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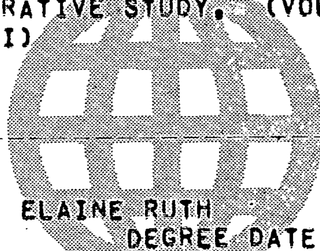

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, PH.D., 1979

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# INMATE MISCONDUCT IN JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

VOLUME I

by
Elaine Ruth Selo

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Social Work and Sociology)
in The University of Michigan
1979

Doctoral Committee:

Assistant Professor Joseph Sanders, Co-Chairperson
Professor Rosemary C. Sarri, Co-Chairperson
Professor Irwin Epstein
Assistant Professor V. Lee Hamilton

To the memory of my sister, Doris, whose enthusiasm about life and whose courage in facing death will never be forgotten by those who knew her.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible for me to fully express my thanks to all the people who have had a part in this dissertation and who have, at one time or another, provided crucial pieces of information or advice. Only a few of them will be mentioned here.

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None of the research reported on here would have been

possible if the young men and women in these institutions had not agreed to share their experiences with us. Their willingness to tell us about their lives and to trust us with sensitive information was a source of much satisfaction. Efforts by executives and staff members in these programs to provide access to data and to share their knowledge are greatly appreciated.

During the writing of the dissertation, I was given time, access to a terminal, and a very comfortable (if messy) office by Louis Ferman and I am grateful.

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

One of the most pressing concerns of all total institutions, including high schools, mental hospitals, military units, and maximum security prisons, is the ever-present possibility of internal disruption and collective violence. In their efforts to maintain stability and control, they have evolved rather elaborate systems of rules and regulations, with attendant sanctions for infractions. Juvenile correctional institutions are no exception. From their beginning, they have been characterized by formal systems of discipline and punishment, such as the following from the New York House of Refuge in 1827.

> "If any child shall refuse, or wilfully neglect, to perform the work required of him or her, or to obey the orders of the Superintendent or Matron, or Assistant Keepers, or shall use profane or indecent language, or shall assault or quarrel with a fellow-delinquent, or shall make a noise, or talk after having retired to the sleeping room, he or she shall be punished at a suitable time; and if, after this, such child shall persist in disobedience, he or she shall be confined in solitude, for such time as the Superintendent or Matron shall direct...(Following was a list of punishments which could be used)...
>
> 1. Privation of play and exercise
> 2. Sent to bed supperless at sunset
> 3. Bread and water, for breakfast, dinner and supper
> 4. Gruel without salt, for breakfast, dinner and supper
> 5. Camomile, boneset, or bitter herb tea, for breakfast, dinner, and supper
> 6. Confinement in solitary cells
> 7. Corporal punishment, if absolutely necessary, or if awarded by a jury of the boys, and approved
> 8. Fetters and handcuffs, only in extreme cases."
>
> (Sanders, 1970, pp. 347-348).

Despite the fact that our modern training schools often look

like country clubs, with manicured green lawns, swimming pools, tennis courts, and neat little cottages, they are just as preoccupied with problems of control and authority, and the techniques used to thwart misconduct are often not very different from those used in 1827.[1]

Apart from the obvious difficulties in managing the nearly 30,000 children who were involuntarily placed in these programs, there are other reasons for so much attention being focused on institutional misconduct. Certain behaviors, particularly absconding, are problematic because they are believed to represent the "ultimate negation of authority" and because "they are always a source of potential embarrassment to an institution head due to the kinds of activities an inmate may engage in while on unauthorized leave" (Giallombardo, 1974, pp. 121-122). Public awareness of the more serious offenses may threaten the autonomy and survival of the institution itself, or at least, often leads to demands for greater restrictions on residents.

Misconduct is also of concern because many correctional administrators, as well as researchers, believe that it impedes the treatment process, has an unsettling effect on other youth, and leads to a greater propensity toward recidivism Chase, 1976; Tutt, 1975; Clarke and Martin, 1971; Sinclair and Clarke, 1973; Levine, 1962). In an article written specifically for cottage life personnel, one author stated:

> "Staff in the training school must put considerable emphasis on the observation of rules and regulations. This is necessary since treatment is focused primarily toward misbehavior and its causes. Misbehavior contri-

> buted to the youngsters' being placed away from home in the first place. It also contributes to many of the adjustment problems within the institution" (Thompson, 1965, p. 91).

In this vein, high rates of institutional misconduct are often used as indices of the relative ineffectiveness of one program versus another.

In some institutions, misconduct is considered important because of its <u>positive</u> functions for the treatment process. Aggression and "acting out" are encouraged in these programs because "they allow the child to let go and when he can release himself he can be helped to come to grips with the basic feelings and problems which he has pushed aside because they are painful" (Cohen, 1952, pp. 12-13). In a study of six correctional institutions for boys, Zald and Street found that although staff in each of the programs were preoccupied with the troublemakers, they differed in their evaluations of them.

> "Although staff in custodial institutions tend to talk about them with awe, the only problem they worry about is how to stop them. For the staff in the treatment situation, troublemaking reflects underlying disturbances and is not something to be clamped down on immediately. To know what is bothering the inmate, one must almost encourage disturbance" (Zald and Street, 1966, p. 557).

Whether or not misconduct is viewed as an impediment or a catalyst for the rehabilitative process, it is clear that all institutions consider it an important phenomenon. The institutional careers of inmates are often quite dependent on staff observations of their "adjustment patterns" and release criteria usually include changes in misconduct behavior.

Despite the fact that much correctional literature is devoted to homespun strategies and techniques for dealing with misbehavior, there is almost no research on the subject.

Theoretical Perspectives

Most of the research on adaptations to confinement has emphasized variables associated with the development of what is called the "inmate system" or the "inmate culture." These systems, which have been traditionally conceived of as anti-staff and anti-institution, were identified by interaction patterns of inmates and their adherence to a so-called inmate code. Inmates were socialized or "prisonized" into these systems and very quickly took on the mores, customs, folkways, and other elements of the general culture of their programs (Clemmer, 1940; Schrag, 1961; Wheeler, 1961; Garabedian, 1963; Tittle, 1964, among others).

It is curious that very few social scientists showed any interest in the behavioral adaptations of inmates; instead they concentrated almost entirely on correlates of various attitudes and values. Only one behavioral response to incarceration has been explored in any depth, and that is homosexuality (Clemmer, 1949; Sykes, 1958; Halleck and Hersko, 1962; Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966 and 1974; Akers, Hayner and Gruninger, 1974). Important as homosexuality may be in these settings, it is also critical to understand other forms of institutional misconduct and deviance. Even Ward and Kassebaum, who felt that homosexuality was the dominant adaptation to prison argued that:

> "The reasons for rebelling, withdrawing, or accomodating in prison are just as complicated as the factors underlying homosexuality and they require investigation in their own right" (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965, p. 79).

A recent review of the correctional literature found that sociologists, unlike psychiatrists and psychologists, had shown practically no interest in the problem of violent behavior (Ellis, Grasmick, and Gilman, 1974).[2] The lack of research is all the more surprising when viewed in the context of Wolfgang's contention that "all the past and present management of correctional institutions is based on the image, behavior, and potential risk of the violent offender" (Wolfgang, 1969, p. 119).

In juvenile correctional institutions, there has been some attention to behaviors other than homosexuality, particularly absconding (Clarke and Martin, 1971; Allen, 1969; Lubeck and Empey, 1968; Chase, 1975), critical incidents including drug use, theft, and fighting (Empey and Lubeck, 1971) and violence (Feld, 1977). Relative to the numerous studies of prisonization and inmate subcultures, however, the study of inmate behavior is in its infancy.

Among researchers studying the problem, there is some controversy as to the precise location of the conditions believed to be causally related to inmate behavior. Two basic perspectives have been used to account for both attitudinal and behavioral responses to imprisonment, and supporters of each position have engaged in continued debates for over twenty years.

The Importation Perspective

One group of theorists, often called the "diffusionists," assert that inmate responses to confinement are largely a function of their nonprison identities and experiences which are "imported" into the correctional setting (Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966 and 1974; Schrag, 1961; Wellford, 1967; Heffernan, 1972). The perspective has been labeled The Importation Model.

Schrag noted that the four major role configurations in a prison (i.e., Square John, Right Guy, Con Politician, and Outlaw) corresponded rather closely to varying offense patterns, family and community experiences, and particular attitudes toward crime and society which inmates brought with them (Schrag, 1961). Irwin and Cressey argued that their three major role types (i.e., Thieves, Convicts, and Do Rights) all brought certain values and behavior patterns to prison with them and that these imported characteristics were the major determinants of prison adaptations (Irwin and Cressey, 1962). A more recent example of this perspective is found in a study of a women's prison in Washington, D.C. where three inmate adaptive systems, labeled the Square, the Cool and the Life, were found to coexist. These subsystems were found to have different goals, codes of acceptable behavior, and means of mutual support and these differences were believed to result from the prisoners' previous socialization in different normative reference groups, operationalized by their commitment offenses (Heffernan, 1972).

Although the earliest importation theorists concentrated on actual pre-prison behaviors and experiences as determinants of prison adaptations, later disciples included other characteristics of individuals, both ascribed and achieved which were believed to have important ramifications on the orientations of inmates, such as age, sex, personality, and race. Most of the work on womens' adjustment to prison stresses the conditioning influence of differential socialization in the outside society (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966, 1974). Giallombardo goes on to state that:

> "The similarity of the informal social system evolved by the youthful female inmates to that established by the adult female offenders is remarkable. That similar social roles do not emerge in institutions for adult and adolescent male offenders provides evidence that attests powerfully to the hypothesis that the inmate culture is influenced by the differential participation of males and females in the external culture" (Giallombardo, 1974, p. 15).

With regard to variables associated with misconduct, these theorists would argue that those characteristics of inmates which are most closely associated with their pre-prison socialization and experiences, including race, sex, and social class, would be most predictive.

## The Deprivation Perspective

The other major perspective used in explanations of inmate subcultures and prisonized attitudes has been variously called the deprivation model, the functional explanation, the institutional product paradigm, and the theory of indigenous origins. This perspective located the primary impetus

to misconduct and negative attitudes in intra-institutional pressures and problems generated by imprisonment itself, particularly a set of factors called the "pains of imprisonment" (Sykes, 1958; Sykes and Messinger, 1960; Cloward, 1960; Goffman, 1961; Wulbert, 1965; Garabedian, 1963; Wheeler, 1961; Berk, 1966; Grusky, 1959, Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966; Tittle, 1972; Thomas and Foster, 1973).

In the Society of Captives Sykes conceptualized the "pains of imprisonment" as including: the deprivation of liberty, which includes confinement to an institution and within it restriction of movement, as well as isolation from friends and family, and social rejection; the deprivation of goods and services; the deprivation of heterosexual relationships; the deprivation of autonomy, which includes irrational and inconsistent applications of rules and regulations; and the deprivation of security from the aggressions of fellow captives (Sykes, 1958).Using these categories, as well as others, a multitude of researchers have tried to link them to anti-staff attitudes and prisonization, the degree of involvement in an inmate subculture, and only infrequently, to the incidence of institutional misconduct.

In the original elaboration of the functional model, these pains of imprisonment lead to an acute sense of status degradation which generates powerful pressures to evolve ways of restoring status. One of the principal mechanisms that emerges is an inmate social system, which enables the inmate to reject his rejectors (Cloward, 1960; McCorkle and Korn,

1954; Sykes and Messinger, 1960). While persuasive arguments have been constructed that maintain that inmate society ameliorates the pains of imprisonment, no empirical tests supporting this position have been conclusive. In fact, other theorists argue that the inmate system in some institutions may be dysfunctional.

> "There are many institutions where, despite the deprivations imposed by the formal system, an informal inmate society reinforces rather than soothes the pains of imprisonment. In some boarding schools we visited, a harsh, repressive, formal regime was supplemented by a violent and exploitive world that existed among the boys themselves. The pains of imprisonment were intensified rather than moderated" (Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, 1975, p. 230).

In more recent attempts to use the deprivation model as an explanation of inmate adaptations, the functional tenets have been omitted, and instead, researchers have simply tried to demonstrate a causal sequence between the conditions of the institution and the responses of the inmates. In trying to propose a theoretical link between the conditions of the prison and the reactions of the inmates, Tittle rejected the functional explanation in favor of what he called "the alienation explanation." According to the "alienation explanation" the behavior of inmates is a result of a psychological reaction-formation (alienation) which may have a variety of consequences, including problem-solving, but the consequences do not determine the behaviors as they do in a functional explanation (Tittle, 1972). The most fruitful studies using the deprivation model have relied on this alienation explanation as the link between an institutional process and inmate org-

anization, and we shall use the deprivation model in this way. The pains of imprisonment would thus be reflected in attitudes of alienation and perceived deprivation which, in turn, would result in acts of misconduct. There is no assumption that this misconduct would mitigate or intensify the pains of imprisonment.

Although the importation and deprivation models have been contrasted in most of their research on inmate adaptations, a number of recent theorists have emphasized that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, for prior experience and the prison situation may interact to produce the norms and behavior of the inmates. Indeed, the motivations for inmate misconduct may be explained by the alienation and deprivation of imprisonment, but the types of misconduct may be reflective of behavior patterns and values imported from the larger society (Thomas, 1970; Akers, Hayner and Gruninger, 1974; Thomas, 1977; Zingraff, 1976).

## The Control Perspective

In characterizing aspects of prison environments which affect institutional misconduct, it becomes apparent that the pains of imprisonment may afford an incomplete explanation. It seems rather obvious that the misbehavior may, at least in part, be conditioned by the opportunities and sanctions in the setting.

Although the Deprivation Perspective assumes that the freedom and autonomy which is inherent in more open and un-

structured institutions will reduce the pressures toward expressive alienation and misbehavior, the Control Perspective suggests that the opposite situation may occur. These theorists maintain that open and unstructured institutions may provide more opportunity for youth to learn and practice illegitimate skills. They also contend that in programs where youth do not believe that they will be severely punished for such behaviors, there will be more internal disorder. Differences in pains of imprisonment are believed to be relatively unimportant in the prediction of misconduct because most inmates will misbehave if the opportunities are available and sanctioning by staff or peers is unlikely.

Both the amount and type of misconduct would be related to the opportunities available for engaging in these activities, the certainty and severity of punishment, and the relative amount of control exercised by both inmates and staff. The Control Perspective, although implicit in much of the correctional literature, has been virtually ignored in the research, with a few exceptions (Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966; Mitchell, 1969; Empey and Newland, 1968). Street, et. al. found that among the six juvenile correctional programs studied, the two which placed the highest emphasis on obedience and containment had relatively low runaway rates (16 and 20 percent), while the two organizations which emphasized "treatment" goals over control had relatively high runaway rates (50 and 29 percent). Empey and Newland found that there was a decrease in the number of critical incidents in the Silver-

lake Experiment as the program culture (staff and peers) began exerting greater control. Mitchell reported that in the custody-oriented institution she studied, the staff patterns of control and authority limited inmate associations, decreased privacy, and thus limited the opportunity for homosexual behavior. In the treatment-oriented institution, homosexual behavior was more prevalent.

At first glance, the Control Perspective appears to be diametrically opposed to the Deprivation Perspective in its predictions about institutional misconduct. Researchers using deprivation theories have argued that misconduct would be higher in more custodial programs because they have higher ratios of deprivation to gratification and thus set the stage for the development of alienation and frustration, which lead to rebellious behavior. In contrast, control theorists argue that misconduct is lowest in custodial programs because they limit the opportunities for interaction and group formation, as well as provide harsher sanctions for disobedience.

Yet, we contend that, although the two perspectives may emphasize somewhat different determinants of misconduct, they are not necessarily incompatible. It is indeed possible that institutions could exercise effective control without resorting to severe deprivations and conversely, it is equally possible that institutions can be both painful and chaotic.

Techniques of control may include environmental constraints such as fences and locked cells, security checks and precautions by staff, such as censorship, searching, and hour-

ly counts; detailed rules and policies for every contingency; and certain and severe sanctions for disobedience. All of these techniques may, of course, be viewed as "pains of imprisonment" by inmates and may in fact intensify rather than reduce incipient disorder. However, there are other types of control that may lessen the opportunity for and the attractiveness of misconduct without creating an atmosphere of repression. Technologies which foster the participation of youth in the treatment and rehabilitation of their peers may make the detection of misconduct more likely and may invite youth to be more concerned about the misbehavior of their friends. Control based on the intense but friendly interaction between staff and youth or by a full schedule of interesting and involving activities may be more positive functional alternatives to the usual custodial practices. In fact, there is some evidence from a study of probation hostels for adolescent males that absconding rates were lowest in programs that were both less depriving and more controlling. In these programs, the warden was very strict yet had a certain warmth toward his charges. There was also emphasis on consistent discipline. Those hostels with high failure rates showed the opposite pattern. In some the discipline was ineffective and in others there was a marked lack of warmth and the staff were harsh, sarcastic or even sadistic (Sinclair, 1975). Lower rates of misconduct in warm but strict institutions would obviously be compatible with both the deprivation and control perspectives.

These three theoretical perspectives on institutional misconduct can be stated in propositional form as follows:

Proposition I. (Importation) The frequency and severity of institutional misconduct is directly related to the pre-institutional patterns of delinquency, and stable characteristics of individuals which affect their criminal orientations and behaviors, such as gender, race, and social class.

Proposition II. (Deprivation) The frequency and severity of institutional misconduct is directly related to the extent to which inmates feel deprived and alienated. Institutions in which inmates experience greater pains of imprisonment will have higher rates of serious misconduct.

Proposition III. (Control) The frequency and severity of institutional misconduct is inversely related to the degree of surveillance, control, and punishment provided by staff. Institutions in which youth have less opportunity and greater certainty of punishment for misconduct will have lower rates of these behaviors.

Our Present Study

In an effort to understand the relative contribution of the three perspectives outlined above to an explanation of inmate misconduct in juvenile correctional institutions, we will concentrate on seven self-reported behaviors: feigned illness, illegal drug use, absconding, theft, property damage, assaults on staff, and fighting. These behaviors were chosen because they represent some of the more typical incidents in correctional institutions and because they also constitute a range of activites, differentiated along several dimensions including the degree to which they are instrumental or expressive, minor or serious, and directed toward self, staff, or peers. Because we recognize that the relative ef-

fectiveness of the three perspectives (importation, deprivation and control) may vary depending on the type of misconduct, this research is directed toward an understanding of each separate type of behavior, as well as serious misconduct in general.

Our present study is comparative, based on data collected in fourteen juvenile correctional institutions in the United States. With rare exceptions, studies of inmate responses to confinement have been concentrated in maximum security adult prisons, usually for males convicted of felonies, and the few comparative studies have been limited to an examination of one or two programs. The conclusions drawn from such research may be of limited utility in understanding the adaptations of juveniles to a variety of different correctional institutions. We are fortunate in having a data base for the present study that is both larger and more diverse than any previously available on youth.

In the second chapter, we will underscore some critical issues in the design and methodology of the larger study from which this data was drawn, in order to explore some of the strengths and weaknesses in the present analysis of institutional misconduct. Particular attention will be paid to the sample selection, research instruments, methods of data collection, procedures for analysis and interpretation, and issues regarding the validity and reliability of the data will be addressed.

Since it would be both cumbersome and distracting to

treat each of the institutions separately in a comparative study of this size, we will develop a typology of the institutions in Chapter Three. Using data from official reports, interviews with administrators and field observations, the institutions will be classified according to their styles of managing and securing the compliance of inmates. This typology will be verified using selected reports of youth and staff about their programs. Throughout the rest of the analysis, the comparative analysis of institutions will be based on their compliance/management style.

In the fourth chapter, data on the incidence of each of the seven types of misconduct within a one month period of time in these programs will be described. The self-reports of youth and the reports of the staff regarding these behaviors will be compared, in order to deal with some of the issues regarding the validity of self-reported delinquency. Since efforts to develop a typology of misconduct were unsuccessful, scales measuring the frequency of each particular behavior as well as the frequency of all <u>serious misconduct</u> were developed. Differences in the frequency of misconduct, and in the extent to which these acts were committed individually or in groups, will be presented for each type of institution.

A set of variables designed to test the importation model will be described in the fifth chapter. These include age, gender, race, social class, commitment offense, previous delinquency, and correctional experiences. The relevant re-

search underlying each of these variables will be discussed and comparisons among the three types of institutions will be presented. Zero order correlations between each of these variables and each type of misconduct will be shown, preceding a multivariate analysis (multiple regression analysis) designed to estimate the total amount of variance in each type of misconduct that the entire set of importation variables can account for simultaneously, and to determine the relative importance of these variables.

In the sixth chapter, the same basic procedures will be used to examine the contribution of variables representing the deprivation perspective. Rather than relying on objective characteristics of programs and/or the observations of outsiders to measure deprivation, we will use the perceptions of the inmates themselves regarding the "pains of imprisonment." Included are measures of length of stay, distance from home community, infrequency of home visits, lack of contact with significant persons in their lives, inability to go off grounds for recreation, and perceptions of little autonomy, staff punitiveness, boredom, and stigmatization. We also included measures regarding the perceived ineffectiveness of the institutional process, inability to participate in policy decisions, negative relationships with peers, acquisition of deviant skills, and poor expectations about future life chances.

The control perspective will be developed in the seventh chapter. Three measures regarding programs' official pol-

icies of physical control, restrictions on internal movement and autonomy, and restrictions on contact with the outside community will be described and related to the frequency of institutional misconduct. Then we will turn again to the reports of youth as the major test of the control model, using measures of youth perceptions of staff control and surveillance policies, the punishments usually given for the specific types of misconduct, and the amount of control youth were willing to exercise over their peers. Zero order correlations between these measures and the frequency of institutional misconduct will be examined and then a multiple regression analysis on serious misconduct will be run, using significant variables from all three perspectives in order to understand the total contribution of all three models to the explanation, as well as to be able to sort out the relative contribution of each. Following this, separate regression analyses will be done for each type of institution in order to discover if certain models are most effective in understanding misconduct in particular types of institutions.

In this chapter, we also will examine the effect of long periods of confinement in each of the three types of institutions we studied. The previous delinquent activities of youth will be controlled, in order to find out whether certain types of programs seem to foster more misconduct, particularly among youth who have been incarcerated for nine months or more.

Throughout the analysis, we will alert the reader to the

conceptual and methodological problems in a comparative analysis of inmate misconduct. In the final chapter, we will discuss some directions for further research in this area, as well as the implications of the present study.

## FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, Kenneth Wooden, Weeping in the Playtime of Others: America's Incarcerated Children, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1976.

2. A content analysis of sociological articles on violence done by the same authors revealed that in the past 25 years, no quantitative empirical research on aggressive behavior in prison -- riots excluded -- had appeared in the American Sociological Review, the American Journal of Sociology, or Social Problems.

## CHAPTER II

## RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The research presented in this dissertation is based on data collected between 1973 and 1974 by the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections at the University of Michigan. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the sample selection, methods of data collection, and procedures for analysis and interpretation used in this facet of the larger research project. Some attention will be given to critical issues in the design and methodology which are particularly relevant for the study of institutional misconduct.

### Institutional Settings

The fourteen institutions upon which the present research is based were selected as part of a larger set of correctional programs, including group homes and day treatment facilities, through a two-stage probability sample design.[1] For the first stage, sixteen states were selected on the basis of regional distribution, admission rate changes of juveniles in public institutions between 1966 and 1971, and specific characteristics of juvenile justice systems.[2] In the second stage, institutions and community-based programs were drawn independently from the selected states.[3] In order for a program to be classified as an institution, it had to meet the following criteria:

1. Provide residential care for at least 21 persons
2. Have three or more full-time staff

3. Have 50% or more of the clientele committed as adjudicated delinquents, informally committed as consent docket cases, or classified as detention residents
4. Provide less than 4 contact hours a day outside of the institution for at least 80 percent of the clientele.

Female and coeducational programs were deliberately overrepresented in the sample because so little attention had been paid to them in the past and so that comparative analyses by sex would be possible.

There were a number of changes in the sample between the time it was drawn and actual field activity. Some of the programs originally selected were not suitable for inclusion because they were subsequently discontinued or because it was later discovered that they did not fit the criteria for classification as an institution. There were only two instances of administrative refusal for research participation. In all of these cases, programs believed to be quite similar to those originally sampled were substituted.

Sixteen programs were finally selected and studied as institutions by the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections but in the present analysis only fourteen of these will be used. One of the two programs was deleted because most of the youth went off grounds every day to public schools and the other was dropped because of problems of inadequate data from the youth questionnaires.[4] The fourteen facilities we retained are clearly "total institutions" in that they pro-

vide residential care and educational services (academic and/ or vocational) on grounds for most of their clientele. They are clearly different from more "community-based" programs such as group homes, halfway houses, and day treatment centers.

For purposes of data analysis, two of the institutions were subdivided. One of them was divided because it actually contained two separate campuses located over a mile apart with separate schools, living units, and recreational facilities. The two campuses had separate staff and very different treatment programs. The other institution was subdivided because it also had two quite distinctive treatment programs. More detailed descriptions of the differences within these two institutions will be presented in the following chapter.

Table 2.1 shows some of the variations among the sixteen institutional units in our sample with regard to size of the youth population, auspices, geographical region, and characteristics of the youth population.[5] In looking at the size of an institution, we show both the overall population and the average size of a living unit such as the dorm or cottage and there is a considerable range in both of these indicators. Sequoia[6] is nine times as large as Sweet Laurel. Half of the institutions in our sample contain more than seventy-six children; this is almost exactly the same as found in the 1966 census of institutions for predelinquent and delinquent children, in which nearly half of them (48%) were providing care to seventy-six or more children (Pappenfort and Kilpatrick,

TABLE 2.1 SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLED INSTITUTIONS

| INSTITUTION | TOTAL SIZE | AVERAGE SIZE OF LIVING UNIT | AUSPICES | REGION | CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Sex | Percent Nonwhite[c] | Age Range[d] |
| Cedar Hills | 170 | 25 | Public | N. Central | Male | 60% | 13-17 |
| Cheshire[a] | 54 | 18 | Public | N. East | Coed | 35 | 13-17 |
| Dogwood | 190 | 40 | Public | South | Male | 75 | 14-19 |
| Fieldston[b] | 51 | 21 | Public | South | Female | 57 | 13-17 |
| Gillston[b] | 130 | 22 | Public | South | Male | 66 | 10-20 |
| Greyshire[a] | 74 | 18 | Public | N. East | Coed | 29 | 13-18 |
| Hickory Creek | 68 | 24 | Private | N. Central | Male | 32 | 11-21 |
| Juniper | 42 | 10 | Private | N. Central | Male | 30 | 12-17 |
| Lakeside | 150 | 16 | Public | South | Coed | 66 | 13-20 |
| Magnolia | 128 | 20 | Public | South | Female | 63 | 14-18 |
| Marigold | 44 | 10 | Private | N. Central | Female | 25 | 15-18 |
| Piney Bluff | 116 | 22 | Public | West | Male | 46 | 13-20 |
| Rosebud | 83 | 16 | Private | N. Central | Female | 37 | 13-18 |
| Sequoia | 347 | 50 | Public | West | Male | 73 | 13-20 |
| Sweet Laurel | 38 | 12 | Public | N. East | Female | 58 | 13-18 |
| Wildwood | 68 | 10 | Private | South | Male | 30 | 8-18 |

[a] Cheshire and Greyshire are subdivisions of one institution

[b] Fieldston and Gillston are subdivisions of one institution

[c] The percent nonwhite is based on the self-reports of the youth in the sample

[d] The age range is based on the self-reports of the youth in the sample

1970, p. xxxiii). The average size of the living unit is significantly correlated with the size of the entire institution (r=.88), as we might expect.

Slightly more than-two thirds of the institutions are under public auspices, which is quite similar to the proportion under these auspices in the 1966 census (Pappenfort and Kilpatrick, 1970, Vol. 1, p. xxxiii). Because the sample is small, the correlation between size of the institution and auspice (r=.42) is not statistically significant, but the public programs do tend to be larger. This is consistent with the results of the 1966 census of residential institutions for predelinquent and delinquent children, indicating that 49% of the public programs but less than 15% of the private facilities held over one hundred children (Pappenfort and Kilpatrick, 1970, Vol. 3, p. 15).

Half of the sampled programs are female or coeducational in composition which is a result of deliberate oversampling. In 1966, nearly sixty percent of these programs in the United States were for males (Pappenfort and Kilpatrick, 1970, Vol. 3, p. 21). In our sample the male institutions were more often larger than the female and coed facilities; approximately 63% of the male institutions held over one hundred youth but this was only true of 20% of the female and 33% of the coed programs.

The racial composition of the sampled programs also varies greatly. In a quarter of the programs two thirds of the youth are nonwhite and in another quarter of the programs two

thirds of the youth are white. Within each institution there is an age range of at least four years but in many of the programs there is an even wider span. The programs do differ by age, however. In four of the programs there are children under the age of thirteen and in six programs there are youth over eighteen being confined.

Despite the changes from the original sampling design and the departures from a strict probability sample, we are reasonably confident that these programs are typical of institutions for delinquent youth in the United States. It is important to realize that these procedures produced a sample of programs, not a sample of all youth in institutions.

## Methods of Data Collection

Data for the study was gathered from a variety of sources using several types of instruments including interviewing, informal observation, inspection of official documents and records, and questionnaire administration. In this analysis, we rely primarily on questionnaires administered to the youth and staff, a Service Unit Questionnaire completed by selected administrative staff, observations of field staff as written in an observation schedule and narrative reports, and personal observations. Since the questionnaires administered to youth are the major source of data, it is especially important to assess their validity. In constructing these instruments we were particularly sensitive to the issues surrounding the self reporting of misconduct and delinquency. Though in the next chapter we will discuss ways of systematically

assessing the validity of self-reported institutional misconduct, in this section we will concern ourselves with some of the recent methodological research relevant to the construction and administration of our survey instrument.

The Validity of Self-Reported Delinquency: Recent Research

Until relatively recently, reports of data on self-reported delinquent behavior were called into question because it seemed unlikely that youth would accurately and candidly report behavior that could get them into trouble. Conversely, other critics contended that there was an equal danger that certain youth would tend to overreport delinquency in order to achieve an impression of daring and manliness. The most serious problem is that of systematic bias in self-reported delinquency which would result in many or most of the relations between these reports and outside variables being artifacts of differential honesty. As Toby stated in a review of a study of using self-reports:

> "Supposing respondents varied considerably in their willingness to cooperate with the researchers. The less cooperative ones might have denied what they considered discreditable: delinquencies, unhappy family relations, infrequent church attendance. The more cooperative respondents, on the other hand, might have been more willing to admit such things, thus generating a spurious relationship between confessions and other responses." (Jackson Toby, review of Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior, by F. Ivan Nye, American Sociological Review, XXV, (1960), p. 283)

It is equally plausible, however, that the systematic bias runs in the other direction, as Gold suggests, that cooperative or "good" respondents, especially females, may tend to underreport their delinquency while uncooperative respondents,

especially males, may tend to overreport certain deviant acts in order to project an image of bravery.

A variety of researchers have employed ways of checking the validity of self-reports of delinquency. One of the most frequent methods has been to check them against official records, but these have generally yielded low to moderate correlations (Erickson and Empey, 1963; Hackler and Lautt, 1969; Voss, 1963; Elliott and Voss, 1974; Gold, 1970). In Gold's study, the recorded police contacts of 94 male and female juvenile probationers were compared with their own reports of delinquent behavior as elicited by card-sorting, followed by interviewing. The gamma between the number of chargeable police contacts and the number of significant delinquent acts reported for the same two-to-four month period was .31 (p=.01).

The difficulty of comparing self-reported delinquency to official records was underscored by Elliott and Voss in their attempt to validate admitted delinquency of over 2,000 high school youth with a rigorous check of official records. Over two periods of time they found an overall level of error in specific delinquent acts of 17 to 22 percent, but it was much higher for serious offenses. Clearly, the serious offenses were more frequently underreported than were the minor violations (Elliott and Voss, 1974, p. 72). These results are very similar to those of Clark and Tifft (1966), and Gold (1966) who reported error levels of 15 and 17 percent respectively. However, Clark and Tifft found the greatest error in the admission of minor offenses.

Suggesting that an offense-specific comparison of self-reported and official delinquency may be too demanding, Elliott and Voss compared the percentage of subjects failing to report any delinquent act of the same or greater degree of seriousness than their officially recorded offenses. In this analysis, the error rate dropped to five percent. Nearly all of the persons with police contacts admitted one or more offenses of the same level of seriousness (97%). The discrepancies between the two measures may not represent underreporting because there may be inaccuracies in the police records. Other researchers suggest that court records, though less comprehensive, contain fewer errors. At any rate, these comparisons, though problematic, provide evidence that self-reports show a greater magnitude of delinquency than official police or court records. Elliott and Voss found that there were approximately 5 police contacts for every 100 self-reported offenses and that police contact rates vary by sex, ethnicity and class; males, members of minority groups, and lower class juveniles had a relatively greater risk of police contact for every delinquent act they committed (Elliott and Voss, 1974, p. 102). Gold also found significant differences between boys and girls in apprehension by the police, but attributes this largely to the fact that getting caught depended on the frequency of youngster's delinquent behavior. Only about 15 percent of the teenagers who confessed to one or more chargeable offenses were actually apprehended by the police (Gold, 1970, p. 102-103).

Another approach to validation receiving widespread attention is the comparison of anonymous questionnaire responses with a polygraph test (Clark and Tifft, 1966). They found that eighty two percent of the confessions and denials made during polygraph examinations of university students about their delinquent behavior had previously been made on the questionnaire.

