58	218	19	7,525
1946	5,258	1,233	739	36	243	50	7,559
1947	5,394	1,332	772	51	244	37	7,830
1948	5,728	1,291	817	62	266	75	8,239

Commitments to the prisons during the same period are shown in Table 51.

Table 51

Commitments to Michigan's Prisons, 1937-1948

Year	Jackson	Ionia	Marquette	Detroit House of Correction	Totals
1937	1,536	335	169	388	2,428
1938	2,449	4	143	130	2,726
1939	2,349	2	133	144	2,628
1940	2,148	0	106	144	2,398
1941	2,019	0	97	120	2,236
1942	2,082	1	105	150	2,338
1943	2,019	1	61	157	2,238
1944	1,986	3	66	154	2,209
1945	2,136	4	59	154	2,353
1946	2,490	1	77	174	2,724
1947	2,393	3	100	159	2,655
1948	2,342	5	75	141	2,563

Commitments were comparatively high in 1938 and 1939, but dropped in 1940 and remained low throughout the war. In 1946, however, commitments rose to a new high, declining but little in 1947 and 1948.

The high commitment rate after 1945 may reflect the effect of the influx of veterans into the civilian population.

The parole activity during this period may be summarized in Table 52.

Table 52

Parole Activity, 1937-1948

Year	Paroles Granted	Paroles Denied	Parole Violators	Under Parole Supervision January 1	Deported	Discharged from Parole
1937	2,026	1,261	460	3,193	48	1,418
1938	2,377	2,289	475	3,224	40	891
1939	2,237	2,293	645	4,043	34	1,121
1940	2,443	2,182	901	4,312	37	1,414
1941	2,329	2,269	840	4,439	14	1,691
1942	2,357	2,034	661	4,064	23	1,406
1943	2,280	2,350	714	4,313	12	1,610
1944	2,050	2,017	656	4,186	5	1,722
1945	2,372	1,877	656	3,835	12	1,511
1946	2,272	2,310	750	3,864	20	1,492
1947	2,409	2,372	821	3,708	24	1,261
1948	2,757	2,717	714	3,492	22	1,292

It is noted that the number of persons under parole supervision rose during the war at almost the same time the commitments were low. This reflects the load of parolees left from the prewar era of high commitment rates. In view of present high commitments, it may be expected that the number of parolees under supervision will rise again soon.

The Michigan State Industries is considered to be the largest system of prison industries in the United States. At the State Prison of Southern Michigan, the Industries operates a binder twine factory, a textile plant for making cloth, a canning factory to preserve the surplus from the prison farms, a garment factory to manufacture State clothing, a metal stamping plant for making license plates

and other steel items, a shoe factory, and an industrial maintenance department. At the Michigan Reformatory at Ionia, the Industries operate a furniture factory, a soap factory, and a cotton garment factory to make State cotton clothing. At the Branch Prison at Marquette, the Industries operate a snow fence, box, and cinder box factory for making snow fence, brick and cement blocks, and boxes; a work clothing factory for making heavy duty State clothing; a tobacco factory; and a brush factory for the manufacture of brooms and brushes.

The Industries employ about one quarter of the institutional populations. In order to indicate the size of the industries, the following table is a tabulation of the average number of inmate employees of each of the factories at the end of the years 1942 and 1944[252].

Table 53

Inmates Employed in Michigan's Prison Factories in 1942 and 1944

Factory	Employees on December 31, 1942	Employees on December 31, 1944
Jackson		
Binder Twine Factory	167	191
Industrial Maintenance	24	31
Textile Factory	615	503
Canning Factory	92	56
Stamp Plant	132	258
Tailored Garment Factory	206	267
Shoe Factory	66	49
Percent of Institutional Population Employed	23.6	26.2

252. Data from the Fourth Biennial Report, 1943-1944, State of Michigan Department of Corrections, pp. 57-59.

Factory	Employees on December 31, 1942	Employees on December 31, 1944
Ionia		
Furniture Factory	118	104
Soap Factory	18	23
Cotton Garment Factory	142	193
Percent of Institutional Population Employed	22.1	32.0
Marquette		
Tobacco Factory	29	40
Brush Factory	12	36
Box Factory	0	7
Brick Factory	5	4
Snow Fence Factory	4	10
Work Clothing Factory	129	153
Percent of Institutional Population Employed	23.3	32.0

It is noted that the institutions' employment problems are only partially solved by industries. The proportion of inmates employed by industries rose slightly during the war, ranging around one--quarter of the prison population.

Summary

It is apparent that the institutions in the Michigan prison system are fairly well integrated by a centralized department. The State Prison of Southern Michigan, the Michigan Reformatory, the State House of Correction and Branch Prison, the Cassidy Lake Technical School, and the contracted benefits from the Detroit House of Correction have fairly well-defined functions. Yet, the State Prison of Southern Michigan is of such size as to be representative of the entire system. It receives nine-tenths of the new commitments, and houses seven-tenths of the State's

imprisoned population. Consequently, for purposes of this study, some of the "sampled" data with regard to attitudes and personality were based on the populations of the State Prison of Southern Michigan. Commitment data for this study, without exception, was based on the entire commitments to all institutions in the system.

APPENDIX B

1. Droba, D.D.; Attitude Toward War

2. Peterson, Ruth C.; Attitude Toward War

3. Rosander, A.C., and Thurstone, L.L.; Attitude Toward the Constitution of the United States

The Measurement of Social Attitudes
Edited by L. L. THURSTONE
The University of Chicago

ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR

SCALE NO. 2, FORM B

Prepared by D. D. DROBA

Write your name here_____

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

This is a study of attitudes toward war. On the reverse side you will find twenty-two statements expressing different attitudes toward war.

Put a check mark (✓) if you *agree* with the statement.

Put a cross (×) if you *disagree* with the statement.

If you cannot decide about a statement you may mark it with a question mark.

This is not an examination. People differ in their opinions about what is right and wrong in this issue.

Please indicate *your own attitude* by a check mark when you agree and by a cross when you disagree.

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois

Put a check mark (✓) if you agree with the statement.

Put a cross (×) if you disagree with the statement.

(✓) 1. Peace and war are both essential to progress.

(×) 2. No scheme of aggression or conquest can be pursued for any considerable length of time without enfeebling victor as well as vanquished.

(×) 3. In an aggressive war, the individual citizen should refuse to answer the call to arms.

(×) 4. If war is necessary to maintain national interests, every individual opinion must yield.

(×) 5. The evils of war are only slightly greater than its benefits. 0.6

( ) 6. Peace will come spontaneously without any effort on our part.

(✓) 7. Civil and national differences can be settled without war. 2.7

(✓) 8. We should have a moderate amount of military training in our schools.

(✓) 9. All nations should disarm immediately. 4.2

(×) 10. The disrespect for human life and rights involved in war is a cause of crime waves. 4.8

(×) 11. Might is right.

( ) 12. There is no conceivable justification for war.

(✓) 13. A country cannot amount to much without a national honor, and war is the only means of preserving it. 7.0

(✓) 14. War maims and kills the finest of the nation's manhood, leaving the physically unfit as a basis for coming generations. 8.7

(×) 15. War is the tonic of races.

( ) 16. The most that we can hope to accomplish is the partial elimination of war.

(×) 17. Wars often right tremendous wrongs.

(×) 18. When war is declared, we must enlist.

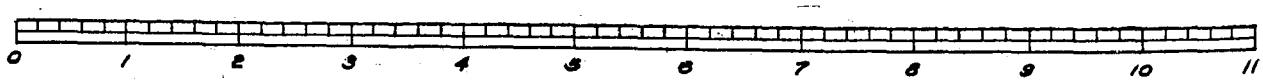
( ) 19. War appeals only to the basest of human motives and brings out all that is brutal in humanity. 4.2

( ) 20. Wars are justifiable only when waged in defense of weaker nations. 4.8 / 9 (4.

( ) 21. The war makers should be jailed and we should honor the heroes of peace.

( ) 22. The abolition of war might result, through the loss of fighting energy, in the fall of civilization.

4.5



The Measurement of Social Attitudes
Edited by L. L. THURSTONE
The University of Chicago

ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR

SCALE NO. 34, FORM A

Prepared by RUTH C. PETERSON
The University of Chicago

Write your name here_____

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

This is a study of attitudes toward war. On the reverse side you will find twenty statements expressing different attitudes toward war.