Still another approach akin to that of comparing official records and self-reports is to obtain testimony from others about the delinquency of youth. Comparisons are then made between the reports of informants and self-reports. Informants in these studies have ranged from teachers, to peers, to trained observers.

Gold has been involved in validating self-reports with peer testimony in a number of studies using variants on a basic technique. The observations of peers were elicited by asking adolescents to tell who they knew had committed any of a specified list of delinquent acts. The informants were asked to discuss only those offenses which they had observed or had learned about directly from the offender. They were also asked not to reveal to the offenders that they had told the interviewer about the delinquent behavior. Uninformed interviewers were used to ask the named offender about their delinquent behavior using a combination of card-sorting and interviewing. Using this technique, Gold reports that about 70 to 75% of the 13-16 year old respondents from Flint, Michigan told their interviewers about either the same incidents

that informants had previously revealed or about more recent offenses in the same offense category; another 10 to 12% admitted to similar offenses but not precisely the same; and only 10 to 15% denied having committed offenses that informants had said they committed (Gold, unpublished, p. 5). It is important to point out, however, that Gold doesn't tell us what percentage of the informants' testimony actually comes from direct observation. If most of the informants' information comes from the lips of the offender, then the validity of the informants' testimony is as questionable as the direct self-reports of delinquents. And it would be extremely difficult to validate the self-reports of loners, whose acts would be unobserved and unreported.

Teachers' testimony with regard to the delinquency of seventh and ninth grade male pupils was compared to self-reported delinquency data in a study by Hackler and Lautt (1969). They found that all the relationships between self-reported delinquent behavior and teachers' ratings were positive but were much higher for ninth graders than for seventh graders. Unfortunately the teacher ratings were based on questions such as "How likely is this student to be a disciplinary problem in school in the future" and "What would you guess this student's changes are of getting into trouble in the law in the future" rather than any reports of observed behavior.

The same reservations apply to the validation attempt of Elliott and Voss, using teacher nominations of the probability that a subject would come to the attention of law enforcement

agents. They found a high degree of association between teachers' evaluations of a subject's probability of police contact and the student's involvement in delinquent behavior as measured by self-reports. They believe that this "provided the strongest internal evidence for the validity of the self-report measure." (p. 102). Of course, it is possible to argue that youth who are consistently labeled as trouble-makers by teachers have less to lose by admitting their delinquent behavior than those who are thought of as "good kids." Also since teachers may have no more real evidence about the delinquent behavior of the youth they are identifying than what they are told by these youth, both measures may actually be self-reports and slightly tautological. This technique is probably most useful if applied to the checking of specific behaviors which are generally publicly visible and not seriously incriminating such as smoking, drinking, swearing. The denial of corroborated testimony on these matters would begin to identify invalid responses.

Another series of analyses to assert validity have been done to show relationships in expected directions with other variables to which experience, intuition, theory, or common-sense would indicate them. For example, Johnston asserted the validity of self-reported illegal drug use because the reports related strongly and in expected directions to variables such as the individual's drug-related attitudes and his reports of drug use by his friends. He also found that the proportion of non-users is consistent with the propor-

tion who say they disapprove of drug use (Johnston, 1973, p. 27). In another interesting variant of this technique, Stinchcombe validated his index of behavioral rebellion, by reporting that students who were more rebellious also reported cheating more often, less often did homework, and were more likely to disobey the implicit command to "answer the question" in the interview schedule (Stinchcombe, 1964, p. 199). Since most theories of delinquency assert that the behavior is related to poor parent-child relations and peer influence, other studies have "validated" self-report measures by showing that they are related to these variables (e.g., Bachman, 1970; Gold and Mann, 1972; Kulik et al, 1968; Nye, 1958; Hardt and Peterson, 1968).

On the other hand, it was almost axiomatic that delinquency was related to social class and the lower the social class of the youth's family, the more delinquent he or she was likely to be. This proposition has not been confirmed by the use of self-report measures. In fact Gold's Flint study found a statistically reliable, but small, inverse relationship (Gold, 1970). Other studies both of a national and local nature have tended to confirm this nonfinding (e.g., Bachman, 1970; Empey and Erickson, 1966; Faine, 1974; and Nye, 1958). Though this has tended to increase the importance attached to studies using self-report measures as theory building, it has also aroused a lot of skepticism regarding their validity.

Another similar approach involves the comparison of groups believed to differ on the characteristic being mea-

sured, i.e., delinquent behavior. Nye and Short used this "known group" approach to compare male high school pupils and training school boys, and were able to discriminate between the two groups with 86 percent accuracy (Nye and Short, 1957). Reiss and Rhodes were able to discriminate at least moderately between youth with and without court records (Reiss and Rhodes, 1961). Empey and Lubeck found significant differences between youth with and without court appearances, especially with regard to involvement of peers in misconduct (Empey and Lubeck, 1968).

There are a whole set of procedures used in the construction of questionnaires to identify invalid responses. One of the most common is the incorporation of "lie scales" or "social desirability scales" which include items such as "I have always told the truth;" or "I never think badly of my closest friends." Another is to include some negative self-report items which can be checked against other records such as: "How many failure marks did you get on your report card this year?" or "How many times have you been in jail?" Another is to use reliability checks.

There are a variety of ways of assessing the reliability of an instrument, including readministration of the same instrument to the same respondents, looking for internal consistency in answers to similar questions or to the same questions at different places in the questionnaire, or using the same item in different question and response formats. In a Conference Report based on the experiences of delinquency

researchers in using self-report techniques, several factors were deemed critical to improving reliability. These included simple, easily understood questions; consultation with elementary education reading specialists, pilot testing, limitation of the reporting period for behavioral items, identification of youth with reading problems so that they could be surveyed separately, use of monitors to read questions, and evaluation of instruments by field staff to eliminate clear cut cases of noncomprehension (Hardt and Bodine, 1965, p. 17).

There is a great deal of continuing controversy over the relative impact of interviews, checklists, and questionnaires on the reporting of delinquent behavior. Gold comes out clearly on the side of checklists and interviews:

> "We believe that a card sort or checklist that is followed by an interview which elicits descriptions of specific offenses produces the most accurate measure of the frequency and seriousness of delinquent behaviors. Indeed it is almost impossible to gauge the seriousness of offenses...without descriptions drawn out by a skilled interviewer. But interviews are more expensive than questionnaires and the latter can yield useful if less precise data" (Gold, p. 15, unpublished).

Questionnaires have been employed in a number of prior studies of self-reported delinquency, however, not only because they are more economical but also because they maximize the anonymity available to the respondent and are thus believed to elicit more truthful information about certain types of embarrassing or serious offenses. As Gold even points out:

> "...it is reasonable to suppose that more youngsters

> would conceal offenses from an interviewer facing him than from an anonymous, group-administered checklist" (Gold, 1970, p. 14).

Other critics of interviewing point out that there may be interviewer effects; at a conference of self-report researchers there was a fairly strong consensus that these effects might be considerable in producing not only unreliable but possibly strongly biased results (Hardt and Bodine, 1965, p. 23).

Probably the more important factor in the honesty and accuracy of self-reporting is the extent to which respondents believe in the confidentiality of their answers. It has become increasingly clear that guarantees of anonymity are far less important than protecting confidentiality. In a study conducted by Josephson, Haberman and Zanes, around 1,000 students in two metropolitan East Coast high schools were administered drug questionnaires with varying degrees of anonymity. One version was totally anonymous, one version contained a coded number based on the respondents' name and birthdate, and the third version contained the respondent's name. To the surprise of the investigators, the group reporting the least drug usage was the group with complete anonymity. Moreover, there was no evidence that the identification of the respondent either produced concealment or exaggeration of drug use. Upon reinterviewing students two weeks after the initial administration they found almost identical self-reports of marijuana use (Josephson, Haberman and Zanes, 1971 reported in Johnson). A study by Kulik, et al (1968) suggests that the "practical importance of anonymity is over-emphasized

in research on delinquency (p. 509). And Gold concludes:

> "It also appears that self-report instruments can be employed effectively even with youth who are in most danger of discovery such as juvenile probationers, assuming of course that they understand that the confidentiality of their reports are protected. (A reassuring safeguard is to obtain immunity from subpoena of data and personnel from the U.S. Department of Justice under Section 502(c) of Public Law 91-513, the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970." (Gold, unpublished, p. 15).

Data Collection: Gaining Access to the Institution

Initial contact with public institutions was made through discussions with officials in the state central juvenile justice agency and appropriate clearances were obtained from these state officials. Programs under local or private auspices were contacted directly. This first contact provided the program with information about NAJC project goals, and executives were assured of the voluntary nature of participation as well as the confidential nature of all responses. At this point tentative plans were made for an advance visit by trained field staff to the institution to discuss the possibility of its use as a research site.

The advance visit was made to each program in order to clarify the nature of the research project and to negotiate a kind of contract with the institution executive regarding field activity. Upon determining that the institution met NAJC sampling criteria, field staff explained the scheduling of research activities for the site visit and outlined the time and commitment that would be required by both youth and staff. Issues related to human subject guarantees for participants and the provision of feedback to them were reviewed

extensively. If the executive agreed to collaborate in this effort, he was asked to sign a contract agreement which formalized the proceedings (see Appendix A). Field staff emphasized throughout these sessions that all care would be taken to prevent the disruption of ongoing programs or to intrude on the free time of youth or staff.

During this visit, field staff were usually given a fairly thorough tour of the facility and were able to talk to several staff members and youth. Often one or two meals were eaten on the grounds where casual observations of the interactions of youth and staff could be made.

Any documentary materials available on these programs were carefully collected at this time and it was important to work out the logistics for administering the youth questionnaire if possible. We will discuss these details of administration in a later section of this chapter.

After the field staff returned from an advanced visit, a detailed report was written discussing all aspects of their negotiations and describing the program. Whenever possible, one of the field staff who had previewed an institution was included on the actual site visit to facilitate the entry of the rest of the team.

NAJC field teams visited each institution between the spring of 1973 and the winter of 1974.[7] The size of the field team was determined both by the size of the youth and staff population and the complexity of the program. The field team spent from five to eight days at each institution

and spent at least nine to ten hours on the grounds each day. At least five to seven field staff participated in most site visits. Efforts were made to observe the operation of the program at all times of the day and night and, when possible, weekends. Meetings of the field staff were held every night away from the institution to discuss their impressions, to discover discrepancies in information, and to determine the tasks for the next day. This almost total immersion in the atmosphere of an institution for a period of a week provided fairly comprehensive and detailed insights by staff.

The author coordinated field activities at seven of the sixteen institutions used in this analysis and visited three of the others. Considerable contact was maintained with field staff during their visits to the other six programs in order to absorb the flavor and character of the place as much as possible.

### Data Collection: Development and Administration of Youth Questionnaire

Considerable time and thought was devoted to the construction of a rather lengthy (41 page) survey instrument entitled "What Do You Think?" to be administered to all available youth in both the institutions and community-based programs.[8] The previous experience of the principal investigators, Rosemary Sarri and Robert Vinter, in studying youth in correctional institutions proved extremely important in designing the questionnaire, as did other previous studies of total institutions. Whenever possible, questions which had been successfully used in other research were included but many items

were original. There were several major revisions of the instrument based on consultation with an expert on reading and learning disabilities and on extensive pretesting in local correctional programs.

Questionnaire administration to youth usually took place around the second or third day of the site visit and efforts were made to arrange times that would both not disrupt the ongoing routine of the program and would not deprive youth of their leisure activities. In general, this meant using school time and prearranging the groups so that the movement to and from questionnaire administration would be satisfactory to the institution personnel. Field staff insisted on administering the instrument without the presence of institutional staff and this was accomplished despite concerns from some programs. There were only minimal discipline problems and these were generally only initial rowdy comments which subsided after a few moments.

As each potential respondent came into the room, he or she was asked to sit down around a table or at a desk, at some distance from other youth so that the answers would remain private and so that verbal interaction between youth would be minimized. Until the whole group had assembled, field staff chatted informally with youth and answered any questions about the project that arose. Many youth expressed some anxiety about the length of the questionnaire when they saw it and others felt that they weren't sure they could answer the questions on the "test." It became increasingly

clear that many staff had presented the questionnaire as a _test_ because they knew youth understood the word and also that several staff, despite our instructions, had literally forced youth to attend the administration.

We asked all youth to consider staying in the room for five or ten minutes while we explained details of the questionnaire administration, but that after that they could decide whether they wanted to stay and participate. They were free to leave the room at any time without any reprisals. We then reiterated the purpose of the study and reasons why the answers of each of them were important, because not all of them had the same experiences, thoughts, and feelings about the program. We stressed the voluntary nature of their participation and the fact that though their efforts would not be directly helpful to them, they might be able to improve the future chances for other young people. We stressed that this was not a test -- there were no right or wrong answers -- but it was rather like an opinion survey. Confidentiality was explained in a variety of ways. All completed instruments would be locked in the trunk of our car immediately after the administration. No individual responses would ever be shown to staff or program. In fact, the names of the programs themselves would not be revealed to the public. We wanted youth to complete the questionnaires by themselves without looking at anyone else's answers. If there were any questions youth didn't wish to answer, they were asked to cross these out so we would know it had been a conscious decision not an unintentional omission. We also told youth that staff

would be filling out a similar questionnaire and that their rights to confidentiality would be equally protected (see Appendix A for suggested introductory statement).

The abstract concept of confidentiality became more real to youth in a couple of different ways. Several youth asked us which programs we had visited before and we told them we were unable to tell them that just as we would be unable to tell youth in other programs that we had visited their institution. Other youth noted that they had seen us locking completed questionnaires from prior groups in the car trunk and knew we meant it. We also clearly indicated to youth that they did not have to sign their names to this questionnaire and that the only reason spaces for such signatures were on the instrument was to be able to contact them in the future for a mail follow-up study.

The questionnaire was designed to be self-administered, but in order to assure full understanding of it, the usual strategy was for one field staff person to read it aloud while one or two others circulated around the room answering any individual questions posed by youth. Groups ranged in size from one to fifteen youths and the average size was about eight. Because we wanted to keep the questionnaire from becoming very wordy, it was necessary to provide some verbal instructions for certain questions; these were contained in a manual which the administrator read along with the written question. Some of these instructions were designed to be read only when elicited by questions or bewildered expressions on the part of respondents, while others

were standard. Some youth preferred to go on ahead of the reader and they were allowed to do so, though their attention was always called to parts that required verbal instructions. The average length of time youth took to complete the questionnaire was a little less than an hour, though some took as long as two hours.

Snacks, such as potato chips and beverages, were provided by field staff during the administration, to create a more relaxed atmosphere, but care was taken to make sure that these were not interpreted as a bribe, and youth who decided not to participate were often also given these treats. In programs where youth were normally allowed to smoke in the rooms, they could do so during the time they filled out the questionnaire. All care was taken, however, to observe institutional policy with regard to smoking, bathroom and hall movement, and so forth during the administration of the instruments.

Upon completion of the questionnaire youth were given individual Certificates of Appreciation with their names clearly written on them. This document on embossed paper had the seal of the University of Michigan, stating that a "Certificate of Appreciation" is awarded to (name of respondent) for contributing to social science research sponsored by the U.S. Government and conducted under the auspices of the University of Michigan.[9]

Both for reasons of limited time and to prevent contamination of respondees, group administrations were scheduled

as tightly as possible, and this often meant that field staff conducted as many as ten to twelve separate sessions a day. It was necessary in certain instances to administer the questionnaire individually because of the location of certain respondents (e.g. discipline rooms, clinics, etc.) or because of their low reading abilities. If youth were missed during the time they were initially scheduled, staff made a sincere effort to try and include them for a later administration or to see them individually.

It is difficult to present more than an approximation of the response rate to the Youth Questionnaire since in many programs the population shifts due to home visits, AWOLS, medical leaves, and so forth made a stable list of resident youth impossible to procure. Moreover, even during the five to seven days of a site visit the base population often fluctuated. In Table 2.2 we can see that the response rates across all fourteen of the institutions averaged over 85% and a total of 1326 youths filled out at least part of the questionnaire. In later chapters we will see that certain questions had higher nonresponse rates than others for a variety of reasons.

Anonymity of youth responses was a matter of personal choice. In introducing the questionnaire we assured youth that they were not required to sign their names. However, on the last page we asked youth to decide, after filling out the instrument, whether or not they wished to provide their name and address for purposes of possible follow-up studies. If they chose to do this, we also asked them for the name of a

TABLE 2.2 YOUTH POPULATION AND QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE RATE, BY INSTITUTION

| INSTITUTION | YOUTH POP. AT VISIT | USABLE YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRES | RESPONSE RATE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cedar Hills | 170 | 132 | 77.6% |
| Cheshire | 54 | 49 | 90.7 |
| Dogwood | 190 | 146 | 76.8 |
| Fieldston | 51 | 37 | 72.5 |
| Gillston | 130 | 93 | 71.5 |
| Greyshire | 74 | 71 | 95.9 |
| Hickory Creek | 68 | 56 | 82.4 |
| Juniper | 42 | 37 | 88.1 |
| Lakeside | 150 | 116 | 77.3 |
| Magnolia | 133 | 128 | 96.2 |
| Marigold | 44 | 40 | 90.9 |
| Piney Bluff | 116 | 114 | 98.3 |
| Rosebud | 83 | 80 | 96.4 |
| Sequoia | 347 (142 subsample) | 124 | 87.3 |
| Sweet Laurel | 38 | 36 | 94.7 |
| Wildwood | 68 | 67 | 98.5 |
| TOTAL | 1553 | 1326 | 85.4% |

person who would know where they might be reached in a few years if we were unable to contact them directly. More than eighty percent of the respondents signed their names and addresses, thus voluntarily relinquishing their anonymity. This is consistent with the experiences of both Hamblin and

Dentler in earlier self-report research (Hardt and Bodine, 1965, p. 22).

Confidentiality was continually emphasized and protected in the ways we discussed earlier. The questionnaire was designed to be both provocative and interesting but nonthreatening. Self-report items were separated from each other and spaced throughout the instrument to avoid potential problems of both response set and perceived threat. In the verbal introductions given before potentially difficult questions, emphasis was placed on the normalization of these acts. Rather than prefacing questions with "Did you..., we asked them, "How often did you..." to establish the presumption that many of these behaviors were both frequent and widespread.

In general we believe that the responses of youth reflect honest attempts to respond as accurately and fully as possible to a survey they felt would be of benefit to young people like themselves in the not too distant future. What problems do exist are, in my opinion, largely measurement problems rather than instances of falsification.

We asked youth to indicate their perceptions about the validity of the questionnaires by asking them two questions:

How many youth here will give honest answers to this questionnaire?

None
Few
Some
Most
All

Do your answers to this questionnaire really give your true feelings about this place?

Very much so
Quite a bit
Not very much
Not at all

These questions were placed at different points in the questionnaire. In Table 2.3 we can see only slightly more than half of the respondents believed that other youth would answer the questionnaire honestly, but nearly ninety percent of them reported that they had given valid answers.

There is much more variation across programs in youth's perceptions of others' credibility than of their own honesty. In some programs only about a third of the youth thought that others had given valid responses, while in others over two thirds felt this way. But across all programs, over 70 percent of youth reported that their answers had been true reflections of their feelings. Moreover, there is no discernible relationship between youth estimates of others' responses and their own evaluations. The zero order correlation between the two questions is .07 across all programs, and there is no significant relationships between them in any of the correlations for individual programs. Apparently the evaluation of the questionnaire responses of other youth is not a reflection of the respondent's own honesty. We believe that the perception of the answers given by other youth is probably conditioned more by a variety of organizational and individual factors impinging on the feelings of trust and cohesion in peer relationships than on any actual knowledge.

TABLE 2.3 PERCEIVED HONESTY AND ACCURACY OF YOUTH RESPONSES, BY INSTITUTION

| INSTITUTION | PERCENT REPORTING ALL OR MOST YOUTH WILL GIVE HONEST ANSWERS | PERCENT WHOSE QUESTIONNAIRES GAVE THEIR TRUE FEELINGS (VERY MUCH OR QUITE A BIT) |
|---|---|---|
| Cedar Hills | 49.3 (130) | 78.8 (132) |
| Cheshire | 55.1 (49) | 89.8 (49) |
| Dogwood | 53.1 (145) | 81.9 (144) |
| Fieldston | 52.8 (36) | 89.2 (37) |
| Gillston | 31.8 (88) | 78.3 (92) |
| Greyshire | 67.6 (71) | 91.6 (71) |
| Hickory Creek | 56.4 (55) | 92.8 (55) |
| Juniper | 43.2 (37) | 70.2 (37) |
| Lakeside | 39.3 (112) | 91.1 (112) |
| Magnolia | 39.6 (124) | 89.0 (127) |
| Marigold | 66.6 (39) | 92.5 (40) |
| Piney Bluff | 80.6 (113) | 86.8 (113) |
| Rosebud | 55.7 (79) | 91.3 (80) |
| Sequoia | 60.5 (119) | 90.2 (122) |
| Sweet Laurel | 55.6 (36) | 88.3 (34) |
| Wildwood | 67.2 (64) | 89.4 (66) |
| TOTAL | 53.9 (1297) | 86.6 (1311) |

Obviously youth have no real way of knowing whether or not other youth answered the questions accurately and so estimates may be indices of their general feelings of distrust and suspicion toward their peers. If this is so, then the difference between their assessment of their own and others' honesty may

istic ignorance.

Pluralistic ignorance of inmates regarding the opinions of other inmates has been consistently found in studies of adult prisons. Cloward, Wheeler, and more recently, Akers found that all inmates overestimate the hostility of others toward staff (Cloward, 1960; Wheeler, 1961; and Akers, 1973). If this can be applied to our study, it would suggest that youth have overestimated the dishonesty of their peers and that their own statements of truthtelling are accurate.

There are a number of individual and group factors which are known to affect perceptual accuracy, including the individual characteristics of the perceiver, the characteristics of the perceived, the relationship between the perceiver and the perceived, the content area of the perception, the interaction between the persons, and the position in the communication net of the perceiver. In many or even most correctional settings, there are a variety of these factors which may serve to reduce the awareness of youth about the actions of their peers. Thus, we believe that youth's own statements regarding the validity of their responses are more accurate than their perceptions of the validity of the responses of others.

## Data Collection: Development and Administration of the Staff Questionnaire

### Staff Questionnaire

A survey instrument entitled "A Study of Staff Perspectives in Juvenile Corrections" was constructed to tap many of the same dimensions as the Youth Questionnaire. In addition,

items included experiences in working with youth and other staff, goals and priorities in organizational development and change, personal characteristics of staff, and attitudes about youth in general. Much of the content of this questionnaire came directly from past studies of staff in correctional programs and it was briefly pretested in a few local correctional programs.

As was true in the Youth Questionnaire, most of the questions were closed-ended because we believed that this would encourage a greater response and would eliminate problems of misunderstanding. Room was left at the end for any comments staff wished to make and many of them wrote extensively throughout the questionnaire.

The Staff Questionnaire was a self-administered instrument designed to be filled out by staff members individually at times that would be convenient to them. Field team members tried to talk to each staff member personally at the time the questionnaire was handed out to explain the purpose of the study, the confidentiality attached to responses, the importance of each staff response, and the logistics of returning the instrument. When it was convenient and possible, field staff tried to spend considerable time with staff having direct contact with youth in order to clear up any misunderstanding of questions and to encourage them to respond as completely as possible. Often a routine staff meeting allowed a few minutes for field team members to discuss the questions with groups of staff.

Staff members were urged to return the answered questionnaire during the site visit, either directly to a field team member, to a sealed cardboard box placed in a central location, or by slipping it underneath the locked door of a temporary office used by NAJC team members. When it was known that some staff could not return the questionnaire during the time of the visit, efforts were made to provide a self-addressed stamped envelope so that they could return it by mail to our project site in Ann Arbor. For a variety of reasons such as vacations, sickness, or scheduling problems, we were unable to contact some staff members personally; in these instances personal notes attached to questionnaires along with return envelopes were left in their mail boxes or on their desk.

Staff were not asked to sign their names to these questionnaires, but the instruments were numbered so that a checking procedure could be used to avoid duplication of responses and to recontact staff who had not returned them. If staff were concerned about this numbering procedure, they were told they could tear off the identification number and return it separately from the questionnaire so that we would know they had actually answered while not knowing which answers were theirs. In fact a small proportion of staff did tear off the numbers and many of them sealed the questionnaire with scotch tape before returning it.

It is even more difficult to estimate the response rates of institutional staff than that of youth, because many pro-

grams did not have an accurate list of staff to use as a base and because there were even wider fluctuations in the numbers of staff from day to day. Because of time limitations, the decision was made in several programs to exert more effort to contact staff having direct contact with youth than those in other positions.

In Table 2.4 we see that the response rates of staff having direct contact with youth are much lower than expected and that these rates vary considerably by institution. Across the fourteen institutions in the sample, half (49.7%) of the available staff responded to the questionnaire, though in some programs the response rate was less than 25%.

There are a variety of reasons for the relatively lower response rates among staff than youth. Some of the questions, though gleaned from earlier research, proved to be difficult for staff to answer or understand fully.[10] In their frustration or anger with these questions, some staff either gave up or refused to fill out the questionnaire. The questionnaire took at least 45 minutes to complete, and several staff indicated that they felt they did not have the time to do this on the job and refused to take the time off the job. The study took place during a time in which there was considerable ferment and change in the ideology surrounding institutionalization and in which many programs were being terminated. Some staff expressed concern about their jobs and, even though they were assured by field staff of the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses, they may have regarded the re-

TABLE 2.4 STAFF POPULATION AND QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE RATE, BY INSTITUTION

| INSTITUTION | STAFF POPULATION AT VISIT[a] | USEABLE STAFF QUESTIONNAIRES[b] | RESPONSE RATE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cedar Hills | 114 | 47 | 41.2% |
| Cheshire and Greyshire[c] | 152 | 69 | 45.4 |
| Dogwood | 108 | 46 | 42.6 |
| Fieldston and Gillston[c] | 134 | 57 | 42.5 |
| Hickory Creek | 69 | 48 | 69.6 |
| Juniper | 30 | 5 | 16.7 |
| Lakeside | 135 | 69 | 51.1 |
| Magnolia | 83 | 51 | 61.4 |
| Marigold | 28 | 24 | 85.7 |
| Piney Bluff | 173 | 57 | 32.9 |
| Rosebud | 58 | 41 | 70.7 |
| Sequoia | 146 | 87 | 59.6 |
| Sweet Laurel | 45 | 26 | 57.8 |
| Wildwood | 22 | 18 | 81.8 |
| TOTAL | 1297 | 645 | 49.7% |

[a] This refers only to staff population having direct contact with youth, including executives, medical personnel, treatment staff, cottage personnel and security staff and education staff. An approximation is used based on available staff lists.

[b] This is again only the direct contact staff based on their responses to the question: What is your position or job title here?

[c] Though for purposes of later data analysis these units within one institution are considered separately, they often had interchangeable staff and we could not always separate them, thus they are considered together in this table.

search as a threat. We note that the response rates among staff in private institutions were generally higher than in public programs, and greater turmoil may have been a factor in the differential response.[11]

It must be remembered that we took great pains to separate ourselves from the top levels of the administrative structure so that no one (youth or staff) would feel that they were forced to cooperate or respond. To some extent, this probably reduced the numbers of staff who took the time to answer our questions.

Staff were asked not to consult with each other in filling out the questionnaire, but we realize that some collaboration probably did take place. As a frequent observer of correctional programs has stated:

> "Anyone who has spent any time at all in correctional institutions soon discovers that the staff, in general, and the cottage staff, in particular, discuss and compare notes on all institution-related matters." (Giallombardo, 1974, p. 285)

In this analysis we rely on staff responses only to highlight or contrast their overall perceptions with youth estimates of behavior and program dimensions. Staff responses will never be used as a major test of hypotheses or in order to construct independent or dependent variables.

<u>Data Collection: The Service Unit Questionnaire</u>

In order to obtain factual data on the policies, procedures and characteristics of the program and youth and staff in it, a fifteen-part schedule was either sent to each program prior to the full field data collection or given to the execu-

tive during the advance visit. We asked that it be filled out either by the executive or by administrators designated by him who understood the aspects of particular program components. The schedule included sections on the educational program, recreation, treatment services, control structure, intake procedures, medical and dental services, youth and staff composition, personnel and budget.

We often found that this schedule was unfinished when we entered the institution for a site visit or that there had been some changes in aspects of the program since it had been filled out, so field team members spent considerable time reviewing and retrieving parts of it. Often we had to request some of the sections by mail after the visit because there wasn't enough time for administrators to finish it before we left. Response rates for certain sections were fairly low, particularly sections on personnel and budgeting,but others were complete.

We will use parts of the data collected on this instrument for describing the institutions and for building a typology to characterize them. We have no way of knowing how reliable the Service Unit Questionnaire is,since there were no built in checks for internal consistency and since one person filled out each section. In a few instances, however, the same section was given to more than one person by accident and comparisons were made between their answers. In general, they were consistent but there were a few differences even in their reporting of "factual data," leading us to suspect that

there might be validity problems. Some of these differences could be explained by the fact that the respondents were familiar with different segments of the program and that one of them was more familiar with the section material than another. But in a few instances, it was difficult to reconcile the differences in reporting policies and procedures and we began to see that even official policy may be rather ambiguous. In other words, the Service Unit Questionnaire might not be as reliable or valid an indicator of total program policy as a perception on the part of an administrator about what it should be. In general field staff were impressed with the correspondence between the official policies and procedures stated in various parts of the instrument and the official policies and procedures noted by staff and youth on the visit.

Data Collection: Observation Schedule and Narrative Reports by Field Staff

Because it was important to be able to compare features of the physical environment of programs, NAJC field staff had a standardized instrument on which they recorded architectural, interactional, and other visible features of the program. In particular, we have descriptions of the condition of all cottages, dorms, individual rooms, dining rooms and seclusion rooms as well as such mundane matters as the number of youth per toilet or shower. The general atmosphere during mealtime, the adequacy of medical and dental service, and rules about surveillance and movement of youth were noted.

For each program, major effort was expended on the production of a narrative report of the field work which focused

specifically on the congruence of observations with official policies and procedures detailed in the Service Unit Questionnaire and staff statements. The format for this narrative was quite detailed and keyed to the Service Unit Questionnaire. Each field staff member was assigned responsibility for one or more sections of it and used any time available after administering questionnaires to work on it. This involved looking at institutional documents including reports, memos, calendars, posters, etc; talking to staff and youth; attending classes, meetings, treatment sessions; participant observation on field trips, during meals, at parties; inspecting facilities such as discipline rooms, and other types of field work experiences. The use of multiple methods in getting inside information on these aspects of program operation often resulted in contradictory information from different sources and these were duly noted in the written reports.

Upon returning to Ann Arbor from a site visit, these reports were written and shared among field team members for any additional insights, clarifications, and elaboration. Segments of this material will be used in this analysis where appropriate.

Despite extensive and systematic training of the field staff, it is always difficult to assess the validity of general observations they made about particular research sites. Efforts were made throughout the course of the study to insure the quality of the information by rotating the composition of the field teams, requiring several sets of evidence

for evaluative statements, providing prolonged debriefing sessions after field trips which were taped and evaluated, and by careful editing of field notes.

As expected, the observed practices often diverged sharply from official pronouncements and these were duly noted in the Narrative Report. In our present analysis, we will only be using one or two sections of the Service Unit Questionnaire dealing with Control Structure and Policies on Visitation and Internal Restrictions. These were carefully checked not only during the field visit but also with reference to institutional documents and records, so that we are reasonably sure that they reflect official policies. We are, of course, cognizant that they may not be good indicators of operational policies, and we will not use them as such.

The instruments filled out by NAJC staff (i.e., the Observation Schedule and the Narrative Report) are reasonably detailed and accurate indicators of what staff saw, heard, and believed. They are the products of multiple observations using a variety of sources and methods, but they still suffer from several limitations. First and foremost is the ever-present possibility that institutions presented field staff with sets of rose-colored glasses and that our observations never really penetrated the barriers set up by them. Fully cognizant of this possibility, field team members made special efforts to check negative reports by youth against their own observations and the statements of staff administration. We did note recent remodeling efforts, better food during

the visit than usually provided, and other instances where our visits influenced organizational practices in the Narrative Report. There is always the possibility, however, that all organizational members (staff and youth as well) were engaged in deliberately covering up negative things, or conversely, emphasized the negative at the expense of the positive.

Because we were in each program such a short time, we may be faulted for observations that are uncharacteristic of usual program operations and reflect environmental conditions or organizational constraints present only for a brief period. For example, we visited programs at different times of the year, which may have determined some of the variation in available services to youth, opportunities for outside contact, types of youth present, length of stay, and misconduct rates. Moreover, we visited some programs in transition periods in which staff and youth were experiencing a lot of chaos and instability while other programs were functioning in unchanging ways. These differences may account for much of the variation we observed. This is a constant problem in the comparative analysis of organizations because it becomes very difficult to control for fluctuations over time.

The validity of evaluative statements by field staff is at times questionable because such judgements are always subject to the past experiences and frames of reference of the beholder. Generally, we will not rely on these judgements in comparing institutions but will instead look at more factual reports of their operations.

Data Collection: Coding of Questionnaires

The field coordinator conducted a debriefing session upon completion of the site visit, at which time the questionnaires were edited for legibility and clarification of terms. Local argot was translated into standard terms for coding purposes.

Each questionnaire was coded by two different trained persons. Any questions about the meaning of certain responses were discussed with the field team coordinator and the coding supervisor before recording them on coding sheets. Open-ended responses, comments, and answers not fitting into a standard code were written on cards. A third person then compared the coding responses, noting any discrepancies. Inter-coder reliability for open ended codes was above .95 and for closed coding above .99. All discrepancies were resolved by going back to the original data source. Coded questionnaires were keypunched and verified and then the original questionnaire was destroyed.

Strategies and Methods of Data Analysis

In a comparative study of sixteen institutional units, it is rather unwieldy to look at the relationships of the independent and dependent variables within each program. It is critically important, therefore, to develop sound ways of characterizing sets of such organizations so that comparative analyses can be facilitated. In Chapter Three, we will use one approach for classifying these institutions by their compliance/management style and will discuss the placement of our sampled programs into the various dimensions of this typology.

Both official policy statements and documents as well as field observations will be used to categorize each of the programs; and then the broad types will be described in terms of selected organizational characteristics.

Next we will turn to the task of describing the frequency and occurrence of institutional misconduct and of developing summary measures of it. In Chapter Four, we will first try to validate our self-report measures by comparing the reports of staff and youth within each cottage of each institution. We will then look at the extent to which various kinds of misbehavior are committed by youth alone or in groups. In attempting to build a typology of misconduct offenses, we will examine staff reports of the relative seriousness of these acts, and compute Pearson product moment correlations between the reported behaviors by individuals and between the rates of these behaviors reported for institutions. Factor analyses, cluster analyses, and Guttman scaling all will be used in an effort to construct an overall index of misconduct. Finally, we will examine reported misconduct by institutional compliance/management style, using analysis of variance to test whether or not the average frequency of misconduct differs across the types, and using chi square to see if the proportion of youth reporting any involvement in such misconduct differs by compliance style.

As we noted in Chapter One, we are attempting to test three basic explanatory models in the analysis of institutional misconduct. For each of the models, there are a number of

discrete independent variables that must be described and summarized into composite indices. In Chapters Five, Six, and Seven each of the models will be considered separately but the same plan of analysis will be used. Items believed to be conceptually similar will be identified on the basis of face validity and they will be combined into scales or indices. In a few instances, such items will be entered into a factor analysis to discover or reaffirm patterns. Using the method of principal factoring with iteration and varimax rotation, artificial dimensions (factors) are generated that correlated highly with several of the original variables and are independent of the others. When factors emerged that appeared to have conceptual meaning and clarity, we used the variables that loaded highly (usually with a cut off point of .40) to construct an index. Each item was weighted equally and the resulting scale usually consisted of the averaged items.[12]

For all scales, correlations between each of the items composing a scale and item-to-scale analyses were done using Pearson Product Moment Correlations. Correlations between the various scales were also calculated to assess the extent to which they actually measured separate dimensions.

In describing each of the variables (including the composite scales), the mean, range, and standard deviation is shown for each of the institutional compliance types,and we discuss whether there are significant differences among all the institutions using analyses of variance and chi square

where appropriate. Correlation matrices showing the zero order relationships between the several independent variables and each dependent variable are presented for each explanatory model. These bivariate analyses are amplified by the use of linear multiple regression to determine the relative contribution of each of the independent variables to the explanation of variance in misconduct, as well as to determine the proportion of variation in the dependent variable accounted for by the total of all the independent variables.

Once the explanatory power of each of the three models is examined, we will turn to the use of multiple regression analysis to assess the appropriateness of the combination of the models in explaining institutional misconduct. Significant variables from each of the three models will be merged into a single predictor set, and misconduct will be regressed on this set for the total sample and for each of the three program types separately. In this sense we will try to control for the interaction of program type and predictor variables.

Further analyses will control for the previous offense patterns of youth by calculating rates of conversion to and continuation of misconduct behaviors in the three compliance types of institutions. These rates will also be related to the length of time youth have been incarcerated in each of the three program types.

It is important to note that in the use of techniques of data analysis such as multiple regression and correlation we fail to meet the basic requirements of interval level measure-

ment and normal distributions. Much of our data is at the ordinal level. Differences in opinion with regard to the use of these and other techniques such as path analysis on ordinal and even nominal data exist, but many researchers support their use even when assumptions are not met. In recommending the use of dummy coding for nominal variables, Bohrnstedt and Carter contended that any error of measurement is more than made up for by the robustness or power of regression analysis. They stated that, "...the regression model is, in fact, fairly robust in the presence of violations of many of the required assumptions..." (Bohrnstedt and Carter, 1971: 138-140).

Labovitz, in supporting this position, stated that:

> "Although some small error may accompany the treatment of ordinal variables as if they were interval, this is offset by the use of the more powerful, more sensitive, better developed and more clearly interpretable statistic with known sampling error" (Labovitz, 1970: 515).

Finally, a standard textbook on survey research serves to legitimate the use of some of the more complex multivariate techniques without meeting all the assumptions in the following way:

> "One's response to this practice seems largely a matter of personal taste...It is my personal orientation to accept, and even to encourage, the use of whatever statistical techniques help the researcher (and the reader) to understand the body of data under analysis. If the computation of r from ordinal data serves this purpose, then it should be encouraged" (Babbie, 1973: 306).

Though we will present tests of significance in the analysis of data, we are aware that the assumptions underlying

their use are not present. Most of the data are drawn from total populations rather than samples so there is no chance that associations could be due to sampling error. Whether or not the degree of association is a substantively significant one, whether it is important, cannot be answered through any objective test. On the other hand, these tests are often used on total populations to indicate the probability that a found relationship is a general one over time and not just a particular case. In fact, Gold argues:

> "When lack of statistical significance by any test is found in a universe or given set of data (keep in mind, not a sample), we can say that in the empirical world the association produced by nature is not greater than that produced by a chance (e.g. random pairing) process. And it would seem a fair rule of thumb that, given our present state of knowledge about associations among sociological variables, we cannot with any confidence attribute substantive importance to associations of such magnitude" (Gold, 1969:44).

In the presentation of our results, we will usually use a cut off point in discussion of relationships of associations at the .01 level primarily because the sample is large and even small relationships look significant. However, there will be no attempt to argue that a relationship is important just because it is significant at that level and vice versa. We will consider the total context of the findings rather than relying on strict, statistical interpretations.

Summary

The present study is based on data collected by the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections between 1973 and 1974 in forty-two juvenile correctional programs in sixteen

states. Though this larger project sampled a variety of programs for juvenile offenders, we have selected a subsample for an exploratory analysis of misconduct behavior.

Fourteen of the sixteen facilities included in the larger study provide the basis for a comparative, multi-method analysis of institutions, so defined because they are residential (all youth live and sleep on grounds) and "educational" (most youth attend school on grounds). Departures from a strict probability sample include the deliberate oversampling of female and coed programs, and substitutions to replace originally selected programs which could not be studied. Two of the programs classified as institutions by the larger study are not included in this analysis because one does not meet our criteria for classification as an institution and the other contained inadequate data. For purposes of data analysis, two of the institutions were subdivided because they contained distinctive treatment programs. Thus, for comparative purposes we have a total of sixteen institutional units in the analysis.

The sixteen programs vary along several important dimensions, including size, auspices, geographical region, and characteristics of the youth population such as sex, age and race. Though there are departures from a strict probability sample and from the original sampling design, these programs represent a close approximation to the variety of institutions for delinquent youth in the United States.

Careful planning and ongoing monitoring of field research

activities contribute to our confidence in the use of a variety of data sources and methods for understanding these programs. Survey instruments included a Youth Questionnaire, Staff Questionnaire, Service Unit Questionnaire, Observation Schedule, and Narrative Report. In the use of all of them, respondents were guaranteed confidentiality and voluntary participation, and efforts were made to continually provide ways of assessing their reliability and validity.

A total of 1326 youth completed questionnaires which represents over 85 percent of the available respondents in the fourteen institutions. The staff response rate was much poorer; the number of staff responding who were in direct contact with youth was 645, representing approximately half of the potential participants.

Problems of validity and reliability in all the instruments were discussed, with particular emphasis placed on evaluating youth self-reports of delinquent behavior. Reference is made to past self-report studies and comparisons of techniques and relevant suggestions are made. The bulk of available evidence tends to bolster our confidence in the accuracy of the Youth Questionnaire but we are less certain of the Staff instruments. For this reason the staff responses will never be used to test hypotheses, but will be contrasted with youth responses to similar items in order to highlight certain key program dimensions.

The Service Unit Questionnaire, which was filled out by selected key administrative personnel in each program, will

be used primarily as an indication of official policy in the areas of control and security. Because it was designed to cover factual information about program operations, it is not affected as greatly by the subjective perceptions of the respondents. However, careful attention was given to the correspondence between information provided in this instrument and the independent observations of the NAJC field staff.

Instruments which were completed by NAJC project staff contain problems intrinsic to comparative research, including short time periods as bases for study, varying frames of reference for evaluative judgements, lack of standardized analytic units across programs and so forth. But intensive efforts to use varied sources, check evidence, and have highly trained, consistent research staff overcame these problems to some extent. Moreover, the plan of analysis is to use a variety of types of data to make specific points and to explore interrelationships, thus eliminating problems inherent in particular methods.

Since the basic strategy of analysis is to test the relative contribution of three basic explanatory models of misconduct - importation, deprivation, and control - in different institutional settings, we plan to develop a classification of these settings according to their compliance/management style. This classification will be used throughout the analysis to compare the utility of each of the models in the different types of organizations. Institutional misconduct will be described in terms of the proportion of youth involved in various

types of acts, the frequency of their occurrence, and the extent to which these acts are solitary or collective in nature. A variety of techniques will be used to discover any patterns of the offenses in institutional settings.

Data reduction is necessary because of the large number of variables which may be related to misconduct. Scales and indices will be constructed and validated in order to combine variables with conceptual similarities. Each explanatory model will be tested separately through the use of zero order correlation matrices and multivariate analysis. Then the significant variables from each model will be combined in order to assess their total contribution toward explaining the variance in misconduct.

Though certain statistical techniques such as analysis of variance, correlation, and multiple regression will be used without having met the underlying assumptions, we believe that these methods are the most powerful ways of exploring the variety of relationships that exist. Tests of significance will be used despite the fact that we are, in most cases, concerned with the universe rather than a sample of the youth population. Yet they only serve to provide us with an indication of the relative importance of various relationships rather than any strict attribution of statistical significance.

Clearly, any causal interpretations from this data must be viewed with considerable caution. The study is a cross-sectional rather than longitudinal view of programs. Differ-

ences we may find among programs may be a result of events occurring at one point in time rather than enduring characteristics of these settings. Further, in many of our analyses the individual is the unit of concern whereas the unit of sample selection was the institution, and generalizations to the youth population in institutions must thus be tempered.

Despite the problems we have encountered in this comparative research, it is important to emphasize that the data base is probably the largest and most comprehensive study of juvenile correctional institutions available at this time. Careful attention to the pitfalls of previous field work and meticulous development of research instruments are both clearly evident in the raw materials for the analysis of institutional misconduct.

FOOTNOTES

1. For more detailed and comprehensive statements of the research design, sampling procedures, and data collection techniques of the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections, consult the following publications: National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections (NAJC), Research Design Statement. Ann Arbor, Michigan: NAJC, University of Michigan, 1972; Wolfgang L. Grichting, Sampling Plans and Results. Ann Arbor, Michigan: NAJC - University of Michigan, 1973; and Robert Vinter et al, Time Out: A National Study of Juvenile Correctional Programs. Ann Arbor, Michigan: NAJC, The University of Michigan, 1976.

2. The sixteen states selected at the first stage were: California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Wisconsin.

3. Institutions were only drawn from fifteen of the original sixteen states because insufficient information about one state was available at the time of the sampling.

4. The first program which was deleted was actually a halfway house located on a military base and most of the youth attended school off grounds every day. The other program was dropped from the analysis because of serious problems of validity and reliability in the questionnaires. This program contained the youngest population in the sample, ranging in age from 10-13 years, and two-thirds of them were either nonreaders or had very poor comprehension. Consequently the questionnaire was shortened for this group but even the condensed version was problematic. Since comparable information on many of the variables necessary was not available, we decided to delete it.

5. We have not included staff-inmate relations in these selected characteristics because we were unable to distinguish between part-time and full-time staff and because in some programs, particularly the private ones, several staff were on duty twenty-four hours a day. The ratios we could have provided would probably have been either deceptive or inadequate. Moreover, Moos has suggested that the number of residents "may be more important in influencing social climate" than the resident-staff ratio. (Moos, 1968).

6. All of the names of institutions are pseudonyms.

7. Field research staff were trained extensively and based at the project site in Ann Arbor. Though it might have been less costly to hire researchers and staff closer to

the institutions and to have trained them there, there were several reasons for not choosing to do this. In initial negotiations with several of the institutions, concern was expressed by executives about allowing local people to conduct this research and they would only allow entry by field teams composed of "outside" investigators. Reasons for this varied but often the reluctance to allow "locals" to enter the institution was based on concerns about the confidentiality of the information gathered and the possible use of critical findings. The need for consistency of field staff in order to compare impressions and judgements across programs also dictated the use of project-based field staff. A coordinator monitored the ongoing research activities during each visit and was responsible for all facets of the data collection.

8. In the largest program, Sequoia, we selected a subsample of the respondents for reasons of economy. The subsample of half of the population was drawn using a table of random numbers.

9. Despite initial misgivings by many field staff as to the incentive value of this document, it proved to be very meaningful for most youth and we noted that it was often framed in their rooms.

10. Verbal as well as written comments indicated to us that there were some severe problems with the use of many of the questions that had worked well in past studies, particularly questions dealing with attitudes about delinquents and methods of handling them. Many staff indicate that these questions were too simplistic and did not allow for individual variations and changing circumstances. Treatment personnel, in particular, often resented the blanket statements to which they were supposed to respond and wrote pages of comments explaining the problems with these questions. It is clear, moreover, that there were serious problems on certain questions due largely to response formats which were misinterpreted or which required skills that many staff did not apparently possess, such as constructing percentages out of numbers. Ideally, the Staff Instrument should have been administered to groups of respondents, with monitoring by research team members so that many of these problems could have been adequately handled. It becomes obvious that the questionnaire was well understood by the more educated and sophisticated staff members, but that complex sentences and response formats were very problematic for a large proportion of on-line staff. The conditions under which many staff had to fill out the survey was less than conducive to careful thought since they had to snatch time from program activities, were constantly interrupted, and had no immediate access to clarification from field staff.

11. Problems in gaining the confidence and cooperation of staff have been noted in most research on correctional programs. Zingraff, for example, noted that even after six months, "we remained outsiders and were treated as such by many of the staff" (Zingraff, 1976: 38).

12. Scale items were usually averaged to handle the problems of missing data on one or more of them. In summing them, we would have to drop respondents missing on one or more items or would have had to assume a missing item score. In several cases we compared averaged item scales with summed item scales and found little difference except that the range of variation is, of course, considerably reduced in the averaged scale. It is thus a more conservative measure.

## CHAPTER III

## A CLASSIFICATION OF INSTITUTIONS BY COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

Nearly all researchers concede that there are important differences among correctional institutions, yet bases for comparative analyses are relatively undeveloped. Until recently, single case studies of prisons and training schools have been the rule, and attempts to replicate these in other settings have been the exception. Most of the comparative studies have focused on two or three programs, selected because of obvious differences in goals, intervention strategies, and/or characteristics of clientele.[1]

Despite differences in the ways in which programs have been selected for comparative study, they are usually contrasted with each other using some variant of the custody-treatment typology, because it embraces such a wide variety of distinguishing organizational features. In this chapter, we will discuss a few of the ways in which the custody-treatment schema has been used in past research to develop organizational typologies as well as noting some of the major problems involved in adapting them to our present research. We will then classify our sixteen institutional units, using a typology developed out of the original custody-treatment dimension, into three styles of securing compliance from and managing inmates. The institutions will be typed through data from official reports, administrative responses and field observations and we will attempt to validate the clas-

sification using selected reports of youth and staff about their programs.

Prior Research Using the Custody-Treatment Continuum

The extent to which institutions are predominantly oriented to the custody or treatment of their clientele has been seen as perhaps their most salient characteristics by theorists over a period of many years. Yet there has been little consistency in the ways in which particular programs are placed on the continuum.

Clearly the most significant and concerted effort to use the custody-treatment continuum in comparative correctional organization analysis used the goal orientation of the executive as the classificatory tool (Vinter and Janowitz, 1959; Grusky, 1959; Zald, 1962; Street, 1965; Berk, 1966; Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966). The organization's dominant goals were believed to be linked to belief systems and assumptions about change. These beliefs and goals were expected to be reflected in differences in staff perceptions of institutional purpose and assumptions about the inmates, day-to-day operating patterns, and staff modes of authority in handling the inmates. Moreover, goals were believed to determine the organizational intervention strategies (technologies) seen as appropriate, the relative power of different staff groups, and the criteria on which various decisions are based. According to the theory, beliefs and goals are clearly distinct in the custody and treatment models.

> "At the custodial extreme, major emphasis is placed on the need to protect the community by containing the inmates within the institution. The inmates are seen as simple, similar, and relatively unchangeable creatures who require simple, routine, conventional handling. To succeed here, the inmate must conform. At the treatment extreme, community and containment are comparatively unimportant, and stress is put on changing the inmate's attitudes and values by increasing his insight or otherwise altering his psychological condition. The inmate's social identity is viewed as problematic, and the inmates are seen as relatively complex beings who need complex, individualized, flexible handling -- an attitude that sometimes requires such departures from conventional morality as tolerance of 'acting out.' To succeed here, the inmate must indicate intra-psychic change." (Street, 1965, p. 43)

Moreover, because differences in organizational goals and beliefs were so strongly reflected in the patterns of control and authority over inmates and the degree to which their experiences were gratifying or depriving, they were expected to generate clearcut differences in inmate responses and attitudes toward staff, other inmates, and the institution. The institutions on the custodial end of the continuum were found to be perceived as both more depriving and more punitive and rigid than those on the treatment side. In their study of six juvenile correctional institutions for males, the authors found striking differences in most aspects of organizational processes and these were reflected in inmate responses.

> "Our findings indicate tentatively that both custodial and treatment organizations tend to accomplish their proximate goals. By stressing covert opposition and 'playing it cool,' the custodial inmate group encouraged behavior consistent with the custodial goals of containment and conformity. Thus, the level of 'prisonized' orientations was higher among the custodial than among the treatment inmates. Similarly the treatment inmate group seemed to produce in its

members an orientation consistent with the goal of achieving change...The inmate groups in the treatment settings more frequently encouraged a positive orientation and less often encouraged the development of a negative self image, apparently, than in the custodial institutions." (Street, 1965, p. 55)

Cognizant of the excess meaning and oversimplification that the words "custody" and "treatment" may entail, Street, Vinter and Perrow differentiated three major organizational models ranged along the continuum: obedience/conformity; reeducation/development; and treatment. Critics have argued that the reeducation/development institutions should not have been included in the typology because they were not "total institutions," i.e., youth went to community schools every day and went home on weekends (Giallombardo, 1974, p. 10). And, in fact, it does seem difficult to assume that institutions allowing this much freedom have lower balances of gratification-deprivation and more control and authority over youth than the closed "treatment" institutions.[2]

Others argue that the goals of the executive may not be fully implemented by staff members, and thus that official goal statements are not really operative in terms of organizational functioning (Giallombardo, 1974; Empey and Lubeck, 1971). A more basic problem than poor implementation of executive policy, however, is whether one can really distinguish between custody and treatment goals. Akers, for example, argues that the two goals may not be in opposition, depending on one's point of view:

"The meaning of these terms have not been precisely delineated, and there are few guidelines to their

empirical measurement in the literature. The words 'custody' and 'treatment' are in fact somewhat misleading because treatment in the sense of engaging in strategies which will change behavior is not strictly the polar opposite of custody. The difference seems to be one of degree of humane attention to the rights and dignity of the individual." (Akers, 1974, p. 412)

In arguing that custody and treatment are multiple goals of most institutions, theorists even differ as to which of them is most predominant. For example, the following authors suggest that all correctional institutions are inherently custodial:

"...one important goal presently assigned to all prisons is punitive restriction and surveillance of prisoners, so that any prison must necessarily deviate from an ideal treatment pattern, no matter what the ideology of its administrators." (Cressey, 1965, p. 1035)

But at least one author contends that most juvenile correctional institutions are inherently treatment-oriented and suggests that what is needed is more elaboration of the custody-treatment continuum:

"The custody-treatment dimension should be defined in a more elaborated manner. It seems to be that most existing juvenile correctional organizations would be classified as 'treatment-oriented' although there is a wide range of differences in their theoretical and change assumptions and in their correctional methods. A more rigorously defined set of criteria for this dimension would benefit the effectiveness of the typology." (Shichor, 1970, p. 143)

A recent study of three juvenile institutions for females in which the institutions were selected according to the relative goal emphasis placed on custody or treatment provides a clear illustration of the problem. On the basis of preliminary exploration using formal reports, general repu-

tation, interviews with state officials, an advance visit, and the presence or absence of treatment resources, Giallombardo proceeded to classify the three programs as custody, intermediate, and treatment types. Yet in the actual course of field work she found that the structure of the organizations was much more complex than the official pronouncements and reputational claims would have one believe. And she was unable to find enough institutional variation to account for the inmate responses and subcultural patterns. She contends that:

> "Although Eastern, Central and Western institutions are located in different parts of the nation, opened their doors at different points in time, and differ in the size and the auspices under which they operate, the organizational problems faced by institutional officials are similar, as are the solutions provided. Moreover, notwithstanding the differences in treatment strategies and philosophies, the informal culture evolved by the girls in all three schools is similar in structure. This suggests that the inmates in each institution faced the same problems while incarcerated ...The institutions studied not only resemble each other but are similar to all other institutions of this type in that they are characterized by conflicting and competing goals." (Giallombardo, 1974, pp. 14-15)

Convinced of the futility of goal orientation as the major explanatory variable, Giallombardo maintains that the Street, Vinter and Perrow analysis also suffers from inadequate differentiation of the institutions:

> "Their scanty descriptions of the four closed institutions...indicate that they are more alike than unlike even on the basis of the questionnaire data presented. This suggests that the differences among them are probably more indicative of differences in the sheer size of the settings rather than attributable to differences in the organizational goals." (Giallombardo, 1974, p. 11)

It is not easy to clearly label institutions according to their emphasis on custody or treatment. Most researchers have classified them on the basis of a priori criteria, such as official reputation of the program, published reports and goal statements, or structural features such as size, staff-inmate ratio, or number of treatment personnel. Yet, as we noted earlier, even with extreme care, in these initial selections many of them found the reality to be at variance with official goals.

The problem is even more acute when the complexity of the ideal types, custody and treatment, is recognized and efforts are made to systematically incorporate several indices into the scheme.

Between 1967 and 1970, Hayner collected data from seven prisons for men in the United States, eight prisons in Mexico, three in West Germany, two in England and two in Spain and then proceeded to type them along the custody-treatment continuum. Recognizing the lack of clarity in this dimension, the investigators rated each institution on nine specific factors: (1) architecture; (2) administrative goals and structure; (3) classification and diagnostic procedures; (4) work and employment of inmates; (5) education and training programs; (6) counselling and treatment programs; (7) security and custody practices; (8) ratios and qualifications of treatment and custodial personnel; and (9) policy on visiting and outside contact. (Akers, Hayner, and Gruninger, 1974, p. 412)

Using tape-recorded interviews and observations which had been transcribed into descriptive statements on each of the nine dimensions, three judges rated each prison on a seven point scale for each dimension. The ratings on all nine dimensions were then summed to obtain a score for each prison from each judge. The scores for the nine items for each prison were then summed and averaged for the three judges and this sum represented the prison's rank on the custody-treatment continuum.

They felt that their typing procedure was adequate for their purposes and "is clearly more elaborate and objective than that used in those few instances of previous research which attempted to array two or more institutions on a custody-treatment continuum" (Akers, circa 1973, unpublished p. 117).

Though it is certainly more elaborate than most schemes for rating institutions, the procedure is really no more precise than the composite analyses contained in prior research. Ideal-typical specifications are given for each dimension as guidelines for the ratings, but there is no checklist of easily coded items. In the composite index, all nine dimensions were equally weighted, though we might argue that one dimension such as architecture might be considerably less important than security or custody practices. Further, we are given no information as to the relationship of each of the nine dimensions to each other and we suspect that a few of the dimensions are not conceptually separate.

In an effort to further differentiate institutions using the basic custody-treatment model, researchers have begun to develop typologies in which goals and means are explicitly related through the incorporation of specific treatment methods. Studt, Messinger and Wilson developed four organizational types, based on the elaboration of the original treatment organization, called: custodial, educational, psychotherapeutic, and group treatment (Studt, et. al., 1968, p. 12). Ohlin combined the custodial types ,and differentiated the treatment type, into the following classification: protective custody, individual treatment and group treatment (therapeutic community) (Ohlin, 1974, p. 1000). And Feld elaborated this to get the fourfold typology of individual custody, group custody, individual treatment, and group treatment (Feld, 1977, p. 41). The incorporation of specific treatment practices into the typology is believed to more clearly distinguish the strategies of social control, staff-inmate interaction, and inmate-inmate interaction reflected in these programs. Moreover, it is fairly easy to determine the predominant intervention strategy used by an institution and to classify them this way.

One dimension that is often implied but usually neglected in operationalizing the custody-treatment distinction is the extent to which the inmates participate in the decision-making structure. Shichor suggests that organizations should be classifed at least in part by the extent to which they are peremptory or participatory. A peremptory organization

is characterized by a centralized decision-making process in which policies flow down to the clients. A participatory institution is based on the sharing of decisions among all segments of the organization including inmates (Shichor, 1970, p. 36-37). Participatory organizations tend to be those called group treatment by theorists such as Studt, Ohlin, and Feld. Studies in both juvenile and adult facilities have shown some important differences between these types of programs (Shichor, 1970; Empey and Lubeck, 1971; Wilson, 1965; Feld, 1977).

As we have tried to show in this section, the conceptualization and operationalization of the custody-treatment continuum is both complex and difficult. Most juvenile correctional institutions are not ideal types and they contain elements of both orientations. Particularly when the institutions have not been selected purposively by their relative emphasis on custody or treatment, classifying them may be a rather uncharted course.

Development of the Compliance/Management Typology of Institutions

In deciding on a particular typology for our sample of sixteen institutions, we were guided by the following considerations:

1. The bases of the typology should be clearly understood and representative of significant pervasive differences among the organizations.

2. Placement of the institutions into types should be guided by relatively enduring, objective characteristics of the programs and not by the attitudes of youth and staff. Otherwise tautological problems could arise in later analyses.
3. The types should be validated, using the reports of youth and staff of their program experiences.
4. The delineation of the types should be independent of the characteristics of the inmates since we are interested specifically in interactions between organizational types and youth characteristics.
5. There should be sound theoretical reasons for believing that there will be variations in misconduct among the types of institutions.

In the process of field work in several of these institutions, we became increasingly aware that the goals of the executive and administrative cadres were in many ways quite similar, and that the differences we noted among the institutions seemed to be more a function of the particular treatment technologies that were operative. Zald noted this even though he concentrated on goals as the analytic independent variable.

> "Two institutions whose goals are approximately the same might differ sharply in structure and practice, however, if they employ different methods...In treatment institutions for delinquents there are important differences in structure required by individual treatment (psychotherapy, casework or counselling) as contrasted with milieu treatment (interpreting and changing the individual through his relationship with others)(Zald, 1962, p. 335).

In the sixteen institutional units we studied, there were often a variety of "treatments" being pursued, but in general it was possible to clearly identify a predominant strategy, in part because at the time certain distinguishable technologies were in vogue. In casting around for an explanation of why the particular intervention strategy seemed to be a more powerful variable than goals, or size, or staff-inmate ratio, we began to realize that the intervention strategy embodies certain assumptions, techniques, and constraints directly linked to the behavior of youth. The entire system of social control is usually part of the intervention strategy employed. Street has shown clear differences between custody and treatment institutions in patterns of control and authority, which may be even more strongly linked to particular systems of management and compliance.

> "...this research suggests that the study of correctional institutions would be substantially improved if researchers more frequently recognized the generality of the concept of social control and the variety of devices used to maintain control. All correctional organizations exercise a great deal of control over their inmate members, but while custodial institutions emphasize formal and severe sanctions directed at ordering and containing the inmates, treatment institutions are more likely to rely on informal, personal sanctions and incentives directed at behavior perceived as relevant to inmate change. The implementation of a treatment program in a previously custodial environment implies not a shift to less control, but rather to different types of control exercised on the bases of different criteria" (Street, 1965, p. 55).

We will use the predominant intervention strategy (or treatment technology) used by an institution as the basis

for characterizing its style of managing inmates and securing their compliance. For the reasons mentioned earlier, we are convinced that these intervention strategies are better determinants of important institutional differences than goal orientations are. In the sixteen institutions, three basic types of intervention strategies were found to be operative: traditional casework, behavior modification/point systems, and group decision-making processes. As we will show, these strategies were quite distinct from each other and were linked to important differences in the ways youth were treated and processed.

To some extent, these three intervention strategies are similar to Etzioni's typology based on the kinds of power and control exercised over lower participants and the corresponding involvement of these participants in the organization. Etzioni posited a congruence between three bases of power (coercive, remunerative, and normative) and three types of involvement (alienative, calculative, and moral), resulting in three types of "effective" organizations.[3] Coercive organizations relied on force of physical restraint to secure compliance from alienated participants. Utilitarian organizations used material resources and rewards to manage persons with calculative involvements. Normative programs used persuasion, manipulation, and suggestion with persons who were morally involved (i.e., identified) with the organization (Etzioni, 1961). To some extent Etzioni's typology is similar to the custody-treatment continuum in

that coercive organizations and normative programs are characterized in similar ways as the traditional custody and treatment models. It is, however, the addition of the utilitarian category which provides a way of clearly understanding that the differences among these organizations are not necessarily the amount of control they exercise but rather the types of control they emphasize.

In developing our typology of compliance and management style, we have departed from Etzioni's scheme in several ways. Our typology is not based on differences in the degree of involvement of youth because we are interested in exploring the empirical connections between the organizational management styles and such commitments. We are not assuming that these connections necessarily exist, as Etzioni does. In our typology, the terms "coercive" and "normative" will not be used because they do not adequately characterize the differences in management styles. Instead, we will differentiate the institutions according to the following styles of securing compliance and managing inmates: "Custodial," "Utilitarian," and "Participatory."

"Custodial" institutions are all traditional training schools, with strong emphasis on maintaining order and discipline and only limited treatment programs involving individual casework services. Though a few of them stated that they had fairly intensive treatment services, actual observations failed to substantiate the claims.

"Utilitarian" programs have operational systems provid-

ing clear cut rewards and punishments, including traditional behavior modification, token economies, point and level systems. They are designed to provide clear and consistent guidelines for expected behavior, by specifying a graduated set of privileges for behavioral conformity and a set of deprivations for disobedience.

"Participatory" programs believe that it is necessary for youth to be fully involved in their own treatment process and that they must help each other through small group discussions and confrontation. Pervasive attitudinal as well as behavioral changes are sought, including trust in other youth and staff, understanding and insight into basic problems, and commitment to new patterns of interaction. Programs used different terms for this technology, including Guided Group Interaction and Positive Peer Culture, but the features were quite similar. The following excerpts from the staff training manual in Positive Peer Culture (PPC) shows some clear cut differences between these participatory programs and the traditional custodial and utilitarian types.

> "...PPC is not a permissive program -- it does not propose that one should be good to boys or girls for the sake of being good to them. PPC expects and demands good behavior, it doesn't reward it; in fact, its expectations are much greater than traditional institutional programs believed possible.
>
> The entire concepts of group living and the need for living arrangements and conditions must become the responsibility of the young people themselves...PPC formally places the responsibility on the young people, staff stepping in only when students fail to meet their responsibilities, using that failure as a further example of their problem. Soon the group begins to see that individuals within their unit are showing

problems and hurting one another rather than the staff person. Thus, the group sees itself as the body which must assume responsibility for its group members and in this positive way begins showing care and concern.

In PPC we encourage students to let their problems be known rather than concealed. We want spontaneity, not conformity...and we want value changes not simply behavior modification" (Vorrath, 1972, pp. 3-10).

Using field observations, administrative reports and manuals, as well as official statements, we placed the sixteen institutional units into the typology of compliance and management style, shown in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1. THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS BY COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Custodial | Utilitarian | Participatory |
|---|---|---|
| Cedar Hills | Gillston | Fieldston |
| Cheshire | Hickory Creek | Greyshire |
| Dogwood | Juniper | Lakeside |
| Piney Bluff | Marigold | Magnolia |
| Sequoia | Rosebud | Sweet Laurel |
| | | Wildwood |

Returning to some of the characteristics of the institutions we presented in Chapter II, we note that the traditional custodial institutions are, in general, larger than the other types. Four out of the five custodial programs held over one hundred inmates, but this was true of only one utilitarian and two participatory programs. Other studies

have shown that size is significantly associated with problems in implementing treatment services, due to decreases in treatment staff ratios, reduction of individual resources, and preoccupation with problems of management and order (Jesness, 1972; Ullman, 1967; Linn, 1970; Moos, 1968; Knight, 1971). We feel that size was an important factor in understanding the lack of adequate treatment resources in the custodial programs in our sample.

Though the custodial and participatory programs were usually public training schools, the private programs most often employed utilitarian strategies, and this was especially true of programs operated by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. The new trend in public correctional systems, at the time of our study was in the direction of participatory strategies; they were being implemented rapidly, often because they promised greater control over the runaway problem. But we believe that the differences in these strategies by auspices is a function largely of the diffusion of innovation through relatively circumscribed communication networks.

The custodial programs were, with one exception, all male while the participatory programs were, with one exception, all female. Utilitarian strategies were used equally by male and female programs. The predominance of females in participatory programs is interesting because the group process technologies were originally developed to cope with "male problems" such as gang aggression, and there was some

initial reluctance to apply them to girls.