Put a check mark (✓) if you *agree* with the statement.

Put a cross (×) if you *disagree* with the statement.

If you cannot decide about a statement you may mark it with a question mark.

This is not an examination. People differ in their opinions about what is right and wrong on this question.

Please indicate *your own attitude* by a check mark when you agree and by a cross when you disagree.

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois

Put a check mark (✓) if you agree with the statement
Put a cross (×) if you disagree with the statement

0.8

(✓) 1. Under some conditions, war is necessary to maintain justice.

(✓) 2. The benefits of war rarely pay for its losses even for the victor.

2.1
2.8

(✓) 3. War brings out the best qualities in men.

(×) 4. There is no conceivable justification for war.

3.2
3.5

(✓) 5. War has some benefits; but it's a big price to pay for them.

3.7

(✓) 6. War is often the only means of preserving national honor.

(✓) 7. War is a ghastly mess.

(×) 8. I never think about war and it doesn't interest me.

(×) 9. War is a futile struggle resulting in self-destruction.

(✓) 10. The desirable results of war have not received the attention they deserve.

(×) 11. Pacifists have the right attitude, but some pacifists go too far.

6.9

(✓) 12. The evils of war are greater than any possible benefits.

(×) 13. Although war is terrible it has some value.

(✓) 14. International disputes should be settled without war.

7.5

(×) 15. War is glorious.

(×) 16. Defensive war is justified but other wars are not.

(✓) 17. War breeds disrespect for human life.

8.3

(×) 18. There can be no progress without war.

8.7

(✓) 19. It is good judgment to sacrifice certain rights in order to prevent war.

(×) 20. War is the only way to right tremendous wrongs.

9.7

3.7

The Measurement of Social Attitudes
Edited by L. L. THURSTONE
The University of Chicago

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

SCALE NO. 12, FORM B

Prepared by

A. C. ROSANDER *and* L. L. THURSTONE

Write your name here_____

1._____ 4._____

2._____ 5._____

3._____ 6._____

This is a study of attitudes toward the United States Constitution. On the following page you will find twenty-one statements expressing different attitudes toward the Constitution.

Put a check mark (✓) if you *agree* with the statement.

Put a cross (×) if you *disagree* with the statement.

If you cannot decide about a statement, you may mark it with a question mark.

This is not an examination. People differ in their opinions about what is right and wrong on this question.

Please indicate *your own attitude* by a check mark when you agree and by a cross when you disagree.

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois

FORM B

Put a check mark (✓) if you agree with the statement
Put a cross (×) if you disagree with the statement

(X) 1. I suppose there may be some places where the Constitution is weak.

(X) 2. I believe that the Constitution is out of date.

(✓) 3. We should show respect and reverence toward our Constitution.

(✓) 4. Several parts of the Constitution might be improved.

(✓) 5. Aliens who criticize our Constitution should be sent out of this country.

(✓) 6. Our Constitution is a great document even though it is not perfect.

(×) 7. Complete freedom to criticize the Constitution should be allowed at all times.

(×) 8. I am undecided about changing the Constitution.

(×) 9. Our Constitution is in every way the worst governing document ever written.

(✓) 10. Right-thinking Americans never criticize our Constitution.

(✓) 11. Our Constitution is sacred.

(✓) 12. The principles of government contained in our Constitution are as perfect as man can ever make them.

(✓) 13. Our Constitution is the greatest document in all the world today.

(×) 14. We can never make any progress so long as we keep our present Constitution.

(✓) 15. Any criticism of the Constitution should be constructive.

(×) 16. Our Constitution should not be discarded because of a few evils connected with it.

(X) 17. The Constitution might have been great once but it isn't any more.

(X) 18. The Constitution has not been such a wonderful success as most people believe.

(✓) 19. We should be careful about criticizing the Constitution.

(✓) 20. Too much danger is involved in revising the Constitution.

(X) 21. We ought to have a new Constitution.

4.0
5.0
6.4
7.0
7.6
7.9
8.4
9.0
9.7
9.8
10.1

APPENDIX C

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