Custodial Program Types: Cedar Hills, Cheshire, Dogwood, Piney Bluff, Sequoia

The five custodial programs were all public training schools with strong similarities in strategies of control, yet they did vary slightly in the degree of regimentation they imposed.

In all of these programs, except Dogwood, youth were under constant staff surveillance. In Cedar Hills, boys were marched everywhere in columns and had to count off before entering or leaving any part of the facility. The dorms were locked and halls were monitored by youth leaders during school hours to prevent escapes. In Cheshire youth were marched to the gym with a radio truck with staff supervising them as they went in two-by-two formation. Not only did boys have to walk in pairs from building to building in Piney Bluff, they were under the constant supervision of a counselor and were not allowed to talk in loud tones. They were not permitted to wear shoes in any of the cottages, and in one they were not even permitted to wear socks. Staff indicated that this rule existed in order to prevent running away and also "to prevent boys from scuffing the floors." Piney Bluff youth had to undress in the dressing room and then go nude into the sleeping room, where their pajamas were, in another attempt to prevent running away. Both Sequoia and Cedar Hills had centralized glass-walled security centers in order to monitor the youth at all times. In

Sequoia, boys were even forced to use bathrooms with glass windows so that they could be observed by staff.

Dogwood was a more open program than the others we have labeled custodial types. Youth were allowed to walk around the campus without supervision. The campus was located on over seven hundred acres of farmland and woods and was quite isolated, but there were no fences and cottages were not locked.

All of these custodial programs were isolated from the surrounding communities, whether by fences or farmland. Both Piney Bluff and Dogwood operated farms to produce food for the institution, on which some of the inmates worked every day. Sequoia and Cedar Hills were both surrounded by a large institutional complex, containing other facilities, and clearly separated from any residential neighborhoods. Cheshire was not quite as isolated, being located outside a small city, approximately two hundred yards from the main road.

In several of these programs executives tried to implement fairly sophisticated treatment programs but they were not operative at the time of the field work. All of them, however, made provision for limited individual casework. The director of Cedar Hills, for example, indicated that "milieu therapy" was practiced, and that individual and group counselling was available. However, no staff member except the director and one social worker knew what the words "milieu therapy" meant when we asked for information about

how it was implemented. We also found that social workers spent only ten hours a week in individual sessions with referred youth. No group counselling took place, except for a small group of youth who met with a psychiatrist one day a week.

According to the executive at Dogwood, there were efforts to implement a group process technology, Positive Peer Culture, but treatment was basically on the casework model. There were three social workers for nearly two hundred youth. The majority of these casework services were provided "when the need arises" but there were some scheduled individual sessions. Once a week, group rap sessions were run by social workers in the cottages. Half-hour group sessions were "officially" held every night for a half hour under the supervision of cottage life staff; but these staff were given very little training for this activity, and apparently resisted it. Field staff concluded from direct observation that this program was actually more oriented to traditional and inadequate casework services than to group counselling.

At Piney Bluff, the official treatment technology was "reality therapy", meaning one-to-one interaction between counselors and youth regarding daily problems. Yet there were no regularly scheduled treatment sessions. As was true in most of the other custodial programs, social workers were on the grounds from nine to five, while most youth were in school or on work details. The social work offices were located away from the cottages so interaction on any routine

basis was very limited.

Transactional Analysis was considered the major intervention strategy at Sequoia by the executive and administrative cadre,but field observations indicated that there were severe problems in its implementation. The technology was supposed to emphasize small group sessions in which youth were helped to explore their own "life scripts" and through the use of fairly simple concepts could begin to understand their own actions. Though these sessions were supposed to be held at least twice a week, we found that this rarely happened. Though the technology was well defined in manuals and despite a real commitment to it on the part of top treatment personnel, it did not really affect the daily routine of living unit staff or youth.

Cheshire did not have a formal treatment approach but was frankly custodial in intent. As we mentioned earlier, Cheshire and Greyshire were both units within the same institution,but the differences between them in intervention strategies were striking. According to interviews with staff, youth entering the institution as a whole were able to choose either Greyshire or Cheshire. Youth were apparently told that they could either go to Greyshire and spend from one and a half to five months getting help, giving help, and having the opportunity of getting their problems solved so they could make it in the community, or they could choose to go to Cheshire and "do nothing for approximately seven and a half months and then be released."

Utilitarian Program Types: Gillston, Hickory Creek, Juniper, Marigold, Rosebud

The five programs we have classified as utilitarian were more differentiated from each other with regard to degree of regimentation and isolation than were the custodial programs. Hickory Creek and Juniper were both fairly open and relaxed programs for males in which there was a great deal of effort to get youth involved in their surrounding communities. In contrast, Marigold and Rosebud were rather structured and isolated programs for females, run by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. Gillston, which was part of the same institution as Fieldston, was rigid, isolated and chaotic, having just become a male program in a previously female training school.

Hickory Creek was under the direction of the Roman Catholic diocese of the nearby county and within the last five years was transformed from a very custodial institution under the direction of nuns to a program strongly oriented to behavior modification techniques. Moreover, it appeared to have the atmosphere of a boarding school rather than a correctional institution. Youth were able to move freely on the grounds and the swimming pool was open to community youth of both sexes so Hickory Creek youth were able to maintain contact with the neighborhood. Juniper was perhaps the most open and unstructured program in our sample. It was located right in the downtown section of a large city and youth were expected to spend a great deal of time outside the program every day. Moreover, the boys were allowed

to visit their homes frequently, and some went home every weekend. Youth were allowed to go to neighborhood stores, "hang around" on front porches, and go out almost every night for swimming, movies, shopping, and other activities. There was a great deal of freedom within the program and no fences or locked doors.

In contrast Marigold, Rosebud and Gillston were much more concerned with maintaining order and discipline. During the school year, the girls at Marigold had to wear uniforms, were only allowed five cigarettes a day, could not be outside on the grounds after nine at night, and needed the permission of a cottage parent to enter another cottage. Moreover, the administration and staff of Marigold were opposed to attempts to foster community contact. As one of the social workers indicated:

> "We don't involve ourselves with the surrounding community. What could the girls gain from this? We take them out shopping and so forth. Our girls would make friends that would cause no end of problems. Girls placed here are looking for as little publicity as possible."

Rosebud was also relatively structured. Girls were required to attend church every week; were not allowed to go up to their rooms without permission; and could not visit other cottages without permission, participate in community activities, or have weekly phone calls until they had been in the program at least a year.

Gillston was in a state of disorganization at the time of the field visit because it had just begun operations three months before. The enforcement of rules was haphazard

but youth were under constant surveillance. Boys were allowed very little contact with the outside community except for occasional sports contests with other correctional institutions in the area.

Though there were quite significant differences in the restrictiveness and isolation of these utilitarian programs, they were all strongly committed to systems of control in which rewards and punishments were clearly linked to specific behaviors. They all had some variant of a behavior modification system in which privileges were consistent and deprivations were a function of failure to abide by formal rules.

Juniper, Hickory Creek and Gillston had formal behavior modification systems in which points were assigned for positive and negative behaviors, leading to the allocation of particular privileges every week. At Juniper, the "Behavior Control System" was a negative point system in which each boy began with ten points, which could be reduced or lost by specific offenses such as "serious fighting, deliberate destruction of property, gross defiance of staff, or deliberate skipping of any activities." At Gillston a boy was given a white card to record the number of points he earned in school and in the cottage. Points were punched on the card at the end of every school day and every shift of the cottage staff. At the end of a week, these points were translated into a dollar value to be spent in the school's "tangible reward center." But there were also intangible rewards to be earned, such as the level in which a youth was

placed, trips, recreational activities, and special television programs. The youth lost his white card and was given a green card for special offenses such as running away, fighting, rank disobedience, and smoking,and had to earn the white card back. In Hickory Creek the behavior modification system was also built into all parts of the program. Youth moved through stages in the program and there was an elaborate system of formalized rewards and punishments, including cash; but the kinds of rewards and privileges a boy could earn depended not only on his behavior but also on his level or unit.

Marigold and Rosebud also had systems in which privileges were provided depending on the level a girl had reached. Privileges were not specifically tied to particular behaviors but to levels, and the levels were attained through consistently good behavior over a period of time. The gratifications were not as immediate as in the formal systems discussed above.

At Marigold the youth began at the first level,in which they were given very few privileges. They could have visits once a month, receive letters from their immediate families, go on outings of the entire cottage, and could walk on restricted areas of the grounds. After one month they could write a letter to the review board to move up to the next level, if the social service staff felt that this was a valid petition. The review board consisted of the entire staff of the program. The "Rose Level System" at Rosebud

was quite similar to Marigold's system, but the Rose Level System incorporated the length of time a girl had been in the program with specific behavior. A girl could not move to the second level until she had been in the program two months and could not reach the highest level until she had been there at least a year. In the Rose Level System, girls could not go up to their dorm rooms alone until they had reached the fourth level, which took at least eight months. It took at least ten months and the attainment of the fifth level before a girl could visit another cottage without permission.

Despite the fact that all these programs were clearly committed to behavior modification, they were all nominally involved in other treatment strategies as well, such as "reality therapy" and individual counselling. But it was the consensus of the field staff that the behavior modification and point systems were the most predominant intervention strategies used to manage and control the behavior of the youth in these programs.

Participatory Programs: Fieldston, Greyshire, Lakeside, Magnolia, Sweet Laurel, Wildwood

Except for Wildwood, the participatory programs were all located in fairly traditional training schools. Though all of these programs were isolated from their communities, Wildwood was located in a wilderness setting, and in many ways resembled a long-term summer camp. Though all of these participatory programs were concerned with maintaining secur-

ity and control over youth, there were clear differences in the degree of regimentation between them and the custodial programs we described earlier.

None of the participatory programs had fences surrounding them and youth were not marched from building to building. Yet there were differences between them in organizational mechanisms of control and management. In Fieldston, the cottages were often locked and there were a few guards walking around on the grounds. For the most part, however, girls were allowed to walk on campus with relatively little supervision. Within their cottages, they were often completely unsupervised with free movement into all areas. They were, however, restricted in entering other cottages.

Greyshire, a subunit of one of the oldest state institutions in the country, was extremely relaxed and open. Youth were allowed unescorted movements to the school, gym, canteen, church, and other areas when approved by staff though this movement was always on the buddy system. Since Greyshire contained both boys and girls, a lot of recreational activities were geared to interaction among the sexes in informal ways.

Lakeside was also a coeducational program, noted for its policy of providing a great deal of freedom and community activities for youth with very serious offense patterns. Youth were able to move freely around the grounds and spend a great deal of time outside. Dances were held two nights a week and many off campus trips were planned. Moreover,

there wasdirect contact between the administration and the youth; administrative staff referred to youth by name and boys and girls were free to drop by the administration building to visit.

The girls at Magnolia were also allowed to walk around freely on campus and to enter other cottages than their own. Yet there was an underlying concern with security, manifested by a glass walled security shack on the grounds which was continually manned by security men using walkie-talkies. Contact with the outside community was extremely limited. Concern with security led to the elimination of coed parties. There were no volunteers and girls were rarely allowed off-campus trips.

Sweet Laurel was in a major period of transition at the time of the field visit, with the advent of a new director and his subsequent introduction of a new treatment program. Girls who had entered under the old system were still subject to its rules,while the girls who came after the new director were allowed more privileges but given more intensive treatment. Girls in the old program were only allowed three cigarettes a day, were not allowed to have keys to their own rooms, and only got an allowance of thirty-five cents a week. Girls in the new program, on the other hand, were able to leave the building both during the day and at night, could carry their own cigarettes and money, had keys to their rooms, and got an allowance of two and a half dollars a week.

Despite these "official" differences, however, there appeared to be very little differentiation between the two groups in practice. Though youth were allowed to move around the grounds outside freely at various times during the day, they were not allowed to come down to the main floor from their rooms for meals or recreation until called down as a group by the security staff. Security staff used an intercom system to listen to the activities on each wing and they were expected to have hourly bed counts during the night. However, many of the living unit staff fell asleep and no one was much concerned if these counts were neglected. Youth at Sweet Laurel had a great deal of contact with volunteers from nearby colleges though other forms of community contact were limited.

Wildwood was probably the most unusual program in the sample. Operated by a private foundation, it was a wilderness camp on over eight hundred acres of heavily wooded land. Youth lived in tents which they constructed themselves along with their counselors,who helped them prepare meals, planned activities with them, and lived with them twenty-four hours a day. The program had strong religious overtones and neither staff nor youth were allowed to drink or smoke. Though there was no formal educational program, youth were expected to learn reading, writing, arithmetic and geography through a variety of activities, such as planning weekly menus and trips, constructing their tents, calculating proportions in cooking, and so forth.

There was a real sense of order and control at Wildwood but it seemed to arise from planned, organized activities rather than rigid surveillance and formal rules. There was no time for youth to become bored and there was a kind of sense of adventure in the everyday routine, as well as in the trips they took at least once a month, such as rafting down the Mississippi Rover. Though the wilderness camp was very isolated, each boy had a three-day period every month during which he returned home.

All of these participatory programs had a strong commitment to group decision-making, though the intensity of the process varied somewhat. At Greyshire the Guided Group Interaction Program had been in operation for two years, and upon entering the larger institution youth were able to choose the program of GGI at Greyshire or the custodial program at Cheshire. In order to enter a group the youth had to write a letter of application and then was invited to the cottage for a "peer take." The "peer take" involved questions from all the youth and staff about past activities, present goals and motives, and other relevant characteristics. The youth was then accepted or rejected by the group. Groups of 8-12 youth met five days a week for one and a half hours. Each group had a group leader (staff) who was expected to facilitate the group process in a number of ways. But youth took major responsibility for their own and others' behavior. If group members were found not to have accepted these responsibilities of controlling misconduct, the whole

group could be punished. Field staff were convinced that both staff and youth were very committed to this process and in fact, release dates were in part determined by these groups.

An almost identical process called Positive Peer Culture operated at Fieldston, where meetings were held every night for an hour and a half. However, girls were not allowed to choose this program -- they were all assigned to it upon entry. Moreover, the groups had little or no input into release decisions, although the group leaders did.

At Lakeside the Guided Group Interaction Program was also very intensive. Youth met in groups of eight for one hour every day. In order for a youth to move up the ranks toward release or to be released from lock-up, the GGI group had to recommend it. The group also had a strong input into the release decisions for its members.

At Magnolia the Guided Group Interaction program was considered so important that school classes were interrupted for such meetings. Five days a week nine to ten girls met in these groups for an hour and the group made decisions about rewards, punishments, home visits and release dates. Cottage staff, however, were not highly involved in the group process,and this has led to feelings of resentment among them. The group leaders were most often social workers and teachers.

Sweet Laurel held one large group meeting every day for an hour which all girls had to attend. At this meeting, the

Director of Cottage Life made various announcements and then proceeded to lecture girls on their behavior, usually with a focus on one or two girls. Girls were then expected to confront each other with evidence of poor attitudes and misconduct. However, our observations confirmed the opinion of the executive that very little interaction between the girls actually took place in these large meetings. In addition to this large meeting, about half of the girls attended Guided Group Interaction meetings every day for an hour and a half, which were led by the executive who was trained in this modality. The field observations of these smaller groups indicated that girls seemed to be free to discuss their criticisms of staff and the program in them and that the groups decided whether or not a new girl could enter. Yet the GGI groups were a relatively new strategy in this institution and were only beginning to be linked to other components of the program. Although the executive wanted girls to be involved in making important decisions about their lives and was steering the group in that direction, the strategy was not fully implemented at the time of our visit. Youth were not yet involved in making decisions on rewards and punishments and had no input into release decisions.

At Wildwood, the entire program was geared to small group process and decision-making. Each small group of eight to ten boys operated as an independent unit at their own campsite, making all decisions about daily activities

in conjunction with their counselors. Every evening, the group sat around a campfire for twenty minutes to two hours, discussing problems that arose during the day. Any member of the group could call a "huddle" to discuss serious problems at any time, and these sessions lasted as long as was necessary to resolve the problems. All behavior problems were handled by the groups themselves, and rewards and punishments were administered to the group as a whole, rather than to individuals.

The participatory institutions were unique in that they all used group process models to manage the activities of youth, at least in part; though these models were not fully implemented in all cases, they tended to be linked very strongly to other program components such as education and cottage life.

Treatment Experiences of Youth and Staff in Custodial, Utilitarian, and Participatory Settings

The classification of the sixteen institutional units into three styles of compliance and management was based on official reports of intervention strategies and field observations regarding their implementation. In this section, we will link this classification to the reports of youth and staff about their experiences with these intervention strategies in order to validate the typology.

Youth were asked to report how many times in the last month they had met individually with a counselor or social worker and with other youth in group sessions, for periods

of more than fifteen minutes. In Table 3.2, the percentage of youth reporting individual counselling at least once a week and group meetings more than once a week is shown in each of the institutions. Slightly more than half of the youth (54%) in custodial programs had at least one weekly meeting with a social worker alone, but this was true of only 41% of the youth in utilitarian programs and 28% of those in participatory programs. On the other hand, eighty percent of the youth in participatory programs met more than once a week in group sessions, but this was true of only 28 percent of youth in custodial and 18 percent of youth in utilitarian programs. Moreover, in most of the custodial and utilitarian programs, many more youth reported individual sessions than group sessions, while the reverse was true of all participatory programs. Differences in the frequency of both individual and group treatment sessions among the institutions and the three styles of compliance and management were significant at the .0000 level.

The observed differences in treatment strategies between participatory programs and the other two types are confirmed by the reports of youth about their exposure to individual or group-oriented counselling. Not only were youth in participatory programs much more intensively involved in group treatment,but they were, in general, more exposed to treatment per se than youth in the other program types. When we combined youth reports of exposure to individual counselling once a week and group counselling more than once a week, we

TABLE 3.2 FREQUENCY OF INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP TREATMENT SESSIONS REPORTED BY YOUTH, BY INSTITUTION

| | % meeting individually with counselor at least once a week | % meeting with youth in group sessions more than once a week |
|---|---|---|
| CUSTODIAL TYPES | | |
| Cedar Hills (130-31) | 67% | 15% |
| Cheshire (40) | 20 | 22 |
| Dogwood (140-46) | 46 | 54 |
| Piney Bluff (110-114) | 54 | 6 |
| Sequoia (122-23) | 63 | 32 |
| TOTAL (551-563) | 54 | 28 |
| UTILITARIAN TYPES | | |
| Gillston (92) | 50 | 25 |
| Hickory Creek (55-56) | 29 | 29 |
| Juniper (37) | 49 | 14 |
| Marigold (39-40) | 65 | 8 |
| Rosebud (77-80) | 24 | 9 |
| TOTAL (300-304) | 41 | 18 |
| PARTICIPATORY TYPES | | |
| Fieldston (37) | 38 | 73 |
| Greyshire (71) | 28 | 92 |
| Lakeside (108-109) | 9 | 69 |
| Magnolia (122-26) | 47 | 80 |
| Sweet Laurel (32-35) | 26 | 94 |
| Wildwood (64-65) | 20 | 81 |
| TOTAL (440-443) | 28 | 80 |
| Chi Square (Institutions) | 437.64,60d.f., p=0.0000 | 644.46,60d.f., p=0.0000 |
| Chi Square (Types) | 138.66, 8d.f., p=0.0000 | 389.40 8d.f., p=0.0000 |

found that there were again significant differences. Eighty-four percent of the youth in participatory programs reported at least one or both types of treatment as did 66 percent of the youth in custodial programs. But less than half of the youth in utilitarian programs (49%) had been exposed to relatively frequent individual or group treatment sessions. In utilitarian programs the behavior modification systems with clearly specified criteria for rewards and punishments seem to be used as a kind of functional alternative to the treatment sessions used in participatory and custodial programs.

In order to determine whether institutions using group process models could really be labeled "participatory", we looked at the responses of youth to several questions about their perceptions of their influence in decision-making. Youth were asked who usually gave out rewards and punishments in their programs and also who had the most and the second most to say about when they would be released. In Table 3.3 the percentage of youth reporting that "other youth here" were involved in each of these decisions is shown for each of the institutions within a particular style of compliance and management. In custodial and utilitarian programs, only 10% or fewer of the youth believed that there peers were involved in providing them with rewards and punishments. In participatory programs, on the other hand, slightly more than a quarter of the youth (27%) thought other youth usually gave out rewards,and almost half of them (45%) believed other youth usually punished them. Perceptions about release de-

TABLE 3.3 PERCEPTIONS OF YOUTH REGARDING PARTICIPATION OF OTHER YOUTH IN DECISION-MAKING, BY INSTITUTION

| | % reporting other youth give rewards | % reporting other youth give punish- ments | % reporting other youth make release decisions |
|---|---|---|---|
| CUSTODIAL TYPES | | | |
| Cedar Hills (119-29) | 9% | 10% | 0% |
| Cheshire (44-49) | 12 | 18 | 0 |
| Dogwood (93-140) | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| Piney Bluff (98-112) | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Sequoia (106-121) | 14 | 11 | 0 |
| TOTAL (533-555) | 9 | 10 | 0 |
| UTILITARIAN TYPES | | | |
| Gillston (84-92) | 6 | 11 | 1 |
| Hickory Creek (45-56) | 11 | 14 | 0 |
| Juniper (34-37) | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Marigold (39-40) | 8 | 5 | 0 |
| Rosebud (76-80) | 12 | 2 | 0 |
| TOTAL (299-305) | 8 | 8 | 1 |
| PARTICIPATORY TYPES | | | |
| Fieldston (32-37) | 12 | 54 | 30 |
| Greyshire (70-71) | 42 | 90 | 71 |
| Lakeside (58-110) | 28 | 30 | 19 |
| Magnolia (111-123) | 24 | 47 | 33 |
| Sweet Laurel (32-36) | 6 | 8 | 18 |
| Wildwood (26-37) | 38 | 15 | 42 |
| TOTAL (383-403) | 27 | 45 | 38 |
| Chi Square (Institutions) | 108.53,15d.f. p=0.0000 | 381.43,15d.f., p=0.0000 | 448.18, 30d.f. p=0.0000 |
| Chi Square (Types) | 68.856,2d.f. p=0.0000 | 223.23,2d.f. p=0.0000 | 306.73,4d.f. p=0.0000 |

cisions paralleled perceptions about rewards and punishments. Practically no one in custodial and utilitarian programs felt that other youth were involved in determining release dates, but more than a third of the youth in participatory programs believed that other youth had a great deal to say about these decisions. Participation in decision-making seemed to be especially strong at Greyshire, where most youth thought that others were involved in giving out punishments and determining release dates. As we noted earlier, Sweet Laurel appeared to be only minimally involved in participatory processes, in contrast to the other programs so classified; but Sweet Laurel youth were significantly more likely to believe that release decisions were made by their peers than youth in programs classified as custodial or utilitarian.

Selected responses of staff to questions regarding beliefs about youth and current program operations were summarized according to the three types of compliance/management styles in Table 3.4. There are consistent differences in underlying assumptions about the value of group process and the importance of immediate compliance reflected in the responses of staff in custodial programs as opposed to staff in the other two program types. Custodial program staff were much more likely to believe that youth should keep to themselves and not get too close to other youth, as well as do what they are told to do quickly. The concern with imme-

TABLE 3.4 STAFF PERCEPTIONS OF YOUTH AND PROGRAMS BY COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| | COMPLIANCE/ MANAGEMENT STYLE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Custodial (N=229-242) | Utilitarian (N=116-122) | Participatory (N=153-191) | |
| Agree that the youth who get the most out of their stay here keep to themselves and don't get too close to other youth.[a] | 28% | 10% | 13% | $Chi^2$ = 23.119, 2d.f., p=0.0000 |
| Agree that the best way for youth to get along here is to do what they're told quickly.[a] | 64% | 47% | 47% | $Chi^2$ = 15.141, 2d.f., p=0.0005 |
| Agree that youth here share in making decisions about how the place is run.[b] | 32% | 38% | 63% | $Chi^2$ = 50.242, 10d.f., p=0.0000 |
| Agree that the reward or point system used here in daily living is an effective part of the program. | 36% | 77% | 39% | $Chi^2$ = 72.099, 10d.f., p=0.0000 |
| Agree that each staff member has too many youth to work with successfully. | 64% | 41% | 38% | $Chi^2$ = 33.804 2d.f., p=0.0000 |
| Believe the director expects personnel to maintain order at all times, otherwise the youth will get out of control. | 21% | 10% | 9% | $Chi^2$ = 27.661, 6d.f., p=0.0001 |

a. Includes answer categories: Strongly agree, Agree and Mildly Agree
b. Includes answer categories: Strongly agree and Agree

diate compliance may be linked to problems of understaffing in custodial programs, since we see that nearly two-thirds of the staff in these programs feel that they have to work with too many youth to be effective. The majority of staff in utilitarian and participatory institutions do not feel that this is a problem. Moreover, staff in custodial programs were significantly more likely than utilitarian and participatory staff members to believe that the executive expected them to maintain order at all times, and these expectations may well have been translated into precepts of immediate compliance and control over inmate association.

As we would expect, reward and point systems were seen as much more effective by staff in utilitarian programs than in the other two program types, since these systems formed the basis of most treatment in utilitarian institutions. Similarly, we found that staff in participatory programs were much more likely to report that youth share in formulating institutional policy decisions than youth in the other two program types.

Not only were we able to clearly distinguish the sixteen institutional units on the basis of the predominant intervention strategy which appeared operative at the time of the field visits through official reports and actual observations, but we have also confirmed the validity of the typology using selected reports of youth and staff in these programs about their experiences relating to management and compliance styles. In a variety of ways, including actual

treatment provided to youth, ability of youth to participate in important decisions, and staff assumptions about the importance of immediate compliance, control over inmate association, and the implementation of management strategies, these three types are significantly different fron one another.

Summary

In a brief review of comparative institutional research using the custody-treatment continuum, certain problematic features of its conceptualization and operationalization were noted. These problems included: the confusion of goal orientation and scope in differentiating programs, differences between official and operative goals, efforts to polarize goals which may be complementary and/or simultaneous, inadequate specification of the terms "custody" and "treatment", and few guidelines for their empirical measurement.

Criteria for the development of a classification scheme in this analysis arose from the examination of these problems in prior research and included the following factors. The typology had to represent significant differences among the institutions which would be expected to lead to variations in inmate misconduct. It had to be clearly understood and based on relatively enduring, objective features of these programs, not on individual characteristics of youth in them or on attitudes of the participants at particular points in time. However, the placement of particular institutions in

the typology could be validated, using reports of youth and staff about their program experiences.

The sixteen institutional units in our sample were then classified on the basis of their predominant intervention strategies (or treatment technologies) into three styles of managing inmates and securing their compliance: Custodial, Utilitarian and Participatory. Intervention strategies, rather than goals, were used as the basis of the typology because they were believed to be more directly and strongly linked both to the behavior of youth and to the management practices of staff. The five custodial programs in our sample were so typed because they used individualized casework services as the only treatment technology in fairly traditional training school settings, emphasizing order and discipline. The five utilitarian institutions all had operational systems providing clearly specified rewards and punishments for particular types of behavior, and these systems were central treatment tools. The six programs we have labeled participatory all had a strong commitment to group process and decision-making technologies in which pervasive attitudinal as well as behavioral changes were sought for the youth.

The custodial programs were, in general, large public training schools containing males while the utilitarian programs were most often small private programs. Participatory institutions were, for the most, small public facilities housing female or coeducational populations. Descrip-

tive statements about each program as well as selected reports of youth and staff confirmed the essential differences among the program types. Custodial programs were oriented to strict surveillance and control of youth, though many of them had at least nominal commitments to fairly sophisticated individualized treatment technologies, such as Transactional Analysis. About half of the youth in these programs reported weekly meetings with a social worker, but only about a quarter of them met with other youth in groups very frequently. Most youth felt that their peers had nothing to do with rewards or punishments, including release decisions. Most staff in these programs believed in the necessity for immediate compliance on the part of youth and also felt that the programs were too understaffed to be effective.

Utilitarian programs were more differentiated than the custodial ones in terms of regimentation and isolation, but were all strongly committed to behavior control regimens such as token economies and level systems in which privileges were graduated and earned. Less than half of the youth in these programs had been exposed to regularly scheduled individual or group treatment on a weekly basis and most youth in these programs believed that decisions about reward, punishment, or release of other youth were completely out of their hands. Staff in these programs maintained that the reward and point systems were extremely effective in managing the daily activities of the youth and were much less

oriented to immediate compliance and control than those in custodial programs.

Most of the participatory programs were contained in fairly traditional training school settings, but there was one exception - a kind of wilderness camp called Wildwood. All of the programs, however, had strong commitments to group decision-making processes. One program was in the initial stages of implementing this intervention strategy, so aspects of the process were underdeveloped. The majority of youth in all of the participatory programs were involved in group sessions more than once a week and very few of them were at all involved in individual counselling on a weekly basis. Youth in these programs were significantly more involved in decisions about rewards, punishments and the release of their peers than those in the other program types. Over forty percent of these youth reported that other youth were usually involved in giving out punishments, for example. The majority of staff members in these participatory programs agreed that the youth shared in important policy decisions. Moreover, participatory program staff shared with utilitarian program staff much less concern about the need for constant order, immediate compliance, control over inmate association, and inadequate staffing than was true of custodial program staff.

In the following chapters, the typology of compliance/management style which was developed here will be used to assess the impact of the organizational context on the per-

ceptions of youth about the social climate or atmosphere of the institution as well as on the frequency of misconduct in these programs.

FOOTNOTES

1. Such comparative studies include: Oscar Grusky, "Organizational Goals and Behavior of Informal Leaders," American Journal of Sociology, 65, 1959; Charles Tittle, Society of Subordinates: Inmate Organization in a Narcotic Hospital, Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1972; LaMar Empey and Steven Lubeck, The Silverlake Experiment, Chicago, Aldine, 1972; Rose Giallombardo, The Social World of Imprisoned Girls, New York, Wiley, 1974; Latham Winfree, Jr., Anomie, Alienation, and Rebellion: A Sociological Study of Rebellion in Two Institutions for Juvenile Offenders, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Montana, 1976; and Matthew Zingraff, A Comparative Study of Inmate Subcultures and Adaptation Patterns in Correctional Institutions for Male and Female Delinquents, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Bowling Green University, 1976.

2. In the Street, Vinter and Perrow analysis, the two dimensions, gratification-deprivation experienced by inmates and patterns of control and authority used by staff, were used as the hypothetical link between institutional goals and responses of the inmate group, because both varied between the obedience/conformity and treatment settings. The inclusion of the reeducation/development institutions into the custody-treatment typology confuses the issue, as the authors have suggested, because "the fact that they are open makes it difficult to assess either the balance of gratifications to deprivations or the staff patterns of control and authority" (Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966, pp. 226-227). In the unfortunate and apparently unplanned confusion of goal orientation and structure (open versus closed) in sampling, the exact ordering of the reeducation/development and treatment programs could not be determined.

3. Etzioni defines "effectiveness" not as survival but as the most efficient and satisfactory solution to a set of specific requirements or needs. He labels as ineffective organizations in which the control and commitment needs are mismatched, resulting in "wasted means, psychological and social tension, lack of coordination, and a strain toward matching or congruent combinations" (Etzioni, 1961, p. 87). Thus, for example, he argues that remuneration is at least partially wasted when actors are highly alienated and therefore inclined to disobey despite material sanctions; it is also wasted when actors are highly committed so that they would conform merely for symbolic normative rewards. Consequently remuneration is most effective when coupled with participants who have only a calculative involve-

ment in the organization. We suggest that these assumptions require some intensive empirical testing with regard to both the efficiency and long-term effectiveness of the congruent types, in comparison with one another and with the incongruent types.

CHAPTER IV

THE MEASUREMENT OF MISCONDUCT

Despite a growing number of rigorous attempts to describe the delinquent behavior of teenagers in their communities, misconduct in institutional settings has been bypassed for the most part. With a few exceptions, students of prisons and training schools have concentrated on the attitudes of inmates and have ignored the more behavioral manifestations of adaptation to confinement.[1]

We are limited in efforts to characterize the variety of deviant and delinquent acts occurring in institutions not only because of the lack of research but also because of inconsistencies in defining misconduct evident in the few studies which do exist. In general, research in this area has been confined to fairly circumscribed but dramatic behaviors, such as absconding, homosexuality, drug use and violent behavior, with little or no attention being paid to more routine, mundane and perhaps more frequent events such as theft. Investigations into the full gamut of misbehavior, though more comprehensive, tend to employ very loose definitions of the phenomena, making it difficult to replicate or even compare them. Terms used by these researchers include: "messing up" (Fisher, 1965), "institutional adjustment" (Wolfgang, 1964); Cowden, 1966), "rebellion" (Stinchcombe, 1964; Eve Winfree, 1976), "rule breaking" (Jensen, 1977), "critical incidents" (Empey and Newland, 1968; Empey

and Lubeck, 1971), "deviance and disruption" (Polsky, 1962), and "secondary adjustments" (Goffman, 1961). Strict guidelines for classifying particular behaviors as "misconduct" are nonexistent, since most of these researchers defined particular acts as instances of misconduct or maladjustment by their consequences for the organization, not in terms of the characteristics of the behaviors per se. Particular behaviors would be labeled as disruptive or critical if they interfered with the internal or external stability of the institution.[2]

Obviously, in a study of more than two or three institutions such as ours, misconduct behaviors could not be defined by their consequences because the same behaviors might have quite different effects in the various programs. On the other hand, it was necessary to develop a measure of misconduct in which the behaviors included were likely to be viewed with disfavor by staff in all of the institutions and were also officially prohibited. For comparative purposes, it was necessary to focus on a set of clearly defined, specific behaviors likely to be labeled as misconduct in all sixteen institutional units.

In this chapter, we will describe the measures of misconduct behavior which will be used throughout the analysis. Since our research is targeted on the <u>self-reported</u> misconduct of youth, we will discuss, in some depth, issues relating to the comparative validity of official estimates and self-reports, with a focus on the degree of congruence be-

tween youth reports and staff estimates of these acts within each cottage. Next we will look for patterns in self-reported misconduct in order to explore the utility of a typology of these offenses. Finally, we will present descriptive data about the frequency and pervasiveness of misconduct, as well as the extent to which these acts are individual or collective in nature, within institutions differentiated according to their compliance/management styles.

Defining and Measuring Misconduct

Most of the current estimates of institutional misconduct are derived from official records, such as disciplinary or incident reports, or from staff nominations of "troublemakers" or "maladjusted inmates." In only a few instances were youth asked to report on their own involvement in delinquency within an institutional setting.[3] It is rather interesting to note that despite the growing preference for *self-reported* indices of delinquency in community settings, researchers in institutions have continued to rely on *official* estimates.

In this analysis, however, we focus on misconduct as reported by the youth themselves. Seven specific acts were considered: illegal drug use, absconding, internal theft, property destruction and damage, assaults on staff, fighting, and feigning illness.[4] Verbal instructions, preceding these items were as follows:

> Following is a list of things you may or may not have done in the last four weeks. If you have not,

check "Never." If you have, check how many times.

Each of the items was contained in the following format:

In the last four weeks, how many times have you____?

| Never | Once or twice | Three to ten times | More than ten times |
|---|---|---|---|
| ( ) | ( ) | ( ) | ( ) |

The time frame used for these self-reports was deliberately short -- four weeks -- because as Hardt and Bodine cautioned:

> "ambiguity can be introduced when the periods for which reports of misconduct are sought are too long" (Hardt and Bodine, 1965, p. 17).

The danger of inaccuracy over a longer time period is particularly likely among institutionalized youth not only because it may be more difficult for them to remember past events or to recall the frequency of common ones, but also because they have been in programs for varying lengths of time. We wanted to be able to include youth who had been in the programs only one or two months as well as those who were longtimers. Because we were interested in any associations between attitudes toward the program and the occurrence of these behaviors, we wanted a fairly recent measure of behavior likely to be closely tied to present attitudes.[5]

The response rates on these items were uniformly high. Out of 1326 codable questionnaires, there were only 18 nonresponses on drug use; 6 nonresponses on hitting staff or fighting youth; 5 nonrespondents on pretending to be sick, running away or damaging property; and three youth who didnot answer the question on stealing in the program.

An exact number of instances of each type of misbehavior cannot be derived from our measure of reported behavior. Youth were not asked to give a specific number of instances of any of the acts but were presented with four response categories: Never, Once or twice, Three to ten times, and More than ten times. Advice from a reading consultant and other researchers in this area led us to conclude that these closed categories would be simpler for youth to use and would provide more accurate recall.

Moreover, only a fraction of possible acts of institutional delinquency were included in the questionnaire so the reported behaviors cannot be construed as representing total amount of misconduct occurring in these settings. Any comprehensive estimate of total misconduct would have to include self-destructive behaviors, such as self-mutilation and suicide attempts; acts of noncompliance such as refusing to go to school, do homework or participate in treatment; problematic behaviors such as swearing or not keeping clean; and active efforts at resistance such as arson, riot activity and participation in food strikes.

Although our measures of misconduct cannot be considered as comprehensive, we are convinced that they represent a range of behaviors which are of concern to most institutions. We asked staff members to rate the seriousness of six out of these seven behaviors; in Table 4.1 the averaged ratings for each institution are shown.[6] Across all the programs, drug use, staff assaults, absconding, theft, and

TABLE 4.1 AVERAGED RATINGS OF STAFF REGARDING THE SERIOUSNESS OF MISCONDUCT, BY INSTITUTION*

| | Type of Misconduct | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CUSTODIAL PROGRAMS | Drug Use | Hitting Staff | Running Away | Theft | Fighting | Feigning Illness |
| Cedar Hills (43-47) | 1.8 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 2.9 |
| Cheshire (6) | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 3.2 |
| Dogwood (41-42) | 1.7 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.7 |
| Piney Bluff (52-55) | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.6 |
| Sequoia (84-87) | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 2.9 |
| TOTAL (231-234) | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 2.8 |
| UTILITARIAN PROGRAMS | | | | | | |
| Gillston (6) | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 2.5 |
| Hickory Creek (44-46) | 1.4 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 2.8 | 2.1 | 2.6 |
| Juniper (5) | 1.4 | 1.4 | 2.6 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 2.6 |
| Marigold (23-24) | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2.0 | 2.7 |
| Rosebud (37-41) | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 2.6 |
| TOTAL (119-121) | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 2.6 |
| NORMATIVE PROGRAMS | | | | | | |
| Fieldston (9-10) | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.4 | 2.5 |
| Greyshire (20-21) | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 2.7 |
| Lakeside (65-66) | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 3.0 |
| Magnolia (42-47) | 1.9 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 2.0 | 2.5 |
| Sweet Laurel (24-26) | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.8 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 2.7 |
| Wildwood (15-16) | 1.1 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.6 |
| TOTAL (179-183) | 1.5 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 2.7 |
| TOTAL MEAN FOR ALL PROGRAMS (530-537) | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 2.7 |

*The behaviors are rated on a 1 to 4 scale, with the following points: 1 (Very Serious), 2 (Somewhat Serious), 3 (Not Very Serious), 4 (Not Serious). Only staff having direct contact with the youth (executives, medical personnel, treatment staff, cottage personnel, education staff, and security personnel) were included in this analysis.

fighting were viewed as at least somewhat serious. However, staff tended to view instances in which youth pretended to be ill as not very serious. Though there were some differences in the degree of staff concern regarding drug use, hitting of staff, and fighting, in most programs they were regarded as serious misconduct. Moreover, the style of compliance/management had no appreciable effect on the evaluation of the seriousness of misconduct; in each type of program drug use and staff assaults were viewed as more serious than absconding and absconding in turn was viewed as more serious than theft or fighting. The feigning of illness was uniformly viewed as not very serious at all. These staff evaluations will be considered in the development of a summary or cumulative index of serious misconduct later in this chapter.

Issues in the Use of Self-Reports and Official Estimates of Misconduct

Using a variety of techniques discussed earlier in Chapter II, we tried to maximize the accuracy of self-reported misconduct by youth. In this section, we will discuss some of the issues in the continuing controversy between proponents of self-reported delinquent behavior and researchers committed to official reports.

Critics of the self-report approach are especially concerned about the likelihood of deliberate falsification and concealing of punishable acts, and so most efforts at validation have been directed to this problem. Checks involve

comparisons of self-report data with police and court records, the nominations of control agents such as teachers, or the reports of their peers. In Gold's study of Flint teenagers, the validation techniques involved the comparison of self-reported delinquent acts with information provided by informants. Gold concluded that:

> "Overall, 72 percent of the 125 youngsters confessed to everything which informants had told us or to more recent or more serious offenses. Another 17 percent of the youngsters appeared to be outright concealers. The rest were questionable...There are no apparent differences in concealment of specific offenses between races or social statuses, but there are some sex differences. Offenses most often concealed by the boys in the validity sample were breaking and entering, property destruction and carrying concealed weapons... Girls most often concealed breaking and entering, property destruction, unauthorized driving away of an auto, gang fighting, miscellaneous theft, and fornication" (Gold, 1970, pp. 21-22).

As we already discussed in Chapter II, the techniques Gold used have some severe deficiencies, not only in assessing the amount of concealment, but also in revealing the amount of exaggeration that may be present. Very few studies using self-report measures contend with the possible exaggeration of delinquency, even those in which fairly detailed validation techniques are used (e.g., Elliott and Voss, 1974; Lubeck and Empey, 1971; and Gold, 1970). Of course, it is quite difficult to pinpoint instances of exaggeration because, as Gold states:

> "To what extent do teenagers, and boys especially, want to project an image of at least moderate delinquency as a demonstration of daring and manliness? It does not seem possible to check this phenomenon, for it would require information not only about offenses which the criterion group had committed, but

> also about offenses which they had not committed. We learned early in our study that teenagers could not vouch that even their closest friends had not committed any particular type of offense" (Gold, 1970, p. 22).

The difficulties in assessing the degree to which delinquent behavior is concealed or exaggerated in self-reports would seem to be greater in open community settings than in total institutions. In total institutions, the relative lack of privacy and the almost constant interaction with other youth and staff should result in considerable congruence between self-reports and staff estimates of misconduct since it would be difficult to conceal most behaviors. Ideally, in these settings, the official incident reports and disciplinary records would be expected to provide adequate validity checks on the behaviors reported by the youth themselves. However, validation of self-reported data through the use of official disciplinary reports is often extremely difficult because of inadequate record-keeping, varying definitions of offenses, and selective reporting of certain types of incidents. Although the problems in using official records are magnified in a study of a large number of institutions such as ours, other researchers studying single institutions have underscored the problems involved. Heffernan's experiences in using official records to measure misconduct in a women's prison are not uncommon.

> "Disciplinary records are far from standard. There is an inevitable variation by officer and by administration in the type of offense recorded and the type dismissed with a warning. In addition, the actual offense and the recorded offense may vary in terms

> of the ability to prove the observed violation or in the interpretation of the circumstances" (Heffernan, 1972, p. 190).

In a study of absconding in programs operated by the New York State Division for Youth (DFY), Chase alluded to difficulties in using official records because "occasional abscondings are not recorded as research statistics" (Chase, 1975, p. 194). Street, Vinter and Perrow found that only two of their six institutions for boys kept explicit records on discipline and that the unreliability of reporting and variations in criteria were again problems in regard to records on truancy (Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966, p. 197).

In our perusal of the official disciplinary reports relating to absconding in the sampled institutions, we found that such records were often nonexistent or were kept in such different and unsystematic ways as to render comparisons between programs and validity checks with youth self-reports impossible. Since absconding was considered of such critical importance in all of these programs and since it was more visible than most other forms of misconduct, the inadequacy of official records on absconding casts considerable doubt on the validity of official records of misconduct in general. In fact, the recognition of both the unreliability of these records and the severe biases in the processing of delinquent acts has led many researchers to reject official reports completely in favor of self-reports.

For a variety of reasons many theorists committed to self-report methodologies believe that staff either <u>deliber-</u>

ately underreport or unknowingly underestimate the actual amount of delinquent behavior that occurs in institutions. They feel that staff may underestimate rule infractions and violations because they aren't in contact with the youth twenty-four hours a day; because they may not attend to what they consider minor problems; and because they cannot observe every activity of the youth under their supervision.

Previous studies also indicate that there may be understandable tendencies for staff to deliberately underreport misconduct of which they are aware. Their positions may be threatened by general awareness of disorder on their units so they often deny that problems exist even to the administration. Polsky noted:

> "Cottage parents are very much concerned with the administration's evaluation of their cottage, which is based largely on the cottage parents' ability to maintain order...(The cottage parent's) pact with the boys can be summarized best in his words: 'What went on here was no one's else's business.' Vigorous application of this internal policy eventually led to his control over the boys...He 'covered' for the boys, confining to the cottage certain infractions of rules, laid down by the administration" (Polsky, 1962, pp. 123-126).

Collusion between staff and inmates in concealing misconduct was also noted by Cloward in his research in adult prisons:

> "A guard who faithfully 'wrote up' every inmate apprehended in a breach of discipline would soon be confronted by his (superiors)...Officially guards are enjoined to report rather than to conceal or overlook deviant behavior of inmates, but the novice soon learns the informal rule that you con them, chastise them, coerce them, but never charge them" (Cloward, 1960, p. 36).

For certain types of deviant or delinquent offenses, there is an understandable reluctance on the part of some staff to reveal the extent of participation to outside researchers. Giallombardo, in her study of institutional homosexuality, found:

> "This is a sensitive area of correctional administration, and some staff members deny the existence of homosexuality either out of 'loyalty' to the administration, or because they think outsiders would not 'understand'" (Giallombardo, 1974, p. 247).

Not only do researchers disagree about the comparative validity of self-reports and official estimates of misconduct, but they also differ in their assessments of the kinds of behavior that will be concealed by either method. Several theorists, for example, believe that the most serious offenses will be concealed and that the self-report methodology is most accurate for detecting minor offenses. Elliott and Voss, for example, found that though 95 percent of self-reported offenses were not officially recorded, there was a higher police contact rate for nonserious offenses, which they attribute:

> "...either to the greater effort serious offenders make to avoid detection or to errors in measurement, such as systematic underreporting of minor violations in comparison to serious acts" (Elliott and Voss, 1974, p. 85).

They also suggest, however, that the accuracy of recall may be related to the seriousness of the act; if this is the case, minor offenses would be more readily forgotten and would be more often underreported in self-report studies than serious offenses.

In their study of misconduct in an open mediatory institution, Lubeck and Empey found that 76 percent of all the critical incidents uncovered in research interviews were known to other youth who had not been participants in the acts. Moreover, Lubeck and Empey found some interesting differences in the kinds of incidents that were hidden from other youth in the program. The acts that were most often hidden were acts of assault (mostly fights) and acts of deviant pleasure-seeking (such as sex, alcohol, pills, and marijuana),which were detected only 42 and 55 percent of the time respectively. On the other hand, knowledge about acts such as unauthorized absence, interpersonal friction, trouble with neighbors, theft, and school incidents was virtually complete. Even acts of theft, which were clear-cut law violations, were detected in more than eight out of ten cases (Lubeck and Empey, 1971, pp. 188-193).

In the Silverlake Experiment, Lubeck and Empey found that the critical incidents which youth thought were least serious were also least likely to come to the attention of other youth in the program. Since it was assumed that youth shared their knowledge of these acts with staff in the group sessions, we might draw the conclusion that staff were more likely to know of serious incidents of misconduct than of minor ones.

Lubeck and Empey also suggest that in relatively open participatory programs, the congruence between self-reports and staff reports will be much greater than in closed cus-

todial institutions.

> "...these findings, taken at face value, suggest that the efforts of the experiment to uncover and deal with difficult problems may have been reasonably successful. We definitely did not detect the shared paranoia against open and collective discussion that one finds so characteristic of the close-custody institution" (Lubeck and Empey, 1971, pp. 192-193).

In addition to the controversy regarding the extent to which minor or serious offenses are more often underestimated in official data, there is a similar debate regarding the extent to which individual or collective incidents are more often hidden. Both Erickson and Hindelang have questioned earlier research on delinquency as a group phenomenon, by noting that all such research was based on violations known to official agencies. They suggest that a "group hazard hypothesis" may be operating so that participation in delinquent acts with others increases the chances that the actors will become official delinquency statistics even when the frequency and seriousness of the acts are comparable (Erickson, 1971; Hindelang, 1976). If this were true in institutional settings as well, we could expect to find that official reports consistently underestimated the proportion of individual incidents of misconduct and conversely overestimated the collective events. In the Silverlake Experiment, however, individual incidents were more likely to be detected by other youth (95 percent) than were group incidents (75 percent); therefore, we would expect staff to know less about group misconduct than individual acts.

The resolution of these methodological issues and empiri-

cal discrepancies is beyond the scope of this analysis. In the next section, however, we will compare the self-reported involvement of youth with the reports of staff about specific types of misconduct, both in order to establish the validity of the self-reports and to discover the similarities and differences in data uncovered by the two methods.

Comparisons of Youth Reports and Staff Estimates of Misconduct

As we mentioned in the last section, official records and disciplinary reports could not be used as sources of validation for the self-reports of youth in most of the sampled programs either because they were nonexistent or inaccurate, or because the criteria for the inclusion of behaviors in them were unclear or inconsistent. In turning to staff reports of the behavior of youth, we were aware of the difficulties involved in using staff reports as validity checks of self-reported behavior. Even within the same institution, staff members may differ in their definitions of particular types of misconduct. For example, some staff may consider the feigning of illness to include minor complaints of symptoms while others may limit the definition to include only youth who pretended to be sick to escape from undesirable activities. Property damage might be narrowly defined as serious destruction or more broadly defined as including trivial acts such as the accidental damaging of a youth's own property.

Moreover, there are limits to staff knowledge about all

the delinquent acts of the youth in a particular institution. Most staff work only eight hours a day and, depending on the particular shift, may be exposed to only a fraction of the misconduct in which youth are engaged. We might also expect to find that staff were more aware of the number of incidents of misconduct than of the number of different youth involved in them.

On the other hand, considering the seriousness with which many of these behaviors are viewed by institutional staff and the intensity of communication regarding these incidents, we would expect them to be aware of a significant proportion of the serious delinquency that occurred in their living units.

In order to make the recall of misconduct easier and more accurate, we asked staff members to tell us how many youth in their immediate units had been involved in six out of the seven activities included in our measure of misconduct. Unfortunately, we did not ask staff to tell us the number of youth who had absconded because we believed, prior to our field work, that this information would be readily available in institutional files. The time frame for these estimates was one month, just as it was for the youth self-reports.

Response rates of staff to these items were much lower than to other parts of the questionnaire, both because only living unit staff were required to answer this section and because many of them indicated that they did not have enough

information to accurately estimate the number of youth involved in these incidents. Perhaps the most unexpected result of this analysis was the amount of disagreement among staff within the same living unit regarding the reported misconduct of youth, even in such a relatively short time period. In the cottages in which multiple estimates of misconduct were provided we found very little agreement.

In Table 4.2 the proportion of the cottages in which there was agreement among staff in their multiple estimates is presented for each type of misconduct.

TABLE 4.2. PROPORTION OF COTTAGES IN WHICH MULTIPLE ESTIMATES OF MISCONDUCT WERE CONSISTENT, BY TYPE OF MISCONDUCT

| Type of Misconduct | % of Cottages with Consistent Estimates by Staff |
|---|---|
| Feigning of Illness | 4% (56) |
| Illegal drug use | 33% (49) |
| Internal theft | 13% (53) |
| Property damage | 18% (56) |
| Fighting | 9% (57) |
| Assaults on staff | 44% (54) |

Staff members in less than ten percent of the cottages agreed in their estimates of the number of youth involved in the feigning of illness or fighting within the last month. Less than twenty percent of the cottages provided consistent estimates of internal theft or property damage. Only a third

of the cottages agreed on the numbers of youth involved in illegal drug use. Even for such publicly visible, serious, and probably rare events such as assaults on staff, less than half of the cottages provided consistent estimates. Moreover, these figures probably underestimate the amount of disagreement among staff on the amount of misconduct. The multiple estimates are usually provided by only two or three staff members in a unit, and if more of them had answered the questions, we might expect more disagreement. These figures do not include cottages in which only one staff member provided reports on misconduct, but if other members in those units had responded we might find even higher levels of disagreement. The range of variation in staff estimates within cottages was, at times, quite substantial. It was not uncommon to find one staff member reporting two youth involved in misconduct while another staff in that cottage reported that twenty-five youth were involved.

Other researchers have had similar experiences when these explicit comparisons were made. Grygier found that when staff members at a private center for disturbed children were asked to rank the behavior of individual youth, they were not in agreement (Grygier, 1975). In a study of suicidal crises in prisons, Toch found that:

> "Widely different pictures of inmates were drawn by officers in the same or similar assignments. Among guards who manned housing units, for example, estimates of crisis prevalence ranged from 0 to 65 percent. The same disparity emerged for officers assigned to special units. One officer in a prison mental-observation ward, for example, noted that

all the men on the tier had experienced personal crises in the preceding six months; another officer on the same shift reported a ten percent crisis rate over the same time period. Similarly, one officer in a punishment (restricted) division described in detail three recent crises experienced by inmates, while his partner assessed the unit as completely crisis-free" (Toch, 1977, p. 14).

Regardless of the reasons for the inconsistencies we have found in staff estimates of misconduct, they indicate serious problems in the use of staff nominations as measures of delinquent behavior in institutional settings. Very few of the researchers using this method have made this dilemma explicit because they have either neglected validity checks or have averaged staff estimates without indicating the amount of variance in them.

Since we have already questioned the reliability (and thus validity) of staff reports of misconduct, we compare them with the self-reports of youth only in order to understand the differences in misconduct estimated by the two methods. Consistencies between staff reports and self-reports would neither be expected nor would they serve as evidence of validity at this point,since the staff reports are highly suspect. At least, the comparisons can shed light on some of the critical issues relating to self-reports discussed earlier in this chapter.

In Table 4.3, staff reports of the numbers of youth engaged in misconduct were compared with the number of youth reporting such involvement over the same time period within each living unit. In cases where multiple staff estimates

TABLE 4.3 COMPARISON OF SELF-REPORTS OF YOUTH AND STAFF REPORTS OF MISCONDUCT WITHIN COTTAGES, BY COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT TYPE *

| Compliance/ Management Type | Type of Misconduct | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Feigning Illness | Hitting Staff | Internal Theft | Fighting | Damaging Property | Illegal Drug Use |
| Custodial Cottages (N=18-19) | | | | | | |
| Percent in which reports of youth and staff agree | 11% | 21% | 11% | 0% | 21% | 6% |
| Percent in which self reports are higher | 63 | 74 | 47 | 89 | 63 | 94 |
| Percent in which staff reports are higher | 26 | 5 | 42 | 11 | 16 | 0 |
| Utilitarian Cottages (N=16-17) | | | | | | |
| Percent in which reports of youth and staff agree | 29% | 47% | 12 | 18% | 12% | 6% |
| Percent in which self-reports are higher | 47 | 41 | 50 | 70 | 76 | 94 |
| Percent in which staff reports are higher | 24 | 12 | 38 | 12 | 12 | 0 |

TABLE 4.3 CONTINUED

| | Type of Misconduct | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Compliance/ Management Type | Feigning Illness | Hitting Staff | Internal Theft | Fighting | Damaging Property | Illegal Drug Use |
| Participatory Cottages (N=27-28) | | | | | | |
| Percent in which reports of youth and staff agree | 7% | 30% | 26% | 7% | 4% | 11% |
| Percent in which self-reports are higher | 50 | 63 | 48 | 78 | 81 | 85 |
| Percent in which staff reports are higher | 43 | 7 | 26 | 15 | 15 | 4 |
| Total Cottages (N=62-64) | | | | | | |
| Percent in which reports of youth and staff agree | 33% | 32% | 18% | 13% | 11% | 8% |
| Percent in which self-reports are higher | 53 | 60 | 48 | 79 | 75 | 90 |
| Percent in which staff reports are higher | 14 | 8 | 34 | 8 | 14 | 2 |

* In cottages where more than one staff member reported on these behaviors their reports were averaged. The comparisons were only made within cottages where comparable information was available for both youth and staff. Thus, Sequoia was deleted from the analysis because the youth reports are a subsample of the population while the staff reports were based on the total population of the cottage. Sweet Laurel was also omitted because no staff members in the cottages answered these questions. Juniper is included but in this program youth and staff responses were based on the total program, not on the cottages.
** Youth reported on how often they had fought other youth, while staff reports estimated how many "started fights."

were provided for a cottage, these were averaged for comparative purposes. In the table, the proportion of cottages in which youth and staff agreed on the incidence of specific types of misbehavior were shown, as well as the proportion in which self-reported behavior was either higher or lower than staff reports. Institutions are subdivided by their predominant style of compliance/management.

Among all the cottages, there is very little similarity in self-reported and staff-reported misconduct. In about a third of the cottages, the numbers of youth involved in feigning illness and hitting staff were the same using both methods. But in more than three-fourths of the cottages, staff and youth provided conflicting reports of the incidence of internal theft, fighting, damaging property, and illegal drug use. Given the inconsistencies in the staff reports, it is interesting that there is this much agreement in the estimates provided by the two methods, particularly for such loosely defined behavior as the feigning of illness.

The data provide clear and consistent evidence that youth did not conceal misconduct known to staff on the questionnaire. In the majority of cottages, more youth reported feigning illness, hitting staff, fighting, damaging property, and using drugs than staff knew were involved. In ninety percent of the cottages, for example, self-reported drug use was higher than staff estimates of it. In over three-fourths of the cottages, self-reports of fighting and damaging property were higher than staff estimates.

The only type of misconduct youth may have underreported was internal theft, since staff reports were higher than self-reports in a third of the cottages. Even in the case of theft, however, almost half of the cottages had higher numbers provided by self-reports than by staff reports.

The amount of misconduct apparently hidden from staff but reported on the questionnaires is striking. Of course it is possible that youth consistently exaggerated in their self-reports but it seems unlikely that this would happen for all the offenses, particularly for such acts as the feigning of illness. Moreover, youth were urged to be honest in reporting these behaviors, and were given every opportunity to refuse to respond to questions they did not wish to answer. The climate of confidentiality provided as a part of the questionnaire administration may have enabled youth to feel safe in reporting activities which had been concealed from staff. It is of course entirely possible, and indeed likely, that other youth were more aware of these activities than were staff members.

When we look at differences in the three types of programs in the degree of congruence in youth and staff reports of misconduct, we find little agreement regardless of program type. There is certainly no evidence that staff are more aware of inmate misconduct in participatory programs than in custodial or utilitarian types, despite their commitment to open discussions of such behavior in group meetings. To some extent, utilitarian program staff seem more

aware of the misbehavior of their youth than is true in the other two programs. A higher proportion of the utilitarian cottages had agreement in the estimates of youth and staff about the incidence of feigning illness, staff assaults, fighting and property damage than in the other two program types. This may be attributable to the greater emphasis in utilitarian settings on monitoring concrete behavior in order to determine rewards and punishments.

The majority of cottages within each of the three program types had much higher rates of fighting, property damage, and drug use reported by youth than by staff. Custodial cottages were most likely to have self-reports of feigning illness, staff assaults, fighting, and drug use which were higher than staff estimates. Perhaps staff in custodial settings were more likely to underreport offenses of which they were aware in order to protect themselves. It seems more likely, however, that youth concealed more of their offenses from staff in custodial settings because of the possibility of severe punishment. Under the conditions of confidentiality provided by the field team, youth were able to admit to misconduct of which staff were unaware.

There is no apparent differentiation in the validity of self-reports of major or minor offenses in this data. Although staff tend to consider the feigning of illness as a relatively minor offense, there is no evidence that it is detected more often by staff-or conversely, that it is more often forgotten by youth - than the other behaviors.

We did find some support for Lubeck and Empey's results indicating that fighting and drug use were more often concealed from staff than the other behaviors. We also found this to be the case for property damage. Youth revealed more involvement in each of these behaviors than staff reported in at least three-fourths of the cottages in our sample.

In order to discover whether staff were more aware of individual or collective incidents of misconduct, we now turn to a comparison of the types of misconduct by the numbers of youth involved. For each self-reported type of misconduct, youth were asked to indicate the number of youth who were with them. If more than one incident of a particular type had occurred within the four week period, youth were told to report the largest number of companions at any time. To some extent, therefore, the data may overestimate the proportion of group incidents. In Table 4.4 the percentage of youth who reported that these incidents were collective and the average number of companions are shown for each type of misconduct, except the feigning of illness. It is apparent that a large portion of the acts of misconduct were collective in nature and, in fact, the majority of youth who reported fighting, damaging property, using drugs, or running away had not been alone. Internal theft and assaults on staff were more likely to be solitary actions.[7] When youth did engage in these activities collectively, they tended to have at least three companions.

Nearly all of the youth who used drugs, for example, reported these as group events, with an average of four or five participants.

TABLE 4.4. PERCENT OF YOUTH REPORTING COLLECTIVE INCIDENTS AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF COMPANIONS FOR EACH TYPE OF MISCONDUCT

| | % of Incidents Committed Collectively | Average Number of Companions |
|---|---|---|
| Hitting staff | 49% (138)* | 4.6 (67)** |
| Internal theft | 44% (346) | 2.4 (151) |
| Fighting | 61% (571) | 3.9 (348) |
| Damaging property | 51% (405) | 3.0 (206) |
| Illegal drug use | 85% (411) | 4.5 (351) |
| Running away | 75% (200) | 2.7 (150) |

* Base N's are the total number of youth who self-reported these acts of misconduct

**Base N's are the number of youth who reported engaging in these acts with companions

Despite the fact that most of the self-reported acts of misconduct were collective incidents, staff were apparently unaware of all the youth involved in them. The "group hazard hypothesis " advanced by Hindelang and Erickson does not appear to have operated in our sample, since the types of offenses which were most often concealed from staff were usually committed by groups of youth. Most youth who reported fighting, damaging property, and using drugs had companions, and in at least three-fourths of the cottages staff estimates of

these behaviors were lower than the self-reports. Conversely, staff were more aware of incidents of stealing than of the other behaviors, yet stealing was the most solitary of the six acts. These data, then, simply do not support the notion that group incidents are necessarily more visible or that individual incidents are most often concealed. In fact, our findings are similar to those of the Silverlake Experiment, in which group incidents were more often undetected by staff and other youth in the program than individual incidents. Of course, in our study it is possible that staff were aware of the collective incidents but underestimated the number of participants, since we asked staff to tell us the number of youth involved, not the number of incidents. Whether or not the incidents themselves were concealed, the fact remains that staff underestimated the number of youth involved in typically collective incidents more than the numbers of youth involved in more typically solitary events.

## Developing an Index of Misconduct

In an effort to simplify the presentation of data on self-reported institutional misconduct, as well as to understand any patterns in these behaviors, we made several attempts to construct a typology of these acts. Early efforts to differentiate and group these offenses using a priori conceptual schemes were discarded because of the limited number of behaviors involved, because we could not assume any underlying motivations or pathologies, and because the behaviors could not be simply arrayed on a continuum of seriousness.

Youth were not asked to tell us why they engaged in particular types of behaviors and we did not look for deep-rooted personality disturbances associated with them, so we obviously could not differentiate misconduct according to underlying motivations and pathologies. Since there are so many ways of classifying these acts by their assumed similarities, including the degree to which they are passive-active, aggressive-nonaggressive, peer versus staff-oriented, rational versus emotional, functional versus dysfunctional, and so forth, preliminary attempts were made to try and divide them in each of these ways. The lack of clearcut information about each type of act and the limited numbers of behaviors contained in the questionnaire, however, contributed to the failure of these attempts.

Since we could not theoretically cluster the items in any subtypes, we decided to search for empirical patterns. Product moment correlations between the behaviors were computed and are shown in Table 4.5. There was a slight, but statistically significant, tendency for youth who admitted any involvement in fighting, hitting staff, or damaging property to have also been involved in every other type of misconduct, including drug use, internal theft, running away, and feigning illness. But there was no association between running away and whether or not youth were involved in stealing or pretending to be sick in the month preceding the visit. Moreover, when these sets of correlations were computed for each program, we found that the relationships were significant

TABLE 4.5 ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX OF MISCONDUCT VARIABLES (INDIVIDUAL LEVEL ANALYSIS)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feigned Illness | 1.00 | .10* | .04 | .18* | .16* | .13* | .16* |
| Used Drugs | | 1.00 | .12* | .15* | .22* | .12* | .19* |
| Absconded | | | 1.00 | -.02 | .10* | .12* | .09* |
| Stole | | | | 1.00 | .26* | .14* | .24* |
| Damaged Property | | | | | 1.00 | .22* | .24* |
| Hit Staff | | | | | | 1.00 | .19* |
| Fought Youth | | | | | | | 1.00 |

The analysis is based on the complete responses of 1287 youth to the self-reported misconduct items, collapsed according to whether they had ever or never engaged in these acts in the past four weeks.

* Significant at the .01 level

in only a few of them. The most consistent association was between self-reports of stealing and damaging property, but these behaviors were linked in only half of the programs. It is apparent that youth who reported engaging in any one of these particular types of misconduct within the month were also somewhat more likely to have been involved in the others, but the relationships were not particularly strong and clusters of behaviors did not emerge.

At the institutional level of analysis, however, some of these behaviors were more strongly related. In Table 4.6, in which the significant product moment correlations between the proportions of youth in the sixteen institutions involved in these types of misconduct are compared, some of the relation-

ships are strong. For example, there were correlations of .81 between the institutional rates of hitting staff and fighting youth and .80 between drug use and property damage.

TABLE 4.6 ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX OF MISCONDUCT VARIABLES (INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL ANALYSIS)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feigned Illness | - | | | | .54* | .49* | .57* |
| Used Drugs | | - | | | .80** | | |
| Absconded | | | - | | | | .49* |
| Stole | | | | - | .78** | .74** | .70** |
| Damaged Property | | | | | - | .63** | .71** |
| Hit Staff | | | | | | - | .81** |
| Fought Youth | | | | | | | - |

The analysis is based on the rates of involvement in the types of misconduct across the 16 programs.

* Significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .01 level or less

Institutions with higher proportions of youth involved in fighting other youth were also likely to have higher rates of assaults on staff, property damage, internal theft, feigning of illness, and absconding. In fact, the institutional rates of fighting were strongly associated with their rates of all other types of misconduct except the use of drugs. These are, of course, ecological correlations implying only that institutions having a higher incidence of one behavior tend to have higher rates of the other behaviors. One certainly cannot

conclude that the same youth are involved in these different types of misconduct on the basis of these correlations.

Since the present analysis is centered on individual-level explanations of misconduct, we cannot rely on ecological correlations for the construction of a typology of misconduct. At the individual-level of analysis, the techniques of factor analysis, cluster analysis, and Guttman scaling were used to uncover empirical groupings of behavior but they proved to be unrewarding. The Coefficient of Reproducibility of .376 on the Guttman scale indicated that these items did not compose a unidimensional, cumulative index.

As Hirschi pointed out, assumptions of unidimensionality or clustering of the items of misconduct are not necessary in developing explanations of the phenomena.

> "A theory purporting to explain a variety of delinquent acts does not necessarily assume they are strongly related to each other. Thus petty theft may or may not be related to vandalism: given the opportunity to commit an act of vandalism, the theory suggests, the person currently committing petty thefts is more likely to succumb, as common sense holds. But no relation like that suggested by Reiss is required or supposed: 'An adolescent boy or girl who is arrested for stealing almost always has also violated sexual norms, and the reverse is usually the case as well.'" (Hirschi, 1972, p. 54)

Moreover, we are not alone in failing to find patterns of offenses. Martin Gold, in his comprehensive study of the delinquent behavior of teenagers in Flint, Michigan also found that no typology of offenses could be derived.

> "We tried to determine if we could say with reasonable reliability that a youngster who committed one kind of offense was more likely to commit a certain other offense rather than other offenses in general...No typology of offenses emerged...According to these

> data, Flint youngsters simply did not specialize. Among the 100 most delinquent of them, the fewest different varieties of offenses committed by any one was four, and there were only five youngsters of the 100 who committed as few as four kinds. Even among these five, their offenses were so varied -- assault and theft, impulsive and calculated, minor and serious -- as to defy typing." (Gold, 1970, p. 33)

Because we were unable to develop a specialized typology of offenses, separate measures of each type of misconduct as well as a summary scale of the serious incidents were constructed. The summary scale was based on self-reported involvement in six out of the seven questionnaire items; feigned illness was excluded both because it may not really be considered misconduct at all and also because most staff in all programs regarded it as not serious.

## The Frequency of Self-Reported Institutional Misconduct

In order to describe the incidence of misconduct in our institutional sample, two dimensions were developed. The first dimension is a simple rate of participation, based on the proportion of youth who admitted any involvement in each of the acts of misconduct during the one month period. The second dimension is based on the frequency of such participation, in which the original response categories were transformed into the following scores: "Never" was scored as 0, "Once or twice" was scored as 1, "Three to ten times" was scored as 3, and "Ten or more times" was scored as 10. This scoring procedure produces a conservative estimate of the frequency of misconduct. Both dimensions were developed for each of the types of misconduct, as well as for the summary of all serious misconduct. In Table 4.7, both the proportion

TABLE 4.7 AVERAGE FREQUENCY AND PROPORTION OF YOUTH INVOLVED IN ACTS OF MISCONDUCT, BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Type of Misconduct | Compliance/Management Type<br>Custodial<br>N=554-565 | Utilitarian<br>N=304-306 | Participatory<br>N=449-455 | Total<br>N=1308-1326 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feigned Illness | | | | |
| Average Frequency | .37 | .54 | .34 | .53 |
| Proportion Involved | 24% | 26% | 26% | 25% |
| Used Illegal Drugs | | | | |
| Average Frequency | 1.25 | 1.27 | 1.14 | 1.22 |
| Proportion Involved | 34% | 39% | 27% | 33% |
| Absconded | | | | |
| Average Frequency | .19 | .28 | .14 | .20 |
| Proportion Involved | 16% | 21% | 12% | 16% |
| Stole Things | | | | |
| Average Frequency | .88 | .48 | .46 | .64 |
| Proportion Involved | 35% | 24% | 20% | 27% |
| Damaged Property | | | | |
| Average Frequency | .76 | .73 | .45 | .65 |
| Proportion Involved | 37% | 37% | 24% | 32% |
| Hit Staff Members | | | | |
| Average Frequency | .30 | .13 | .21 | .23 |
| Proportion Involved | 15% | 9% | 9% | 11% |
| Fought Youth | | | | |
| Average Frequency | 1.30 | 1.08 | .61 | 1.01 |
| Proportion Involved | 56% | 50% | 34% | 47% |
| Serious Misconduct | | | | |
| Average Frequency | 4.66 | 3.96 | 3.00 | 3.93 |
| Proportion Involved | 80% | 81% | 63% | 74% |

| | Average Frequency Analysis of Variance, F ratio, Degrees of Freedom, Significance | Chi Square of Proportion Involved, Degrees of Freedom and Significance |
|---|---|---|
| Feigned Illness | .34656, 1320 d.f. NS | .37278, 2 d.f. NS |
| Used Drugs | .23543, 1307 d.f. NS | 11.790, 2 d.f. p=.003 |
| Absconded | 4.3084, 1320 d.f. p=.003 | 11.371, 2 d.f. p=.002 |
| Stole Things | 8.3487, 1322 d.f. p=.0002 | 31.171, 2 d.f. p=.0000 |
| Damaged Property | 5.0396, 1320 d.f. p=.007 | 24.752, 2 d.f. p=.0000 |
| Hit Staff | 2.6847, 1319 d.f. NS | 10.730, 2 d.f. p=.005 |
| Fought Youth | 14.304, 1319 d.f. p=.0000 | 47.731, 2 d.f. p=.0000 |
| Serious Misconduct | 11.470, 1325 d.f. p=.0000 | 46.533, 2 d.f. p=.0000 |

of youth involved and the average frequency of the acts are shown for each of the three types of institutions in our study.

The most frequent self-reported acts of misconduct were fighting and the use of illegal drugs,and the most infrequent were instances of absconding and assaults on staff. The youth in our sample as a whole reported an average of at least one incident of drug use and of fighting within the one month period. Despite the fact that the scoring procedures for this measure provide conservative estimates of misconduct, we can clearly see that these acts occur with some frequency. The 1326 respondents reported an average of 3.93 incidents of serious misconduct within the one month period. Of course the summary measure of serious misconduct underestimates the total volume of such activity since only a fraction of the possible types of deviance and delinquency are included.

Fighting was not only a relatively frequent activity, it involved nearly half of the youth in the sampled institutions. Forty-seven percent of the youth reported that they had fought other youth at least once in the four week period. About a third of the youth admitted using drugs and damaging property during that time. Very few youth were actually involved in assaults on staff or in running away. Overall, however, nearly three-fourths of the youth (74 percent) reported being involved in at least one act of serious misconduct within the institution during the four week period. Only four youth reported engaging in every act of misconduct and this

was less than one percent of the sample.

There are some consistent differences among the three types of institutions in both the frequency and pervasiveness of serious misconduct. Absconding was both more frequent and involved a larger proportion of the youth in utilitarian programs than in the other two types, and this pattern was similar though weaker for drug use. On the other hand, custodial programs had higher rates of internal theft, staff assaults, and fighting than the other two types of institutions. Participatory programs had considerably lower rates of drug use, absconding, property damage, staff assaults, and fighting than the other program types. Over eighty percent of the youth in custodial and utilitarian programs had at least some involvement in serious misconduct, but this was true of only 63 percent of the youth in participatory programs. Custodial programs had an average of almost five incidents and utilitarian programs had an average of nearly four incidents of serious misconduct per youth in one month. Participatory programs had an average of only three incidents of serious misconduct per youth. The differences between the three types of programs both in the frequency and proportion of youth involved in acts of serious misconduct are highly significant statistically.

As we noted in the description of the institutions within each of the three compliance types in Chapter Two, the utilitarian type contained a few programs which were somewhat less isolated and more open to the community than any other institutions in the sample. The higher rates of absconding and

slightly higher rates of drug usage in utilitarian programs might have been a function of greater opportunity for community contacts in these settings. It is interesting to note that despite the degree of regimentation and staff concern about order and discipline in custodial settings, they have a much higher rate of serious acts of misconduct than the more relaxed participatory programs. In the following chapters we will examine in more depth differences among the three types of programs which may contribute to these differences in self-reported misconduct, including characteristics of their clientele, the degree of alienation and deprivation experienced by youth, and the kinds of control mechanisms they characteristically use.

The four-week period which served as the frame of reference for self-reported misconduct may, of course, have been atypical in one or more of the institutions. In order to compare that period with the "usual month," if there is such a thing, we asked youth to tell us how many times they had absconded since they had been in the program. We divided the total number of AWOLS by the number of months they had been in the program to get an approximation of the average number of runs per month. Across all institutions, youth ran away an average of .214 times during a "usual" four week period, as opposed to an average of .196 times in the month preceding the field visit. Since the frequency calculated for the last month was a more conservative estimate than that for a "usual month" these rates are quite similar.

The differences between the preceding month and the averaged months of stay were generally very small for youth who were present during the questionnaire administration. This does not, of course, mean that there weren't significant fluctuations from month to month in these programs which were masked by averaging the rates over the entire period of time. In comparing the program rates, we were reassured by the findings of comprehensive studies of absconding which showed that schools with high runaway rates at one time tend to have similarly high rates at another time (Clarke and Martin, 1971). It is important to remember, however, that these rates were based only on the self-reports of youth who returned to the program either voluntarily or involuntarily and were accepted back. Therefore, programs may differ in the proportion of actual runaway youth who were queried by our instruments.

There are, as far as we know, no studies with which we can compare our self-reported runaway rates because of variations in measurement techniques and the period of time studied. Most previous research used official records to calculate runaway rates of youth over their entire period of institutionalization, and many of them used quite different definitions of running away.

Street, Vinter and Perrow used official records in six juvenile institutions to show that the proportion of boys who had run away at least once at the time of the field visit ranged from ten to fifty percent. Of course there was no control for the length of time youth had been in these programs

and there were clear differences in both the reliability of the records and the criteria used for recording runaway acts (Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966, p. 197).

Using a stricter definition, "any unauthorized leave of absence that lasted longer than 24 hours," Lubeck and Empey found very little difference in rates between an open, community oriented program and a closed total institution. They also used official records but reviewed them for the entire two and a half year period of the research project (Lubeck and Empey, 1971, pp. 213-214).

In a study of youth in delinquency programs operated by the New York State Division for Youth (DFY) between 1968 and 1971, Chase found that the proportion who absconded _permanently_ from these facilities averaged 12-16 percent of the population a year. She concedes that this definition limits the number of youth studied much more drastically than the definitions employed in most other studies, but adds:

> "In DFY programs, such occasional abscondings are not recorded as research statistics" (Chase, 1975, p. 194).

Comprehensive studies in Great Britain by Clarke and Martin found that thirty-nine percent of a sample of boys admitted to training schools during 1963 and 57 percent of a sample of girls admitted between 1963 and 1967 absconded at least once, but these figures were:

> "...slight underestimates of the true percentages of absconding, particularly for the sample of girls, because the followups did not cover the whole of the training period for some of the subjects" (Clarke and Martin, 1971, p. 9).

Official runaway records only contain the incidents of "successful" escapes,but self-reports probably also include a variety of thwarted attempts which are handled as disciplinary offenses within the institution but which are not recorded. We thus expected to find higher rates of self-reported running than would be contained on official records. In the few programs where official records were accessible, this was indeed the case.

We found it impossible to compare the self-reports of youth regarding activities other than absconding with those contained in other studies because the few that contained any descriptive material either had dissimilar time periods or incongruent measures of misconduct.

As we noted earlier in the chapter, there were differences in which misconduct behaviors were primarily solitary or collective activities.[8] Although most youth reported group participation in using drugs, absconding, fighting and damaging property, other behaviors such as internal theft and assaults on staff were slightly more likely to be solitary in nature. We found very few differences among the three types of institutions in the extent to which particular types of behavior were individual or collective activities. Fighting was somewhat more often a collective incident and involved a slightly larger number of youth on the average in participatory programs than in the other types. However, internal theft and acts of property damage were more often solitary activities in participatory programs than in the other two program types. There

was no evidence that custodial programs had more collective incidents of misconduct than the other kinds of programs. In general, these differences were only minor and insignificant across the program types.

## Summary

In this study institutional misconduct is based on the self-reports of youth about their participation in seven types of behavior: the feigning of illness, the use of illegal drugs, absconding from the program, internal theft, damaging property, assaults on staff, and fights with other youth. Youth were asked to indicate the frequency of their involvement in these activities during a four week period immediately preceding the questionnaire administration.

All of these behaviors, except feigning of illness, were considered at least somewhat serious by staff members in all of the sampled programs; yet official disciplinary records of these behaviors were, for the most part, inaccurate, incomplete or nonexistent. The self-reports of misconduct behavior were compared to the staff reports by cottage as a validity check. However the response rates of staff to these items were quite low,and there was considerable disagreement among staff within the same living units regarding the amount of misconduct they felt had occurred within the same month. In the majority of cottages, staff disagreed in their reports of the number of youth involved in specific acts of misconduct.

The substantial amount of disagreement among staff in

their estimates of the numbers of youth involved in each type of misbehavior alerted us to the problems involved in using these data for our analysis,as well as to the general problem in attributing any validity to staff nominations of institutional delinquents. Staff consistently estimated that fewer youth were involved in misconduct than we learned from self-reports. This was most pronounced in the case of illegal drug use, where in over ninety percent of the cottages there were higher proportions of youth admitting drug use than staff estimated. The discrepancies between youth and staff reports occurred regardless of the compliance/management style of the institution, the seriousness of the particular offense, or the extent to which the acts were individual or collective in nature. However, there is some evidence that staff in custodial programs were even more unaware of the number of youth who had feigned illness, assaulted other staff, fought youth, and used drugs than staff in the other two types of programs. Moreover, the "group hazard hypothesis" was rejected since we found that the incidents which were most often collective were more often unknown to staff than incidents which were typically committed alone.

An effort was made to construct a typology of misconduct offenses using empirically derived clusters but there were no striking patterns of behavior that emerged at an individual level of analysis. Instead, separate measures of each type of misconduct, as well as a summary scale of serious misconduct, were developed.

Seventy-four percent of the youth admitted involvement

in at least one act of serious misconduct but less than one percent were involved in every one of the behaviors. The average youth had been involved in serious misconduct of one type or another about four times in the period of one month. The most frequent and pervasive offenses within the institution were fighting, drug use, and property damage. Almost half of the youth (47 percent) had been involved in at least one fight and a third of them had used drugs or damaged property. The most infrequent activities were assaults on staff and absconding,but over ten percent of the youth had engaged in these activities at least once in the four week period.

The three types of institutions had significant differences in the frequency of these self-reported behaviors. Absconding was slightly more common in utilitarian programs,as was drug use,but custodial programs had higher rates of internal theft, assaults on staff, and fighting. Participatory programs had significantly fewer incidents of serious misconduct, including drug use, absconding, property damage, assaults on staff, and fighting,than the other two programs. In fact, over a third of the youth in participatory programs reported no involvement in serious misconduct within the month, but this was true of only twenty percent of youth in either custodial or utilitarian programs.

Although there were differences in the types of misconduct that most often occurred among groups of youth, in general most misconduct was collective in nature. Drug use was

the most group-oriented of the activities, with eighty-five percent of the participants reporting that they had an average of four to five companions. Three-fourths of the absconders were not alone when they ran; in fact, they had an average of two or three companions. The compliance/management style of the institution was not strongly associated with the individual versus collective nature of these activities. Fighting was somewhat more often a group phenomenon in participatory programs, but in these same programs, internal theft and acts of property damage were more often committed alone than in the other two program types.

In the chapters that follow, we will explore three explanatory models of institutional misconduct, using measures discussed in this chapter. The average frequency of each particular behavior, as well as the summary measure of the frequency of serious misconduct, will be used as separate dependent variables throughout the analysis in order to look for possible differences in the efficacy of the three models in explaining particular types of misconduct.

FOOTNOTES

1. Notable exceptions to this general tendency include the following studies: Ronald Akers, Norman Hayner and Werner Gruninger, "Homosexual and Drug Behavior in Prison: A Test of the Functional and Importation Models of the Inmate System," Social Problems, 21 (3), 1974, pp. 410-422; Thomas E. Allen, "Patterns of Escape and Self-Destructive Behavior in a Correctional Institution," Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Social Therapy, (15), 1969. pp. 50-58; T.C. Cambareri, P.S. Sagers and D.F. Tatton, "The AWOL From a Juvenile Institution," Crime and Delinquency, 6 (4), 1960, pp. 275-278; Mary M. Chase, "The Impact of Correctional Programs: Absconding," in Rudolf Moos (Editor) Evaluating Correctional and Community Settings, Wiley Interscience, New York, 1975, pp. 186-206; R.V.G. Clarke and D.N. Martin, Absconding from Approved Schools, A Home Office Research Unit Report, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1971; Albert K. Cohen, George F. Cole and Robert G. Bailey, Prison Violence, Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1976; R. Coleman, "Racial Differences in Runaways," Psychological Reports, 22 (1), 1968, pp. 321-322; James E. Cowden, "Predicting Institutional Adjustment and Recidivism in Delinquent Boys," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 57 (1), 1966, pp. 39-44; Patrick J. Driscoll, "Factors Related to the Institutional Adjustment of Prison Inmates," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 47, 1952, pp. 593-596; LaMar Empey and Steven G. Lubeck, The Silverlake Experiment: Testing Delinquency Theory and Community Intervention, Aldine, Chicago, 1971; Frank H. Farley and Sonja V. Farley, "Stimulus-Seeking Motivation and Delinquent Behavior Among Institutionalized Delinquent Girls," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 39, 1972, pp. 94-97; Barry C. Feld, Neutralizing Inmate Violence: Juvenile Offenders in Institutions, Ballinger, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1977; Charles A. Ford, "Homosexual Practices of Institutionalized Females," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 23, 1929, pp. 442-449; Rose Giallombardo, Society of Women: A Study of Women's Prison, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1966; Rose Giallombardo, The Social World of Imprisoned Girls: A Comparative Study of Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, Wiley Interscience, New York, 1974; H.J. Grosz, H. Stern and E. Feldman, "A Study of Delinquent Girls Who Participated in and Who Abstained from Participating in a Riot," American Journal of Psychiatry, 125 (10), 1969, pp. 1370-1379; Seymour L. Halleck and Marvin Hersko, "Homosexual Behavior in a Correctional Institution for Delinquent Girls," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 32, 1962, pp. 911-917; A.C. Horsch and R.A. Davis, "Personality Traits and Conduct of Institutionalized Delinquents," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police

*Science*, 29, 1938, pp. 241-244; Robert Johnson, *Culture and Crisis in Confinement*, Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1976; Theodore Newcomb , "Youth to Youth," in Robert Vinter (Editor), *Time Out: A National Study of Juvenile Correctional Programs*, National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976, pp. 80-101; Howard W. Polsky, *Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment*, Russell Sage, New York, 1962; Alice Propper, "Importation and Deprivation Perspectives on Homosexuality in Correctional Institutions: An Empirical Test of their Relative Efficacy," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1976; Phyllis Ann Rochelle, "A Study of the Social System of an Institution for Adolescent Delinquent Girls," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1965; John R. Snortum, Thomas E. Hannum and David H. Mills, "The Relationship of Self Concept and Parent Image to Rule Violations in a Women's Prison," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 26 (3), 1970, pp. 284-287; Alan C. Straus and Robert Sherwin, "Inmate Rioters and Nonrioters: A Comparative Analysis," *American Journal of Correction*, 37 (3), 1975, pp. 34-35; David Street, Robert Vinter and Charles Perrow, *Organization for Treatment: A Comparative Study of Institutions for Delinquents*, Free Press, New York, 1966; David A. Ward and Gene G. Kassebaum, *Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure*, Aldine, Chicago, 1965; Thomas P. Wilson, "Some Effects of Different Patterns of Management in Inmate Behavior in a Correctional Institution," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University, 1965; Latham T. Winfree, Jr.,"Anomie, Alienation, and Rebellion: A Sociological Study of Rebellion in Two Institutions for Juvenile Offenders," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Montana, 1976; Marvin E. Wolfgang, "Quantitative Analysis of Adjustment to the Prison Community," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 31, 1961, pp. 607-618; Benjamin S. Wood, Jr., Gordon G. Wilson, Richard Jessor and Joseph B. Bogan, "Trouble-making Behavior in a Correctional Institution: Relationship to Inmates' Definition of their Situation," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 36, 1966, pp. 795-802.

2. For example, Goffman differentiated secondary adjustments into two categories: disruptive and contained. Disruptive adjustments were ones "where the realistic intentions of the participants are to abandon the organization or radically alter its structure, in either case leading to a rupture in the smooth operation of the organization." Contained ones are those "which fit into existing institutional structures without introducing pressure for radical change and may deflect efforts that might otherwise be disruptive." (Goffman, 1961, pp. 188-207) These distinctions are mirrored in the more recent work of Polsky (1962), Empey and Newland (1968) and Winfree (1976)

among others.

3. Two of the studies using self-reports came from the same data base used in this analysis (Newcomb, 1976; Propper, 1976). The only other study which used self-reports to any extent was The Silverlake Experiment (Empey and Lubeck, 1971).

4. The actual wording of these items was as follows: pretended to be sick, used illegal drugs, run away from here, stolen something here, damaged property, hit a staff member, fought with youth here. In addition, youth were asked to report the number of times they had stolen something somewhere else, but this was omitted from our present analysis because we were only interested in institutional misconduct. The use of local argot in defining these behaviors was avoided in the interests of standardization.

5. We are aware that there are several limitations in understanding misconduct using such a short time period. There are a few studies indicating substantial irregularities and fluctuations in rates of institutional misconduct from month to month (Clarke and Martin, 1971; Wilson, 1965) which make comparisons of monthly rates across institutions subject to criticism. Some of the behaviors in question may be so infrequent that a longer time period is needed to get enough cases for systemmatic analyses. Moreover, we know of no other study using this time frame so that comparison with past research is made even more difficult. Yet, we are reasonably confident that this short-term measure of delinquent behavior was an accurate and representative estimate of the amount of these types of behaviors in which youth engaged at the time of our visit.

6. The actual question, containing a variety of behaviors along with the ones we have used in this analysis, was:

   Some kinds of behavior are more undesirable, other kinds are less so. Please rate how serious you consider the following behavior youth here might engage in by circling the number representing the degree of seriousness. (Assume that up to now the youth you are rating has made a fairly good adjustment and has not caused too many problems).

| | Very Serious | Somewhat Serious | Not Very Serious | Not Serious |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| a. Refusing to do school assignments | | | | |

b. Pretending to be sick

c. Swearing or using obscene language

d. Not keeping his personal things in order

e. Refusing to participate in counseling sessions

f. Hurting oneself on purpose

g. Starting a fight with other youth

h. Running away

i. Engaging in homosexual behavior

j. Refusing to obey orders

k. Using drugs here

l. Hitting a staff member here

m. Stealing something here

7. This finding is similar to research results of Empey and Lubeck (1971) and Gold (1970) who also found that stealing was usually done alone.

8. Gold asserted that teenagers more often committed those kinds of offenses in which they would not be alone, so offenses ranking high on frequency were usually also higher in companionship (Gold, 1970, pp. 83-84). We do not find this to be a consistent pattern in the present data. Although drug use and fighting are both the most frequent and collective incidents, the pattern does-not hold for other offenses such as absconding which is usually high in companionship but relatively infrequent.

# INMATE MISCONDUCT IN JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

VOLUME II

by
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CHAPTER V

# THE IMPORTATION PERSPECTIVE ON INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT

The explanation of differences in the attitudes and behaviors of inmates within the same setting has been pursued with most vigor by theorists, commonly labeled "importationists" (Irwin and Cressey, 1962; Heffernan, 1972; Schrag, 1961). Contending that similarly situated inmates adapt and behave differently, they attribute these differences to variations in preprison experiences, behaviors, values, social identities and roles, and other factors external to the immediate situation in which the inmates find themselves. The adaptive devices used by prisoners, the attitudes they express to staff and other inmates, and their institutional behaviors are determined largely by long-standing personality patterns, criminalistic involvements, and values which are "imported" into this new situation.

The clearest statements of this position have been labeled "direct importation models" (Cline, 1968; Thomas and Foster, 1972). Rather than considering all individual characteristics as importation variables, they limit the model to prior involvements in a "criminalistic subculture" believed to be brought into the institution. As Cline proposes:

> "The first model (direct importation) states that the extent to which the inmate society promotes values in opposition to staff depends upon the inmates' degree of experience and integration into criminal value systems prior to incarceration. It is based on the assumption that inmates bring into institutions the same values they upheld outside them. Inside prison, these values take the form of oppo-

sition to the legally constituted authority of the institution" (Cline, 1968, p. 174).

Sociologists, using the direct importation perspective, tend to focus on membership in lower class subcultures, criminal subcultures, and the subculture of violence (Miller, 1958; Wellford, 1967; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967)as well as on previous offense history (Heffernan, 1972; Schrag, 1961) and correctional history (Wolfgang, 1961; Cline, 1968) as the major determinants. But the psychological tradition emphasizes the continuation of basic personality patterns and characteristic reactions to stress and anxiety as predictive of institutional adaptations. As Rubenfeld states:

> "...many of the antisocial behaviors emerging as culture patterns among the clients are a continuation of defensive, maladaptive acting-out by the child who hates; in the same way as he did before he proceeds in the institution to ward off the tensions and anxieties generated by diffuse fears about his basic wishes toward other people, by the deprived and exploited experiences which haunt him and which deprive him of a solid core of self-respect" (Rubenfeld, 1960, p. 5).

Both the sociological and psychological approaches are related in the sense that they focus on direct and immediate "causes" of prisonization, inmate cultures, and misbehavior. In the direct importation model these modes of institutional adaptation are simply continuations of long-standing patterns and values.

In contrast to these "direct importation" perspectives, there are a variety of theoretical and empirical approaches we shall label as "indirect importation models." Although this term has not been used in the literature and these ap-

proaches have not been discussed as distinct types, they appear to be fundamentally different from those discussed earlier. Indirect importation models attempt to link ascribed characteristics such as race, sex, age, social class of family, and family structure as well as achieved characteristics such as education to institutional adaptations. Usually, these sociodemographic characteristics are linked to institutional behavior through an implied intervening variable such as pre-prison experiences but usually there is no attempt to test this intervening relationship. For example, a number of researchers have compared the inmate social systems of males and females and have concluded that the observed differences are due to differences in the roles and statuses of the sexes in American society. They believe that differences in cultural expectations for men and women are injected into the institutional situation and direct and focus the inmate system. Cultural prescriptions apparently act to differentiate male and female prisons such that the inmate system in male prisons is characteristically large collective groupings while in female prisons it is composed of homosexual dyads interacting through a system of make-believe families (Ford, 1929; Giallombardo, 1966 and 1974; Halleck and Hersko, 1962; Selling, 1931; Tittle, 1969; and Ward and Kassebaum, 1965). As Giallombardo theorizes:

> "General features of the cultural definitions and content of male and female roles in American society are brought into the prison setting, and they function to determine the direction and focus of the inmate cultural system. They are the features concerned with the orientation of life goals for males

> and females; cultural definitions of passivity and aggression; acceptability of public expression of affection displayed toward a member of the same sex; and perception of the same sex with respect to the 'popular' culture -- that is, the stereotype of women as untrustworthy and self-oriented because of her orientation to the marriage market" (Giallombardo, 1974, p. 3).

Implied differences in the pre-prison experiences and behaviors of males and females with members of their own sex are assumed to determine the form and character of the inmate social system in the institution. But in most of these studies, there is no empirical evidence of actual differences in the pre-prison experiences, values, or behaviors of males and females and no effort is made to link these intervening variables with institutional adaptations directly.

In other "indirect importation" studies, racial differences in the incidence of certain forms of institutional misconduct are assumed to reflect differences in the pre-prison subcultures of blacks, whites and chicanos but no efforts are made to test these assumptions. Differences in the average age of youth upon entering the program are presumed to be associated with the incidence of institutional misbehavior because youth committed at younger ages may be more criminally sophisticated or vice versa but again these assumptions are usually not subjected to extensive study.

Similarly, the social class background of youth is often hypothesized to determine the involvement in aggressive and violent institutional delinquency because these patterns are imported into the new setting from pre-prison participation in a subculture of violence. But there are few instances

where these assumed relationships are actually tested. Moreover, much of the recent self-report research on the relationship of social class and delinquency casts doubt on this assumption (Gold, 1970; Gold and Reimer, 1975).

Not only are sociodemographic characteristics of inmates linked in indirect and untested ways to institutional behavior and attitudes by most of these theorists, but they may not be indicative of processes of importation at all. Differences in the misconduct of males and females, of older and younger youth, of Blacks and whites, and lower and middle class youth could result from differences in actual institutional treatment rather than pre-prison differences. As Tittle noted:

> "Thus, the alleged prevalence of primary group alliances among female inmates (Ward and Kassebaum, 1975; Giallombardo, 1966) could be a reflection of differences in deprivations stemming from the more ameliorative environment of female prisons rather than the than the result of the supposed differential needs associated with female roles" (Tittle, 1972, p. 3).

Unless the individual characteristics of inmates are actually linked to pre-prison experiences and behaviors which are then associated with institutional misconduct, we cannot consider them as evidence of exclusive support for an importation model. Race, sex, age, social class and other characteristics of inmates may also be associated with differential institutional treatment and/or different perceptions of the same institutional treatment and could thus easily be used in defense of the "Deprivation" model as well.

In this chapter we will describe each of these importa-

tion indicators and the ways in which they vary across the three types of institutions. Correlations between each of them and types of institutional misconduct will also be presented, as well as the results of multiple regression analyses, using all of the variables.

Before turning to the sociodemographic characteristics of youth and other importation variables used in this analysis, we will discuss two variables used in other studies, which were not replicated in the present one: intelligence and personality.

Intelligence

In previous studies of a variety of types of institutional misconduct there have been several attempts to link scores on IQ tests and differences in educational levels of inmates to the incidence and frequency of these acts. Most of the studies comparing runaways with nonrunaways found no significant differences in intelligence or education (Gunasekara, 1963; Keogh, 1935; Clarke and Martin, 1971). However, in one study of the files of 96 consecutive admissions in one year to Wellesley senior nautical training school in England, absconders were found to more frequently have IQ's above 115 or below 80 than non absconders (Brierley and Jones, unpublished). In the other study comparing a random sample of 34 boys who ran from an Illinois state training school during 1958 with a matched sample of paroled boys who had no history of running away, Levine found no significant differences in the full-scale scores on the revised Beta Intelligence Test. But on two of the tests (Maze and Comparisons) the two groups dif-

fered significantly with the average score of the runaways being in the dull-normal range and the parolees scoring within the average range (Levine, 1962).

Studies of overall adjustment to prison conditions as operationalized by disciplinary violations have found no significant relationships with either intelligence or educational levels (Snortun, et. al. 1970; Wolfgang, 1961) and a comparative study of seven U.S. prisons found that average educational levels were so similar that they could not explain variations in either drug use or homosexual behavior (Akers, Hayner and Gruninger, 1974).

In a study of participation in a riot at the Indiana Girls School, rioters were found to be more intelligent than nonrioters. Despite the fact that official records provided I.Q. scores on only about half of the girls studied, the researchers concluded:

> "The rioters would appear to have been the more intelligent of the two. Sixty eight percent of the rioters scored above 100, as compared with 56 percent of the nonrioters" (Grosz, et. al. 1969, p. 1373).

We have no way of assessing the actual relationship between intelligence level and misconduct behavior in the present study since we did not administer I.Q. tests and we did not search the official records of youth for this information. In previous studies a variety of intelligence tests have been used and they were administered under different conditions, at times by the researchers themselves, but most often under unknown sets of circumstances. The variety of standard-

ized tests and the diversity of test conditions to which youth in juvenile institutions are subjected precluded any accurate comparisons of the intelligence tests of youth in our sample based on material contained in their files. We also believe that many of the discrepancies noted in previous studies may be a function of problems in using particular types of I.Q. tests or I.Q. tests at all to measure intelligence of the kinds of youth placed in training schools.

Though we have information on the self-reported educational level of youth prior to their incarceration, we do not feel that this adequately indicates the level of learning or intelligence of youth in our sample. Because grade placement is so clearly a function of other factors than actual acquisition of knowledge in many schools, and because many of the youth in our sample had in fact been continually truant from school prior to their commitment, their educational level can be a misleading indicator.

Personality and Psychological Disturbance

The characterization of disruptive and delinquent youth as psychologically disturbed is quite common among staff and administrators in correctional programs. Their efforts to control the incidence of misconduct are often based on the assumption that "troubled" youth are institutional "troublemakers" and these views are shared by many researchers closely connected with these settings. Three staff members of the Utah State Industrial School (a clinical psychologist, director of group living, and the assistant superintendent), in a

"study" of the runaway problem, made this not atypical observation:

> "We decided that the AWOL is a student with many inner personal conflicts, and in conflict socially with his group as well as with persons representing authority" (Cambareri, et. al., 1960, p. 276).

The results of numerous studies using personality ratings and standardized tests are not so conclusive. Personality ratings of youth by staff or experimenter have been used in many of the studies which found differences between absconders and nonabsconders (Chernuchin, 1957; Gunasekara, 1963) and between adjusted and maladjusted youth (Cowden, 1966). Psychiatric diagnosis, particularly of psychopathology was found to be more common among absconders by Brierley and Jones (1961). As Clarke and Martin correctly point out, however, these ratings and diagnoses were probably contaminated through knowledge of which boys were absconders or "institutionally maladjusted" (Clarke and Martin, 1971). Quite clearly staff in these programs, however, believed absconders to be different from nonabsconders in basic personality traits and for this reason may well have treated them differently. The characterization of "persistent absconders" in one of these studies gives us some of the contents of these labels:

> "More than 75 percent of the persistent absconders were of limited social capacity, were 'affectionless' were persistent thieves, solitary and withdrawn, had no cultural interests, were unable to make stable relationships, were impulsive to a marked degree, were highly immature, had low frustration tolerance..." (Gunasekara, 1963).

Research devoted to probing the psyches of inmates by means of standardized tests have produced some contradictory results. Using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) given to inmates at the time of admission, officially recognized rule violations were found to be positively related to the Pd and Ma scales at the Iowa State Women's Reformatory (Snortun, et. al., 1970). They also found that rule violations were associated with self ratings of these women on scales measuring destructive potential, asocial narcissism and emotional discomfort, and stated that:

> "The data suggest that a disturbed relationship with the mother figure may be more instrumental than negative feelings toward the father in the development of incorrigible behavior within a correctional institution for women" (Snortum, et. al., 1970, p. 286).

Another study of the men in the Waupun State Prison in Wisconsin, however, also used the MMPI in relation to bad conduct reports received by them and found that inmates judged as showing poor adjustment in prison appeared more "normal" on the MMPI. In this research:

> "When the rated adjustment of the prison inmate is compared with personality inventory scores obtained shortly after incarceration, it is observed that individuals judged to be most maladjusted in prison display, in comparison to the better adjusted prisoners, significantly lower scores on the Depression, Masculinity-Femininity, and Paranoid scales...On all scales of this inventory, except the Hypochondriasis and Hypomania scales the inmates judged as maladjusted secure lower scores than those judged as being best adjusted in prison" (Driscoll, 1952, p. 595).

Unless we honestly believe that "disturbed" women break rules but that "disturbed" men conform to them, we must view these

studies as somewhat contradictory, since they used the same personality tests and the same general methods of measuring institutional misconduct.

One of the earliest studies (1938) of this type used the Bernreuter Personality Inventory as administered to 152 inmates of a Colorado State Industrial School and to 181 inmates in the Colorado State Reformatory. They found, as did Driscoll, that misbehavior tended to be associated with positive personality traits, such as self-confidence, dominance, emotional stability, and extroversion. Their findings seem to indicate that:

> "...the self-confident, dominant, well adjusted, 'thick-skinned' individual is more likely to run counter to institutional discipline than the self-conscious, submissive, and emotionally unstable individual. His degree of sociability, however, appears to have little bearing on his ability to adapt himself to institutional procedures. It is probable that inmates possessing these trait characteristics submit less readily to rules and regulations and consequently seek whatever means there are at their disposal to assert themselves. The results further point to the possibility that institutional facilities are inadequate for providing constructive outlets for delinquents with qualities of initiative and leadership" (Horsch and Davis, 1938, p. 244).

It is interesting to compare the different interpretations of the same personality traits by different authors. Horsch and Davis, as well as Driscoll, view traits of initiative, leadership and confidence as positive but other authors such as Grosz, Stern and Feldman view them in quite a different light. Following a riot at the Indiana Girls School in 1966, these authors sought to determine whether personality scores on the High School Personality Questionnaire which had

been administered some weeks before were associated with participation in the riot (as determined by the classification committee of the Girls' School). Despite serious methodological flaws in the research, the authors found significant differences in the average scores of rioters and nonrioters on 4 of the 14 personality factors in the Questionnaire. On these dimensions the nonrioters presented themselves as more obedient, mild, and conforming; more sober, prudent, serious and taciturn; more conscientious, persevering, staid and rule bound; and finally, as more controlled, socially precise, self-disciplined and compulsive. Using these dimensions, the authors portrayed the rioters in these negative terms:

> "...excessively assertive, aggressive, and stubborn; excessively expedient, prone to evade rules, and prone to feel few obligations; and excessively inclined to follow their own urges and to be careless of protocol" (Grosz, et. al., 1969, p. 1375).

In a study at the Wisconsin School for Girls, the delinquent behaviors occurring in one cottage (escape attempts, disobedience, fighting and tatooing) were related to individual differences in stimulus-seeking, as measured by the Sensation-Seeking Scale. They found that girls high in stimulation-seeking were found to have significantly more escape attempts, more frequent punishment for disobedience, and more frequent instances of fighting than girls low in stimulation-seeking (Farley and Farley, 1972). Another study comparing distinctive psychological features of inmates who violate institutional norms found that half of the severe conduct vio-

lators were epileptic and also that the nonviolators were "better organized personally and appear to be at peace with themselves which might help them to be at peace with the system" (Truxal and Sabatino, 1972).

There are another series of studies of institutional populations which show no differences in personality profiles of adjusted and maladjusted inmates. Wolfgang found no differences in the adjustment of inmates committed to the Eastern State Penitentiary for first or second degree murder by their scores on the Woolworth Personality Inventory (Wolfgang, 1961). Aaron, using the Grygier Likes and Interests Test (1962) and Levine using the Segal Manifest Hostility Scale (1962) found no significant differences between runaways and nonrunaways. In perhaps the most comprehensive study using the Junior Maudsley Personality Inventory, Gibson's Spiral Maze, the Jesness Inventory, Cattell's High School Personality Questionnaire, and a version of Osgood's Semantic Differential, Clarke and Martin found no significant differences on any of the tests between absconders and nonabsconders. Moreover, there was no evidence that boys of a particular personality type (as measured by the Junior Eysenck Personality Inventory) abscond from certain schools while boys of another type abscond from other schools (Clarke and Martin, 1971).

There may be important differences in the types of misconduct that are associated with personality traits. Runaway behavior may not be closely associated with personality but other forms of misconduct may be more predictable by these

variables. Most of the studies previously cited, which have found no personality differences have looked at groups of absconders and nonabsconders but the more generalized examinations of misconduct have often found some evidence of these differences. In a study of critical incidents occurring over a two year period in the Silverlake Experiment, personality scales of the Jesness Personality Inventory accounted for thirty one percent of the variance and over two thirds (68 percent) of the total explained variance. However, personality factors were relatively weak predictors of runaway behavior, accounting for only between two and twenty two percent of the variance in the total institution and between two and seventeen percent of the variance in runaways at the Silverlake Experiment (Empey and Lubeck, 1971). The authors also noted that the importance of personality as a predictive variable for running away is dependent on the organizational structure.

> "When dramatic shifts occurred in the two institutions, the various measures of personality characteristics seemed to assume a greater predictive power. This was especially true at the experimental program. They seemed to reflect problems precipitated by structural changes" (Empey and Lubeck, 1971, p. 227).

Since our questionnaire contained no personality measures, we will be unable to deal with the perplexing problem of the interaction of personality and organizational variables in understanding misconduct of youth. We must be aware that youths' perceptions of the institution and their attitudes toward staff and other youth may be reflections of basic personality traits as well as of concrete experiences.

Gender

Though there is much speculation on the differences in institutional behaviors of girls and boys (Catalino, 1972; Knopka, 1966), we are aware of no research specifically designed to compare their involvement in misconduct. Tittle compared male and female inmates of a federal narcotics hospital and found that they organized themselves in distinct kinds of inmate structures. Women were collectively organized to a lesser extent than the men but were affiliated in primary groups to a greater extent (Tittle, 1972). But no examination was made of differences in delinquent acts in the hospital by men and women.

Because a number of studies of the juvenile delinquency of males and females concur on the fact that, in the community, girls seem to be less involved in serious delinquency than boys (Gold, 1970; Nye, 1958; Morris, 1965) we might expect to find that this holds true in institutional settings. Recent studies, however, suggest that some of these differences may be diminishing and that boys and girls may be almost equally involved in the use of drugs and liquor, running away from home, and the hitting of parents (Gold, 1970; Gold and Reimer, 1975).

The sex composition of the three types of programs in our sample varied considerably, as we mentioned earlier in Chapters Two and Three. Across all the institutions, females constituted only thirty one percent of the population. In custodial programs only one percent of the sample was female,

in utilitarian programs thirty-nine percent were female, but in participatory programs females comprised sixty two percent of the population. The sex of five youth was not known.

In Table 5.1 the average frequency of each type of self-reported misbehavior and the total serious misconduct of boys and girls is shown for the one month period.

TABLE 5.1 AVERAGE NUMBER OF MISCONDUCT INCIDENTS BY SEX IN ONE MONTH

| | Males $\bar{X}$ | Females $\bar{X}$ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pretending Illness | .645 | .419 | F=4.7855 1 d.f. Sig.=.0289 Eta=.0602 |
| Using Drugs | 1.283 | 1.072 | F=1.6534 1 d.f. NS Eta=.0356 |
| Running Away | .221 | .141 | F=5.5419 1 d.f. Sig.=.0187 Eta=.0648 |
| Stealing | .751 | .380 | F=11.668 1 d.f. Sig.=.0007 Eta=.0937 |
| Damaging Property | .742 | .433 | F=9.8392 1 d.f. Sig.=.0017 Eta=.0862 |
| Hitting Staff | .266 | .148 | F=3.3458 1 d.f. NS Eta=.0504 |
| Fighting Youth | 1.250 | .481 | F=40.984 1 d.f. Sig.=.0000 Eta=.1740 |
| Total Serious Misconduct | 4.477 | 2.644 | F=31.480 1 d.f. Sig.=.0000 Eta=.1527 |
| Number of Respondents | 902-916 | 401-405 | |

Girls reported less frequent involvement in all types of institutional misconduct than boys, including feigning of

illness. Differences between the sexes are particularly apparent in the degree of fighting, damaging property and stealing, as well as the cumulative amount of serious misconduct. Though most of the acts show statistically significant differences between boys and girls, the proportion of the variance in them explained by sex is very small, ranging from less than one to three percent.

Age

Most studies of institutional delinquency have reported age to be inversely related to misbehavior. Younger inmates either at the time of commitment to the prison and/or at the time of the research were more often involved in misconduct and with greater frequency than older inmates (Snortum, et. al., 1970; Driscoll, 1952; Wolfgang, 1961; Grosz et. al., 1969; Cowden, 1966; Akers et. al., 1974; Clarke and Martin, 1971; Bennett, 1976). Of course many of these studies were based on comparisons of youthful and adult offenders, rather than on smaller age differences within a juvenile population. Theories of maturation would predict that institutional offenses as well as other delinquent acts would decrease as youth "outgrow" these tendencies but whether or not this is true within the relatively narrow age range of our sample remains to be seen.

There are other possible explanations for the negative relationship between age and institutional delinquency found in previous research, apart from theories of maturation. First, youth who were committed to institutions at very young ages

may have had more serious histories of criminal acts and correctional experiences which were "imported" into the new setting. Secondly, younger youth may differ from older youth on other sociodemographic characteristics which produced a spurious association between age and misconduct. And of course, there is a strong possibility that younger youth were subjected to different institutional experiences than older youth (such as increased surveillance, less freedom and fewer privileges, and longer lengths of stay) which "caused" them to engage in more deviant activity.

Youth in our sample were asked to report their birthdate, and their age at the time of the field visit was then coded to the nearest whole year. We also asked youth how many months they had been in the program at the time of our visit and we subtracted their present period of stay from their present age to arrive at the age at the time they entered the program. For the 1260 youth who gave their age, the average age at the time of the questionnaire administration was 15.7 years but there was a range from 8 to 21 years. We have data on the age at entrance to the program for 1188 youth, with a range of 8 to 20 years and an average of 15.2. The two age variables were highly correlated (.86).

As we can see in Table 5.2, the three types of institutions differ significantly in the average age of their clientele. The average youth in the custodial programs was a little over sixteen, having entered the program when he/she was about fifteen and a half years old. Youth in participatory

TABLE 5.2 AVERAGE AGE AT ENTRANCE AND AT THE TIME OF QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTRATION BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Compliance/Management Style | Average Age at Field Visit | Average Age at Entrance |
|---|---|---|
| Custodial (N=490-528) | 16.1 years | 15.5 years |
| Utilitarian (N=288-298) | 15.1 | 14.5 |
| Participatory (N=410-434) | 15.8 | 15.2 |
| TOTAL (N=1188-1260) | 15.7 | 15.2 |
| | F=47.015<br>1259 d.f.<br>p=.0000 | F=36.699<br>1187 d.f.<br>p=.0000 |

programs were slightly younger than that on the average. The youngest youth were found in utilitarian programs, where the average age upon entering the programs was fourteen and a half and where the average youth was only a little over fifteen at the time of the field visit.

Age is not related to most acts of misconduct in our sample of institutionalized youth, as we can see by inspection of the zero order correlations between entry age, age at administration and the frequency of self-reported misconduct in Table 5.3. So little of the variance in the frequency of any type of misconduct is explained by the age of the youth alone that in our sample, at least, there is no support for the contention that younger youth are more delinquent. In fact, the strongest relationship is found between present age and the use of illegal drugs (.13) and this goes in the

TABLE 5.3 ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE AT ENTRANCE AND AGE AT QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTRATION AND SELF-REPORTED FREQUENCY OF MISCONDUCT IN ONE MONTH

| | Entry Age | Age at Administration |
|---|---|---|
| Pretended Illness | -.04 | -.03 |
| Used Drugs | .06* | .13** |
| Ran Away | -.05 | -.06* |
| Stole Something | -.06* | .02 |
| Damaged Property | -.08** | -.02 |
| Hit Staff | -.00 | .03 |
| Fought Youth | -.05 | -.05 |
| TOTAL SERIOUS MISCONDUCT | -.04 | .04 |

opposite direction. Older youth tend to report slightly more frequent use of drugs than younger ones.

When we examined the correlations between each type of misconduct and age within each institution, we found very few strong relationships and no consistent patterns in them. In some institutions age was inversely related to a type of delinquent act while there were direct relationships in other programs. Moreover, there was no consistency in the relationship of age and each type of misconduct within an institution. For example, at Hickory Creek, older youth more frequently used drugs and hit staff but younger youth more frequently engaged in fighting. There was no relationship between age and feigning of illness, running away, stealing or damaging property. In most of our sample of institutions, the corre-

lations were so consistently weak that we concluded age was not a very powerful explanation of institutional misconduct.

Race

Racial differences have been noted by several students of institutional delinquency but the findings are often contradictory and unexplained. The greatest consensus found among these researchers is that black youth run away less often than white youth (Levine, 1962; Coleman, 1968; Koegh, 1935; and Allen, 1969). Although most of these authors fail to explain exactly why they believe these differences occur, it is interesting that the few explanations provided focus on institutional experiences and opportunity structures rather than on differences in pre-prison runaway behavior between the races. For example, Allen suggests that there are several factors probably involved.

> "First, around the institution is a largely rural white mountain community, presumably difficult for a Negro to remain concealed in or to get support. Second, and probably as important, is the fact that the Negro youths in the institution do not prey on each other as happens with the white population, but instead often come to one another's assistance. This probably makes the initial adjustment easier and provides support at the time of parole review" (Allen, 1969, p. 56).

These same results prompted another author to conclude that runaway research should be reformulated to answer the question:

> "Why is the Negro male delinquent apparently better able to withstand institutionalization?" (Coleman, 1968, p. 322).

It seems rather obvious that the conclusion that institutionalization is less catastrophic for blacks than for whites

because they tend to run away less often is quite unwarranted. These conclusions clearly point out the danger in using correlations between sociodemographic characteristics and misconduct in support of any theoretical model (importation, deprivation, or control) without examining intervening relationships.

Studies of generalized institutional adjustments have produced no clearcut evidence of racial differences. No race differences of any kind emerged from the analysis of institutional adjustment patterns of adult male murders (Wolfgang, 1961). But a study of violence in California prisons found that Chicanos were overrepresented among identified aggressors consistently from 1960 to the present time (Bennett, 1976).

An impressionistic account of misconduct in one cottage of a training school for boys suggested that black youth engaged in more misconduct than whites because:

> "...most of the Negro boys came from the lower class Negro ghettos of the District of Columbia and they had ethnic, class, and geographical commonalities which afforded them strong bases for cohesion and for consolidation of their social position in the cottage ...Moreover, one may presume that they brought with them into the institution the deviant norms and values generated in their deprived subculture" (Rubenfeld and Stafford, 1963, p. 247).

Again, there was no attempt to discover whether in fact black youth more than white youth had been involved in "deprived subcultures" and held "deviant norms and values" more often before entering the institution.

In Table 5.4, the racial distribution of youth, accord-

TABLE 5.4 SELF-REPORTED RACE OF YOUTH, BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| | Percent of Youth Who Were: | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Compliance/Management Style | White | Black | Other | Mixed |
| Custodial (N=559) | 38% | 34% | 18% | 10% |
| Utilitarian (N=304) | 58 | 24 | 7 | 11 |
| Participatory (N=445) | 48 | 28 | 11 | 13 |
| TOTAL (N=1308) | 46 | 30 | 13 | 11 |

Chi Square = 43.138, 6 d.f., p=.0000

ing to their own self-reports is shown. Ninety nine percent of the youth responded to this question. More than half of the youth in the sample identified themselves as nonwhite but the differences between the three types of programs are significant. Utilitarian programs have a much higher proportion of white youth than the other two types, especially in contrast to custodial institutions in which nearly two thirds of the youth were nonwhite. Thirty percent of our institutional sample consisted of black youth but they comprised only 12 percent of the national population, according to 1970 Census figures.

In Table 5.5 the average frequency of misconduct is shown for youth by race. Overall, white youth admit less frequent instances of feigning illness, stealing, fighting, and hitting staff than do nonwhites,and black youth are less likely to have used illegal drugs than the other racial groups. In terms of the total frequency of serious misconduct, there are no significant differences between black and white youth

TABLE 5.5 AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF SELF-REPORTED MISCONDUCT, BY RACE

| | White | Black | Other Nonwhite | Mixed Races | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $\bar{X}$ | $\bar{X}$ | $\bar{X}$ | $\bar{X}$ | |
| Pretending Illness | .462 | .748 | .535 | .575 | F=2.2116 3d.f.NS Eta=.07 |
| Using Drugs | 1.239 | .950 | 1.398 | 1.541 | F=2.1977 3d.f.NS Eta=.07 |
| Running Away | .189 | .184 | .228 | .241 | F=.55545 3d.f.NS Eta=.03 |
| Stealing | .581 | .679 | .725 | .664 | F=.39279 3d.f.NS Eta=.03 |
| Damaging Property | .627 | .605 | .871 | .562 | F=1.3045 3d.f.NS Eta=.05 |
| Hitting Staff | .163 | .312 | .269 | .185 | F=1.7846 3d.f.NS Eta=.06 |
| Fighting Youth | .777 | 1.300 | 1.070 | .993 | F=5.4719 3d.f. Sig=.001 Eta=.112 |
| TOTAL SERIOUS MISCONDUCT | 3.555 | 3.999 | 4.518 | 4.146 | F=1.6766 3d.f.NS Eta=.06 |
| Number of Respondents | 595-603 | 383-387 | 166-171 | 145-147 | |

but other nonwhites (including Indians, Chicanos, Orientals, etc.) seem to be somewhat more often involved in these acts. The results of one way analyses of variance indicate however, that there are no statistically significant differences in any types of misconduct except fighting, by race. Even with regard to fighting, which whites seem to engage in less frequently, the proportion of variance explained by race is only one percent.

In order to see if any significant racial differences in misconduct were present in at least some of the institutions in our sample, we correlated the frequencies of each type of misconduct with four dummy variables, each representing the four racial groups, within each program. Race was uncorrelated with the frequency of feigning illness in every institution, except Juneau where youth of mixed races reported more of it (.52). The frequency of using drugs and running away was not significantly correlated with race in any of the sampled programs. Youth of mixed races more often reported damaging property at Wildwood (.53); other nonwhites stole more at Marigold (.46); and black girls hit staff more at Sweet Laurel (.54), but these associations were not replicated in any of the other programs. Only four programs reported any statistically significant associations between the frequency of fighting and race but even these were not consistent. At Fieldston and Juneau, fighting was more frequent among youth of mixed races (.41 and .52) but at Cheshire black youth fought more (.46). And at Cedar Hills white

youth fought less than any other group (-.24).

It seems very clear in this analysis that race is not a good predictor of institutional misconduct, either across all sampled programs or even within particular ones. Even the fact that the proportion of the different racial groups varies across the institutions doesn't seem to affect the explanatory power of race. Youth in racial minorities in particular programs seem no more frequently involved in acts of delinquency than other youth and the same holds true of those in racial majorities in particular programs.

Social Class

As we mentioned earlier, a number of theorists have linked the occurrence of institutional misconduct to the importation of lower-class delinquent subcultural values and behaviors into the new setting. We have not seem any empirical evidence, however, that bears on this question.

In the questionnaire youth were asked to report the occupation of both their father and mother in their own words. Administrators of the instrument were asked to probe and clarify these responses immediately after the session with youth so that coding could be more accurate and reliable. However, both questions had fairly high nonresponse rates or could not be coded. Many youth left the question blank either because they did not know the occupation of a parent, because they may have been ashamed to report lower status or illegal occupations, or possibly because they could not write well enough to fill in a response. Other responses were so ambi-

guous or illegible that they could not be coded.

In order to be able to use whatever data was obtained and to obtain a somewhat more complete indicator of the socio-economic status of the family, the responses to both of the questions pertaining to parents' occupations were combined. Youth were given a code reflecting the highest occupation reported for either parent, as contained in ten categories ranging from unemployed to professional/technical. This reduced the amount of missing cases to about eighteen percent of the sample since youth who responded on either or both items were included.

In Table 5.6 this composite index of social class is presented for the three types of institutions in our sample. The full set of occupational categories was collapsed into four categories as follows:

Upper Middle Class includes managers, officials, proprietors, professional, technical and kindred.

Middle Class includes craftsmen, foremen, sales workers, clerical workers, and kindred.

Working Class includes laborers, farmers, private household workers, service workers, operatives and kindred.

Unemployed is where neither parent was listed as employed (excludes missing data on both questions).

Over half of the sampled youth came from families where their parents were unemployed or in working class occupations (59%) and this was true of all three types of institutions. There were only minor differences in the social class back-

TABLE 5.6 SOCIAL CLASS OF YOUTH, BASED ON PARENTS'OCCUPATION, BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Compliance/Management Style | Social Class | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Upper Middle | Middle | Working | Unemployed |
| Custodial (N=445) | 15% | 21% | 44% | 20% |
| Utilitarian (N=262) | 16 | 25 | 42 | 17 |
| Participatory (N=384) | 19 | 28 | 34 | 19 |
| TOTAL (N=1091) | 17% | 24% | 40% | 19% |

Chi Square = 11.149, 6 d.f. NS

grounds of youth among the three program types.

One way analyses of variance revealed no significant differences in the rates of any types of misconduct or the total of serious acts by the social class of youth. There was a slight tendency for drug use to be more common among middle and upper middle class youth but the differences were quite small. Correlations run between social class and each type of misconduct, including the total serious misconduct, in each institution were in every case small and statistically insignificant.

We thus have no reason to believe that social class (at least as measured by a crude index of parents' occupation) has any impact on self-reported institutional misconduct.

Commitment Offense

In a few previous studies, institutional misconduct was linked to the seriousness of the offense for which youth were officially committed. Girls who participated in a riot in

the Indiana Girls School were believed to be more often committed for felony offenses, shoplifting, theft, burglary, assault, robbery, and armed robbery. The nonrioters, on the other hand, had mainly nonfelony offenses such as sex offenses, running away from home and not attending school (Grosz et. al. 1969). Unfortunately, in this study there is a strong possibility that the delineation of girls as rioters or nonrioters was contaminated by prior staff knowledge of the seriousness of their criminal histories:

Running away, on the other hand, has been linked to youth committed for minor or status offenses. One such study found that there was no association between commitment offenses of burglary, larceny, forgery, and other offenses against property or for running away from some other place and institutional absconding. But:

> "...person offenders (robbery, assault, sex offenses, and homicide) were one third as likely to run away as the average boy; boys received for such escapist behavior as the use of alcohol or narcotics were four times more likely to run away" (Levine, 1962, p. 44).

Loving et. al. found that among Louisiana prison escapees,

> "Significantly more inmates escaped who committed property crimes...than those who committed crimes against the person..." (Loving et. al., 1959).

Although Cowden (1966) found that seriousness of offenses were not significantly related to institutional adjustment (as measured by disciplinary reports), Wolfgang found that among a selected group of men in the Eastern State Penitentiary,

> "A significantly higher proportion of inmates who are poorly adjusted than of those who are better adjusted have committed a felony murder as opposed to a nonfelony murder" (Wolfgang, 1961, p. 616).

Of course as Wolfgang correctly points out, commitment offense is strongly associated with previous penal experience, length of stay, and age which may in fact predict to adjustment more strongly.

Caution must be attached to any attribution of differences in delinquent history on the basis of commitment offense, particularly for a juvenile population. Because of the unknown magnitude of plea bargaining for lower official offenses for youth and because we know from previous research that much of the delinquent behavior is hidden from official control agencies, this variable is probably not a good indicator of pre-institutional delinquency. Moreover, we did not search records and files for officially designated commitment offenses but rather relied on youth to self-report them. There is no way of knowing how reliable these self-reports were but we suspect that many of the youth (especially girls) believed that they were officially committed for more serious offenses than they were. Many of them may well have reported offenses that they committed but which were not part of their official records.

About seventy eight percent of the respondents were able to provide a specific offense when asked "Why were you sent here?" Their answers to this open-ended question were originally coded according to a modified list of FBI offense categories with the most serious of multiple offenses used. These categories were then grouped into ten basic types, defined below:

Emotional/Dependent/Neglect: emotional or organic problems, dependent, neglected, incorrigible, family problems and "asked to come here", "nowhere else to go", "came on my own"

Runaway: Runaway from home, school or other facility

School Problems: Includes to finish school or to do remedial work

Misdemeanors: Loitering, vagrancy, curfew, disturbing the peace, disorderly conduct, drunkenness, prostitution, homosexuality, pandering

Possession of Marijuana: Possession, transportation or tax violation of marijuana and other nonnarcotic drugs

Drugs: Possession, transportation or tax violation of narcotic drugs. Sale of marijuana, non-narcotic or narcotic drugs

Minor Property: Petty larceny (less than $50), larceny, possession of stolen goods, theft in general, shoplifting, vandalism, malicious destruction of property, carrying a concealed weapon, illegal possession of weapon

Major Property: Theft from interstate shipment, breaking and entering, mail theft, auto theft, counterfeiting, forgery, fraud, embezzlement, grand larceny (over $100), burglary, arson, strong armed robbery, armed robbery

Minor Person: Simple assault, assault, assault and battery

Major Person: Aggravated assault, rape, assault with intent to rape, manslaughter, murder

Offenses listed as "unspecified" include probation or parole violations, "don't know," or any crimes committed but not specified. Probation and parole violations were excluded for several reasons. We do not know what the original offense of the youth was, nor do we know the behavior which resulted in the violation. Other responses were insufficiently detailed, such as "I got into trouble," "I made mistakes," "Pushing my sister," and "Ringing fire alarms." These responses could not be placed in the categories listed above and there is disagreement among professionals in the seriousness of the offenses implied by these responses. It might be noted that in an attempt to have a group of researchers sort these ambiguous responses into two categories - status and non-status offenses, no reliable agreement could be reached.

In Table 5.7 the percent of youth reporting commitment offenses in each of these categories is shown, and we can see that about 11 percent of the respondents were unable to give us clear and unambiguous responses. Over forty percent of the respondents believed that they were institutionalized for property offenses but only about ten percent thought they were sent there for offenses against persons. Drug offenses account for about nine percent of the commitments while a quarter of youth reported being there for various status offenses (dependent/neglect, runaway, school and family problems).

There are some very significant differences among the

TABLE 5.7 SELF-REPORTED COMMITMENT OFFENSE OF YOUTH, BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| | Compliance/Management Style | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Commitment Offense | Custodial (486) | Utilitarian (283) | Participatory (401) | TOTAL (1170) |
| Unspecified | 11% | 9% | 12% | 11% |
| Emotional/ Family | 1 | 12 | 7 | 6 |
| Runaway | 16 | 15 | 18 | 16 |
| School Problems | 2 | 8 | 1 | 3 |
| Misdemeanors | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Possession of Marijuana | 4 | 11 | 9 | 7 |
| Other Drug Problems | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Minor Property | 7 | 11 | 9 | 9 |
| Major Property | 44 | 27 | 21 | 32 |
| Minor Person | 4 | 3 | 10 | 6 |
| Major Person | 7 | 2 | 7 | 6 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Chi Square = 153.25, 20 d.f. p=0.0000

three types of institutions in the proportion of their clientele who were committed for serious offenses. Over half of the youth in custodial programs (51 percent) were committed for major person or property crimes but this was true of less than a third of the youth in utilitarian (29 percent) and participatory (28 percent) programs. In contrast over a third

of youth in utilitarian programs were committed for purely status offenses (emotional/family problems, running away, and school problems) but this was true of only sixteen to nineteen percent of the youth in the other program types.

Table 5.8 shows the average frequency of each type of misconduct, including the serious misconduct scale, for youth in each commitment offense category. Although there were statistically significant differences in the frequency of self-reported involvement in all of the activities except absconding according to the commitment offense of the youth, many of these differences are minor. Youth who were committed for major person offenses had been involved in an average of seven acts of serious misconduct within a one month period as contrasted with less than three such acts for youth committed for unspecified offense, emotional or family problems, or as runaways. The frequency of feigned illness was highest for major person offenders, as were rates of drug use, theft, property damage, and staff assaults. Drug use was relatively frequent among all youth, except those committed specifically for status offenses. Running away was apparently relatively infrequent among all youth, and there is no evidence that youth committed for running away were any more likely to continue to abscond from the institution than other youth. Internal theft was self-reported primarily by youth committed for person offenses and property damage was for the most part committed by major person offenders. Fighting was self-reported primarily by

TABLE 5.8 AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF MISCONDUCT DURING ONE MONTH, BY SELF-REPORTED COMMITMENT OFFENSE

| Commitment Offense | Average Frequency | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Feigned Illness | Drug Use | Running Away | Stealing | Damaging Property | Hitting Staff | Fighting Youth | All Serious Misconduct |
| Unspecified (130) | .3 | 1.0 | .1 | .2 | .4 | .1 | .9 | 2.8 |
| Emotional/ Family (69) | .3 | .5 | .2 | .4 | .2 | .2 | .5 | 1.9 |
| Runaway (192) | .5 | .9 | .2 | .4 | .3 | .1 | .7 | 2.7 |
| School Problems (35) | .4 | .8 | .2 | .2 | .6 | .5 | 1.2 | 3.6 |
| Misdemeanors (27) | .5 | 1.5 | .3 | .1 | .3 | .4 | .8 | 3.4 |
| Possession of Marijuana (85) | .2 | 1.9 | .2 | .6 | .7 | .1 | .7 | 4.2 |
| Other Drug Problems (23) | .2 | 1.7 | .3 | .3 | .5 | .5 | 1.4 | 4.6 |
| Minor Property (101) | .6 | 1.0 | .2 | .6 | .7 | .1 | .8 | 3.3 |
| Major Property (374) | .6 | 1.2 | .2 | .9 | .8 | .2 | 1.2 | 4.4 |
| Minor Person (68) | .9 | 1.2 | .1 | 1.0 | .7 | .3 | 1.4 | 4.7 |
| Major Person (56) | 1.1 | 2.3 | .4 | 1.2 | 1.3 | .6 | 1.4 | 7.2 |
| TOTAL (1170) | .5 | 1.2 | .2 | .2 | .6 | .2 | 1.0 | 3.8 |
| | F=2.2558 1164d.f. p=.01 | F=2.8205 1156d.f. p=.002 | F=1.2914 1165d.f. NS | F=3.3197 1167d.f. p=.0003 | F=3.4819 1165d.f. p=.0002 | F=2.9542 1165d.f. p=.0001 | F=2.1691 1165d.f. p=.02 | F=5.9609 1169d.f. p=.0000 |

youth committed for school problems, drug problems other than possession of marijuana, and person and property offenses.

Within each program, we found very little consistency in the predictive power of commitment offense. In four out of the sixteen programs, the frequency of all serious misconduct was significantly correlated with one of the commitment offense types but not the same one (in two of the cases it was with the major person offense but in the other cases it was with possession of marijuana and other drugs).

In some of the programs, the number of respondents was much smaller than in others so that the statistical significance of similar correlation coefficients varies considerably. But even if we disregarded the criterion of statistical significance, commitment offense has little predictive power. The relationship between any type of misconduct and any particular commitment offense varied across institutions and in most cases was very small. For example, in some programs the association between a commitment for running away and the frequency of program absconding was inverse while in other programs it was direct. Similar inconsistencies were noted between commitment for drug offenses and the use of drugs in the institution; between commitment for property crimes and stealing and damaging property in the program; and between commitments for person crimes and fighting and hitting staff in the program.

It is quite possible that some of the youth committed for fairly serious offenses had also engaged in less serious

acts and vice versa, which would tend to dilute the strength of these associations. Thus, we expect stronger associations to emerge from a more detailed examination of pre-institutional delinquency, which would include undetected, and unprocessed offenses.

Previous Delinquent Behavior

Confirmation of the direct importation model rests on finding significant associations between the pre-prison offense history and institutional behaviors, assuming all other influences and constraints to be equal. Most previous research efforts have found that inmate misconduct, particularly absconding, is largely a function of these imported characteristics.

As early as 1935, Koegh found that runaway youth from the Whittier State School in California more frequently had histories of running away from home and school truancy than did nonrunners (Koegh, 1935). Clarke and Martin found the same phenomenon in approved schools in England. Not only were absconders more likely to have run from other institutions before, but the more often they had run before, the more likely they were to do so again (Clarke and Martin, 1971). The only study which did not find relationships between past and present acts of running was also done in England, and reported that only 26 percent of the institutional absconders had run away from home at least once as compared to 36 percent of the nonabsconders. Moreover, "seven of the eight persistent absconders did not, at any stage, run away from home,

probably because lax discipline at home suited their delinquent activities" (Gunasekara, 1963, p. 149).

The conclusion of the latter study is open to some criticism for a variety of reasons. It was based on a total population of 19 absconders and 25 nonabsconders selected randomly from a variety of training schools in England and Wales. Since a persistent absconder was defined as a youth who had absconded 5 or more times with an interval between the first and last incidents of six months or more, it excluded youth who remained in the school less than six months. Moreover, the number of abscondings considered as evidence of persistence were arbitrary and were not related to length of time in the institution. Further, there was no attempt in this study to actually determine whether or not persistent absconders came from homes where discipline was "lax."

In the Silverlake Experiment, Empey and Lubeck found that offense history was the best predictor of runaway behavior in both the open mediatory institution and the total institution. Offenders who had committed the most serious delinquent acts were the most prone to run from both programs. Youth committing automobile and family-related offenses (including incorrigibility and running away from home) were for the most part more likely to run away from the institutions than other youth. In assessing this finding, they state:

> "It is striking, and perhaps ironic, that offense history with all the errors in record keeping and official subjectivity it implies, should have greater overall predictive value during the two and a half years of the study than the several measures of background, peer influence, and personality characteristics

> that were used, especially since it is the latter that have received the greatest amount of attention from social scientists and clinicians" (Empey and Lubeck, 1971, pp. 226-227).

Clarke and Martin, after an extensive analysis of escapes in Great Britain, agreed with this conclusion:

> "Of the background factors, the one most powerfully related to absconding appeared to be the number of previous abscondings, and it may be that if complete information were available on this point no other background factors would be of much additional value in the prediction of training school absconding" (Clarke and Martin, 1971, p. 33).

Offense history also seemed to be a fairly good predictor of critical incidents in the Silverlake Experiment (Empey and Lubeck, 1971); of assaultive behavior of inmates in California prisons (Bennett, 1976); and of the infraction of institutional rules in a prison for women in the District of Columbia (Heffernan, 1972).

In the present study youth were asked to indicate how frequently they had engaged in fourteen delinquent behaviors before being assigned to the correctional program. For each behavior, response options were: "Never," "Once or twice," "Three to ten times," and "More than ten times." Response rates to these questions were uniformly high, ranging from 95 to 98 percent on each of them. A complete list of these items along with the response distributions for the overall sample may be found in the Appendix.

Three clusters of offense history items were constructed, within which individual items were combined and averaged. The first cluster was called Crimes and included: "stole something," "hurt someone on purpose," "damaged someone's

property on purpose," "robbed someone," and "broke into a place to steal something B&E." The second cluster was labeled Offenses and included: "drank alcoholic beverages," "used marijuana or hashish," "used other drugs," "skipped school," and "had sex with a member of the opposite sex." We isolated runaway behavior from this cluster and constructed a third cluster labeled Absconding which combined the frequency of running away from home and running away from another correctional program. Item to scale correlations for each of the three clusters are contained in the Appendix. Note that two behaviors in the question are not included in these clusters: having sex relations for pay and being suspended from school. The first was excluded because of its low incidence and the second because it was an action of school authorities which could occur for a number of different reasons not known to us and which might not involve particular actions of youths.

In Table 5.9 the mean scores on these clusters, ranging from 0 (never engaged in them) to 3 (engaged in them an average of more than ten times) are presented for each of the institutions in our sample. One way analyses of variance indicate that there were significant differences among the three types of institutions in the presenting offense histories of their inmates, particularly with regard to crimes and abscondings. Custodial program inmates have had the most frequent prior involvement in criminal activities but more youth in participatory programs were frequent absconders be-

fore their incarceration. Differences among the programs in the frequency of more minor offenses, such as the use of alcohol and drugs, were very slight.

TABLE 5.9 AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF PREVIOUS CRIMES, OFFENSES, AND ABSCONDINGS, BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| | Average Frequency | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Compliance/ Management Style | Previous Crimes | Previous Offenses | Previous Abscondings |
| Custodial (502-535) | 1.1 | 1.7 | .6 |
| Utilitarian (269-282) | .9 | 1.5 | .7 |
| Participatory (404-425) | .8 | 1.7 | 1.0 |
| TOTAL (1175-1242) | 1.0 | 1.7 | .8 |
| | F=12.963<br>1206 d.f.<br>p=.0000 | F=4.0139<br>1174 d.f.<br>p=.02 | F=18.473<br>1241 d.f.<br>p=.0000 |

Pearson product moment correlations were run between each of the offense history factors and the frequencies of types of misconduct and are shown in Table 5.10. The frequency with which youth had engaged in more serious delinquencies (Crimes) before coming to the program was significantly associated with their participation in most acts of institutional misconduct, except running away. Youth who had histories of running away before coming were also more frequently involved in most misbehavior, but these associations are relatively weak. Although the three offense history scales are not independent, it is quite clear that the Crimes scale is the

TABLE 5.10 ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY SCALES AND FREQUENCY OF INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT

| | Offense History Factors | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Misconduct | Crimes | Offenses | Runaway |
| Pretending to be sick | .12** | .03 | .05 |
| Using drugs | .22** | .27** | .16** |
| Running away | .02 | -.00 | .12** |
| Stealing | .20** | .09** | .10** |
| Damaging property | .26** | .11** | .16** |
| Hitting staff | .12** | .06 | .07* |
| Fighting youth | .20** | .00 | .02 |
| TOTAL SERIOUS MISCONDUCT | .35** | .20** | .19** |

* Sig. at .05 level
** Sig. at .01 level

the best predictor of most types of serious misconduct. Drug use was slightly more strongly related to the Offenses scale which included pre-institutional drug use, and escapes were related only to the Absconding scale. For the other types of misconduct, the Crimes scale was most significant, explaining about 12 percent of the variance in the amount of serious misconduct (r=.35).

Though we also correlated the frequency of self-reported institutional misconduct with the specific pre-program delinquencies associated with them, the specific behaviors e.g., stealing before, damaging property before, were no more

closely associated with the various types of institutional misconduct than were the clusters of behaviors. For example, the correlations between the use of drugs in the institution and the use of marijuana and the use of other drugs before were both .30 while the correlation between the Offense scale and the use of drugs in the institution was .27. In all cases where a particular type of institutional misconduct was significantly associated with a particular pre-program delinquency, it was also associated with the offense cluster in which the pre-program delinquency was contained.

Correctional Experiences

Although youth who have had frequent contact with the juvenile justice system are often believed to be responsible for most institutional misconduct, the statements of previous researchers are less than unanimous on this point. Further, in most previous research, we are given no information as to the correspondence between the correctional experiences and the offense patterns of inmates. In at least a few of the studies, correctional experiences are used in place of knowledge of actual offenses as indicators of prior criminality. Yet the several studies of the official processing of juveniles have shown that there is no necessary correspondence between correctional experiences and offense history, and that there are probably systematic biases in the detection and sanctioning of the delinquent behaviors of youth (Elliott and Voss, 1974; Piliavin and Briar, 1964).

Cline, for example, used as indicators of "greater exper-

ience in crime" median age of inmates at time of first arrest; percent earlier committed to an institution for children; and percent who had previously served a prison sentence. In his analysis of sixteen Scandinavian prisons, he found:

> "...from the perspective of the direct importation model...that institutions in which inmates collectively have had greater experience in crime tend to be the institutions with the most severe anti-staff social climates" (Cline, 1968, p. 179).

These ecological correlations were replicated, using individual level measurements of private anti-staff attitudes and "greater experience in crime."

Misconduct behaviors, as well as negative attitudes, have been linked to the correctional experiences of youth. Clarke and Martin found that absconders in England were likely to have first appeared in court at an earlier age than nonabsconders, and to have had more court appearances at shorter intervals (Clarke and Martin, 1971). Sinclair and Clarke also found youth with three or more previous court appearances were more likely to abscond than youth with two or less (Sinclair and Clarke, 1973). And in their questionable study of the riot behaviors of delinquent girls,Grosz et. al. found that proportionately more of the rioters than the nonrioters had their first court hearing before they were fifteen years of age. Moreover,

> "By the time of the disturbance, the rioters also showed in their past records evidence of significantly more frequent appearances at the juvenile court. This is particularly noteworthy because the rioters tended to be of a younger age than the nonrioters and would on that account be expected to have fewer rather than more numerous court appearances" (Grosz et. al., 1969, p. 1372).

On the other hand, Wolfgang in his study of male murderers found that prior incarceration was predictive of better institutional adjustment. Although this is puzzling, he suggests that:

> "Perhaps this merely means that the men who 'have gone through it before' are better capable of accepting rigorous restraints on their individual freedom. Perhaps they were adjusted in their earlier penal episodes as well" (Wolfgang, 1961, p. 618).

We might suggest some other explanations such as the possibility that experienced inmates may not be detected in institutional "maladjustments" as often as inexperienced ones; that institutions tend to handle inmates with different correctional histories in different ways; and that prior incarceration may be associated with other predictor variables and may be spuriously linked to adjustment.

Support for the hypothesis that institutions may manage experienced inmates in different ways than inexperienced ones was strengthened by Sinclair and Clarke's results. At first they were surprised by the negative correlation they found between a school's absconding rate and the mean number of previous court appearances among the boys in them. But these ecological correlations were reversed in an individual level analysis and they concluded:

> "Schools which receive boys with a high number of previous court appearances tend to have low absconding rates. The explanation may well be that schools receiving very delinquent populations adapt themselves to this and are more concerned than some others to reduce delinquent behaviors in the form of absconding. In support of this there is some evidence...that the schools taking a high proportion of boys with many

> previous court appearances are run differently from those with less delinquent populations (Sinclair and Clarke, 1973, p. 288).

In general, however, there is greater support for the hypothesis that youth with more correctional experiences have been exposed to more institutional delinquency and thus will be more apt to import these behaviors into their current setting. Within individual programs, therefore, we would expect to find that correctional experiences were directly correlated with misconduct. If the suggestion of Sinclair and Clarke about institutional differences in the control of sophisticated and unsophisticated youth is true, then these correlations would probably be relatively weak across the entire sample.

Youth were asked to report how many times they had come into contact with various levels of the juvenile justice system. The average number of times youth had been involved in various correctional experiences is shown in Appendix B. The average youth in our sample had considerable prior correctional contact, with an average of over ten police arrests, five juvenile court appearances, four stays in a juvenile detention facility, three jailings, two times on probation, one stay in a group or foster home, and one training school experience. In general youth in custodial programs reported more penetration into the juvenile justice system than youth in the other two programs, particularly with regard to the number of police arrests and the number of times they were jailed. Utilitarian program youth had, on the average, the

least experience with the correctional system, particularly in terms of court appearances, detention and jail and probation.

Correlations among these items shown in Table 5.11 indicate that most of these contacts are related. It must be noted, however, that the number of contacts with various social control agencies masks differences in the duration, severity, and consequences of these experiences. In no way can we claim that these dimensions are commensurate with each other or that they accurately reflect the impact of correctional experiences on youth.

Because the correlations between the frequency of institutional misconduct of any type and each of the correctional experiences were quite small (the highest being .18 between the total amount of serious misconduct and the number of police arrests and the number of jail experiences), we felt that the individual contacts were probably less important than a composite measure of correctional experience. We constructed an index which summed the number of contacts with the police, juvenile court, juvenile detention, jail, and probation, despite the fact that these dimensions are of different orders of severity and duration.

The number of group or foster home experiences was dropped from the scale because they were not necessarily <u>correctional</u> experiences, were not highly correlated with the other contacts, and had low response rates. The number of training school experiences was also deleted because we sus-

TABLE 5.11 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CORRECTIONAL HISTORY ITEMS

| Variable | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Detention | 1.0000 | | | | | | |
| Jail | .1720 | 1.0000 | | | | | |
| Training School | .3881 | .1814 | 1.0000 | | | | |
| Probation | .4009 | .1559 | .2745 | 1.0000 | | | |
| Group/ Foster Home | .2413 | .0999 | .3137 | .0346 | 1.0000 | | |
| Court | .6905 | .2194 | .3135 | .4156 | .0386 | 1.0000 | |
| Police | .5307 | .5451 | .3170 | .3640 | .1349 | .5515 | 1.0000 |

pected that in some cases the present institutional experience was included in the figure and in other cases it was not. The response rate on that question was also relative low. Item to Scale score correlations for the Correctional Experiences scale are contained in Appendix B.

There were significant differences in the average number of correctional experiences among youth in custodial, utilitarian, and participatory settings, reflecting differences already discussed in the individual items composing the scale. Youth in custodial programs reported an average of 30 contacts with the five agencies contained in the summary scale, and participatory programs had an average of 22 contacts among their youth. Utilitarian program youth had an average of 20 contacts with the correctional system. As we can see in Table 5.12, the combined measure of correctional experiences is only weakly correlated with most types of institutional

TABLE 5.12 ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE FREQUENCY OF INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT AND THE NUMBER OF PRIOR CORRECTIONAL EXPERIENCES

| Frequency of | Number of Correctional Experiences |
|---|---|
| Pretending to be sick | .06* |
| Using drugs | .20** |
| Running away | .06* |
| Stealing | .07* |
| Damaging property | .08** |
| Hitting staff | .06* |
| Fighting youth | .07* |
| All Serious Misconduct | .19** |

* Significant at .05 level
** Significant at .01 level

misconduct. The exceptions are drug use and all serious misconduct but even these are more strongly related to youths' prior delinquent history than to their prior correctional experiences.

Correctional history is less effective than offense history as an explanation of institutional misconduct as we would expect. The contacts youth have had with juvenile justice agencies before coming to an institution are determined by factors including actual delinquent behavior. The importation perspective is probably clearest when operationalized by actual self-reported pre-institutional behavior and in fact is best represented empirically by these sets of variables.

Most of the independent variables in the Importation

Model were significantly correlated. The zero order correlation matrix of these importation predictor variables is shown in Appendix B.

Frequent involvement in criminal activity before incarceration was related to being older, male and not being black. Prior episodes of more minor offenses were also reported by older, nonblack youth but there were no sex differences in these behaviors. Prior abscondings were also more frequent among older youth, other than blacks and females. The frequencies of all types of previous delinquent behavior were related and they were also associated with more experiences with the correctional system. Previous criminal activity and more minor offenses were also directly related to the commitment offenses of the youth.

<u>Importation Variables as Predictors of Institutional Misconduct</u>

In order to estimate the total amount of variance in institutional misconduct explained by the total set of importation variables we have discussed, we used least squares multiple regression techniques, across the overall sample. Since the independent variables are intercorrelated, it is important to examine the net association of each with misconduct.[1]

In Tables 5.13 to 5.20 the results of this analysis on each of the types of misconduct as well as the total amount of serious misconduct are presented.

Very little variation in the frequency of specific types of institutional misconduct were explained by the entire set

TABLE 5.13 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF FEIGNED ILLNESS ON IMPORTATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .029, 710 d.f. F=1.7538 p=.05 N=711

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present age (c) | -.05 | -.05 | -.05 |
| Sex (Female) | -.03 | .02 | .02 |
| White (d) | -.05 | .00 | .00 |
| Black (d) | .10 | .00 | .10 |
| Other nonwhite (d) | -.07 | -.00 | -.05 |
| Mixes races (d) | .02 | .00 | .03 |
| Previous crimes | .07 | .05 | .07 |
| Previous offenses | -.02 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Previous abscondings | -.02 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Social class | .01 | .01 | .01 |
| Commitment offense | .07 | .05 | .06 |
| Correctional experiences | .06 | .05 | .05 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients for each variable with the dependent variable, partialed on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables so the regression coefficients are beta weights.

[c] Because age at entrance and present age were so highly correlated, we only used present age in this analysis.

[d] Each racial category was made into a separate dummy variable.

* P is less than .05
** P is less than .01
*** P is less than .001

TABLE 5.14 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF USE OF ILLEGAL DRUGS ON IMPORTATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .090, 710 d.f. F=5.7479 p=.0000 N-71

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present age (c) | .12 | .03 | .03 |
| Sex (Female) | -.04 | -.01 | -.01 |
| White (d) | .02 | -.00 | -.01 |
| Black (d) | -.09 | -.00 | -.02 |
| Other nonwhite (d) | .04 | .00 | .01 |
| Mixes races (d) | .03 | -.00 | -.02 |
| Previous crimes | .20 | .06 | .08 |
| Previous offenses | .25 | .13 | .17*** |
| Previous abscondings | .12 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Social class | -.04 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Commitment offense | .06 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Correctional experiences | .21 | .12 | .13** |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients for each variable with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables so the regression coefficients are beta weights.

[c] Because age at entrance and present age were so highly correlated, we only used present age in this analysis.

[d] Each racial category was made into a separate dummy variable.

* P is less than .05
** P is less than .01
***P is less than .001

TABLE 5.15 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF ABSCONDING ON IMPORTATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .034, 710 d.f. f=2.0496 p=.02 N=711

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present age (c) | -.08 | -.08 | -.09* |
| Sex (Female) | -.04 | 0.04 | -.05 |
| White (d) | -.00 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Black (d) | -.03 | .00 | .01 |
| Other nonwhite (d) | -.00 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Mixed races (d) | .04 | .00 | .03 |
| Previous crimes | .03 | .00 | .00 |
| Previous offenses | -.02 | -.04 | -.05 |
| Previous abscondings | .13 | .13 | .15*** |
| Social class | .02 | .02 | .02 |
| Commitment offense | -.01 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Correctional experiences | .07 | .04 | .04 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients for each variable with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables so the regression coefficients are beta weights.

[c] Because age at entrance and present age are so highly correlated, we only used present age in this analysis.

[d] Each racial category was made into a separate dummy variable.

* P is less than .05
** P is less than .01
***P is less than .001

TABLE 5.16 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF STEALING ON IMPORTATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ =.04, 710 d.f. F=2.6289 p=.002 N=711

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present age (c) | -.01 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Sex (Female) | -.12 | -.07 | -.08 |
| White (d) | .01 | -.00 | -.01 |
| Black (d) | -.01 | .00 | .02 |
| Other nonwhite (d) | .01 | -.00 | -.02 |
| Mixed races (d) | -.01 | -.00 | -.03 |
| Previous crimes | .18 | .10 | .13** |
| Previous offenses | .07 | .01 | .02 |
| Previous abscondings | .08 | .06 | .07 |
| Social class | .01 | .02 | .02 |
| Commitment offense | .11 | .04 | .04 |
| Correctional experiences | .07 | -.01 | -.02 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients for each variable with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables so the regression coefficients are beta weights.

[c] Because age at entrance and present age were so highly correlated, we only used present age in this analysis.

[d] Each racial category was made into a separate dummy variable.

* P is less than .05
** P is less than .01
***P is less than .001

TABLE 5.17 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF DAMAGING PROPERTY ON IMPORTATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .07, 710 d.f. F=4.5552 p=.0000 N=711

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present Age (c) | -.08 | -.10 | -.11** |
| Sex (Female) | -.10 | -.04 | -.04 |
| White (d) | .03 | -.00 | -.01 |
| Black (d) | -.01 | .00 | .03 |
| Other nonwhite (d) | .01 | -.00 | -.03 |
| Mixed races (d) | -.04 | -.00 | -.01 |
| Previous crimes | .19 | .11 | .14** |
| Previous offenses | .07 | .00 | .00 |
| Previous abscondings | .15 | .13 | .15*** |
| Social class | .01 | .02 | .02 |
| Commitment offense | .12 | .06 | .07 |
| Correctional experience | .10 | .01 | .02 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients for each variable with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables so the regression coefficients are beta weights.

[c] Because age at entrance and present age were so highly correlated, we only used present age in this analysis.

[d] Each racial category was made into a separate dummy variable.

* P is less than .05
** P is less than .01
***P is less than .001

TABLE 5.18 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF HITTING STAFF ON IMPORTATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .03, 710 d.f. F=1.7154 p=.06 N=711

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present age (c) | -.00 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Sex (Female) | -.04 | -.03 | -.04 |
| White (d) | -.04 | -.00 | -.03 |
| Black (d) | .04 | .00 | .07 |
| Other nonwhite (d) | -.03 | -.00 | -.03 |
| Mixed races (d) | .04 | .00 | .02 |
| Previous crimes | .10 | .03 | .04 |
| Previous offenses | .06 | .03 | .04 |
| Previous abscondings | .10 | .09 | .10* |
| Social class | -.02 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Commitment offense | .06 | .02 | .02 |
| Correctional experiences | .09 | .03 | .04 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients for each variable with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables so the regression coefficients are beta weights.

[c] Because age at entrance and present age were so highly correlated, we only used present age in this analysis

[d] Each racial category was made into a separate dummy variable.

* P is less than .05
** P is less than .01
***P is less than .001

TABLE 5.19 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF FIGHTING YOUTH ON IMPORTATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .08, 710 d.f. F=4.7561 p=.0000 N=711

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present age (c) | -.07 | -.06 | -.06 |
| Sex (Female) | -.18 | -.11 | -.12** |
| White (d) | -.12 | -.00 | -.13 |
| Black (d) | .08 | .00 | .03 |
| Other nonwhite (d) | .05 | -.00 | -.02 |
| Mixed races (d) | .03 | -.00 | -.02 |
| Previous crimes | .18 | .12 | .15*** |
| Previous offenses | -.00 | -.03 | -.04 |
| Previous abscondings | .02 | .04 | .05 |
| Social class | .00 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Commitment offense | .11 | .02 | .02 |
| Correctional experiences | .09 | .02 | .02 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients for each variable with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables so the regression coefficients are beta weights.

[c] Because age at entrance and present age were so highly correlated, we only used present age in this analysis.

[d] Each racial category was made into a separate dummy variable.

* P is less than .05
** P is less than .01
***P is less than .001

TABLE 5.20 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF SERIOUS MISCONDUCT ON IMPORTATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .13, 710 d.f. F=8.5850 p=.0000 N=711

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present age (c) | .00 | -.06 | -.06 |
| Sex (Female) | -.17 | -.09 | -.10** |
| White (d) | -.03 | -.00 | -.05 |
| Black (d) | -.02 | .00 | .04 |
| Other nonwhite (d) | .04 | -.00 | -.01 |
| Mixed races (d) | .02 | -.00 | -.03 |
| Previous crimes | .31 | .15 | .19*** |
| Previous offenses | .18 | .06 | .08 |
| Previous abscondings | .17 | .10 | .11** |
| Social class | -.01 | .00 | .00 |
| Commitment offense | .15 | .03 | .03 |
| Correctional experience | .22 | .08 | .08* |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients for each variable with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables so the regression coefficients are beta weights.

[c] Because age at entrance and present age were so highly correlated, we only used present age in this analysis.

[d] Each racial category was made into a separate dummy variable.

* P is less than .05
** P is less than .01
***P is less than .001

of importation predictor variables. The amount of explained variance was three percent for pretending to be sick, running away and hitting staff; four percent for stealing;seven percent for property damage; eight percent for fighting; nine percent for illegal drug use; and thirteen percent for the total frequency of all types of serious misconduct in the one month period.

Moreover, none of the indirect importation variables except age and sex had any contribution to the explanations. Although there is a discernible pattern such that younger youth reported more frequently being involved in absconding and damaging property, beta weights indicate that present age accounts for very little of the variance in these acts. Although males more often reported fighting than females, sex only explains two percent of the variance and contributes nothing to the explanation of the other specific types of misbehavior.

Despite the attention theorists have devoted to race and social class, we found that they were unassociated with the institutional misconduct reported by youth in this study. Pre-institutional delinquent behavior, however, was significantly correlated with each type of serious misconduct. Youth who were more heavily involved in criminal type activities before their incarceration were significantly more likely to have stolen ($p=.01$); damaged property ($p=.01$); and fought other youth ($p=.001$) in the one month period studied. Youth who had used drugs and engaged in "status offenses" be-

fore coming to the program were more likely to use illegal drugs in the program (p=.001); and youth who had absconded from home or from another correctional program before more often engaged in running away (p=.001); damaging property (p=.001);and hitting staff (p=.05). Commitment offenses and prior correctional experiences contributed very little to the explanation, however.

When we look at the explanation of all serious misconduct, previous delinquent behavior, especially involvement in crimes and abscondings, is the best though still weak predictor. It is also true that females and youth with less contact with the correctional system tend to engage in institutional misconduct less frequently.[2]

There are a number of possible reasons for the relative inadequacy of the importation predictor variables in accounting for institutional misconduct. Much of the variation in misconduct may be attributable to other background characteristics for which information was not available such as personality, or psychological disturbances, or it could be that there is a great deal of interaction among the predictor variables that is not evident from the regression analysis. The period of time studied may have been too brief to indicate the kinds of continuing patterns of behavior which differentiate different types of youth and/or some of these month periods may have been atypical.

Proponents of the deprivation model would suggest, however, that these findings support the position that institu-

tional characteristics are more strongly associated with these behaviors than pre-program attitudes, behaviors, and experiences. These researchers have found that the typical "importation" predictor variables interact with institutional variables in unknown ways. In a study of six correctional institutions for boys, results similar to ours occurred:

> "At first inspection, it appears that background attributes may have a considerable impact upon inmate perspectives. Data relating background attributes to perspectives for the total sample of inmates from all institutions show a considerable number of statistically significant relationships, involving each control variable and every perspective item at least once. As might be expected, variables such as seriousness of offense, number of offenses, and number of times returned to the institution relate rather frequently to the holding of negative perspectives.
>
> Results of the analysis of background perspective relationships with institutions suggest most or even all of the findings are spurious, however, for they reflect what are really only institutional differences in both backgrounds and perspectives...In every instance in which any single background variable appears to relate consistently to perspectives in a direct way within any of the institutions, it is consistently related inversely in another of the institutions. Thus, to the extent that these background variables have any relationship with perspectives beyond random associations, they seem to do so only in interaction with the institutional environment" (Street, 1962, pp. 76-81).

In our analysis of the associations of the background attributes of youth and the self-reported involvement in misconduct, we found the same phenomenon. The few significant associations found between these variables were positive in some programs and were negatively related in others.

Others have suggested the possibility that the particular imported characteristics which will be predictive of misconduct may vary under different organizational conditions. In

their study comparing runaway rates at two different programs, Empey and Lubeck found that as dramatic organizational shifts such as changes in treatment strategies occurred, the various measures of personality seemed to assume greater explanatory power than under conditions of relative organizational stability. Not only were different personal characteristics associated with running away in the community-based and total institutions, but these characteristics changed as structural changes occurred within each of the programs. The researchers concluded:

> "These findings suggest, then, that there may be no uniform sets of personal and background variables that will be consistently predictive of offender behavior, no matter what the correctional setting. Offender behavior, indeed correctional effectiveness, are instead a product of the match between personal and social systems. Thus, if prediction is desirable, research will have to look more closely at the dynamics of interaction between these two systems rather than at personal or organizational characteristics by themselves" (Empey and Lubeck, 1971, pp. 306-307).

Summary

In this chapter, we considered the importation perspective on institutional misconduct. Despite our reservations regarding the extension of this model to include ascribed characteristics such as race, sex, age and social class, we examined these variables along with variables associated directly with importation such as pre-program offenses and delinquent behavior.

The "typical" youth in our sample was a male who entered the program shortly after his fifteenth birthday but who was now almost sixteen. He was nonwhite and from a home in which

his parents were either unemployed or in working class jobs. Committed for a property crime, he had considerable pre-institutional delinquent experiences. The average youth had committed acts labeled as crimes at least once or twice and had engaged in minor offenses and drug incidents even more frequently. With an average of about 9 prior police arrests, and extensive visits to juvenile court as well as a number of commitments to juvenile detention and jail facilities, the "typical" youth has had many contacts with the juvenile justice system before his present incarceration.

But there were significant differences among the three types of institutions in these importation characteristics. Individual level analyses indicated that except for pre-program delinquency, very few of these variables were significantly associated with the frequency of institutional misconduct. Those associations that were statistically significant for the sample as a whole were often not present in individual programs and/or were related in opposite ways. The importation variables were significantly correlated with each other, however.

Since the analysis of relationships when variables are considered one at a time in relation to misconduct may fail to provide a complete or accurate picture of the interrelationships within the data, we used multiple regression analysis to allow for the assessment of the independent effects of each of the imported characteristics, while controlling simultaneously for the effects of the remaining ones. The

results of this analysis confirmed the failure of the importation model to explain a significant portion of the variation in institutional misconduct. Only about thirteen percent of the variation in the total frequency of serious misconduct was accounted for by the entire set of importation variables. The proportion of the explained variance for each particular type of misbehavior was even smaller, ranging from three to seven percent.

Though in the next chapter we will examine the utility of another model which has often been cast in opposition to the importation perspective, we cannot discard imported characteristics as partial explanations of the phenomenon. Clearly pre-institutional delinquency, the clearest and most theoretically relevant aspect of the model, is associated with the incidence of serious misbehavior of incarcerated youth and there are reasons to believe that measurement problems may have masked an even stronger relationship. Rather, we now turn to the "deprivation" perspective as a different way of accounting for problematic behaviors of confined youth.

FOOTNOTES

1. Multiple regression employs the principle of least squares to produce a prediction equation enabling us to weigh and sum scores on the independent variables to obtain the best possible prediction equation of misconduct in the institutional setting. It is used here primarily as a device for estimating the total amount of variance in the dependent variable that the entire set of independent variables (representing each of the three models) could account for as a set, and as a tool for evaluating the relative contribution of independent variables within each set. For this particular analysis, standardized partial regression coefficients or beta weights are more convenient descriptions of the variables' relationships than are nonstandardized coefficients because the units in which the variables are measured are often not interpretable or inconsistent with each other. Beta weights generally range in value from minus one to plus one and measure how many standard deviation units the dependent variable will change given one standard deviation change in the independent variable while controlling for all the other variables in the regression equation. Since all the variables in the equation are expressed in standard deviation units, beta weights can be directly compared to assess their impact on the dependent variable.

2. We are aware that the simultaneous multiple regression model used here may result in highly misleading individual coefficients because of the problem of multicolinearity of the independent variables (i.e. they are substantially correlated).

# CHAPTER VI

# THE DEPRIVATION PERSPECTIVE ON INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT

In contrast to the "Importation Model," which views inmate adaptations as characteristic behavior patterns of individuals without reference to the institutional setting, the "Deprivation Model" explains these adaptations with reference to feelings of alienation and hostility generated by the deprivations and frustrations of the condition of imprisonment.[1] Though these two models are often presented as polar opposites, they are not really mutually exclusive and, in fact, should be viewed as complementary sets of explanations.[2] In this chapter, we will explore the implications of the various sets of hypotheses subsumed under the "Deprivation or Functional" perspectives for understanding institutional misconduct.

## Prior Research Using the Deprivation Perspective

The early work of Clemmer (1938) and Hayner and Ash (1939) assumed that the negative attitudes of inmates (characterized as "conniving codes" and attitudes of "prisonization") were, at least to some extent, indicative of solidary opposition to the prison environment. These early explanations can be characterized as "Pure Deprivation" models because they only assume that inmate adaptations are responses to institutional conditions. Later theorists elaborated these models into "Functional" perspectives by assuming that these adaptations (particularly the development of inmate social

systems) tended to reduce the frustrations and deprivations of imprisonment.

Though the functional significance of the development of inmate social systems was accepted as fact in many studies, theorists differed in the particular functions they believed were served. McCorkle and Korn, as well as Cloward, emphasized the function of the system in restoring the self-esteem and status of inmates:

> "In many ways, the inmate social system may be viewed as providing a way of life which enables the inmate to avoid the devastating psychological effects of internalizing and converting social rejection into self-rejection. In effect, it permits the inmate to reject his rejectors" (McCorkle and Korn, 1954, p. 88).

The inmate social system was also seen as providing other mechanisms to reduce the rigors of confinement, beyond the psychological boost of standing in firm opposition to prison officials. Sykes, in a classic statement of the frustrations of prison life, identified five "pains of imprisonment": the deprivation of liberty, the deprivation of goods and services, the deprivation of heterosexual relationships, the deprivation of autonomy, and the deprivation of security, which he believed could be mitigated by collective orientations of inmates.

> "...the greater the extent of 'cohesive' responses--the greater the degree to which the society of captives moves in the direction of inmate solidarity --the greater is the likelihood that the pains of imprisonment will be rendered less severe for the inmate population as a whole" (Sykes, 1966, p. 107).

Theorists emphasizing different pains of imprisonment have looked at the functional significance of different as-

pects of the inmate social system. Much of the research on the inmate social systems formed by women and girls was concerned with the functional significance of pseudo-families and homosexuality as alleviating the lack of heterosexual experiences and affectional relationships. For example:

> "The overriding need of a majority of female prisoners is to establish an affectional relationship which brings in prison, as it does in the community, love, interpersonal support, security and social status. This need prompts homosexuality as the predominant compensatory response to the pains of imprisonment" (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965, p. 70).

In contrast, the functions of the social systems of male inmates were more often viewed as alleviating the pains of deprivation of goods and services and provision of security. The collusion between inmate elites and guards in order to maintain "conditions of peace and order" and the systems of sub rosa economic interchanges that emerge in male prisons were believed to mitigate the problems of scarcity and violence.

In the present analysis, we have no way of testing the functional argument. Since ours was not a longitudinal design, we have no way of demonstrating that participation in an inmate social system and/or engaging in misconduct actually leads to a reduction in the discomforts of confinement. Moreover, we find it difficult to argue that the involvement of youth in serious misconduct would tend to reduce their feelings of rejection and degradation. Rather, we believe, though we cannot demonstrate it, that many of these behaviors may result in more rejection both from other youth and staff,

more severe institutional experiences, and longer lengths of stay. These behaviors are probably dysfunctional in terms of alleviating the pains of imprisonment. Although it seems logical that the solidarity with other youth in an inmate social system would tend to alleviate many of the more painful aspects of confinement, there is less reason to believe that engaging in acts of misconduct would serve that function.

The pure "Deprivation" argument is more appealing for our purposes. Rather than assuming that prisonized values and behaviors lead to a reduction of felt deprivation, we need only show that the degree of physical and psychological degradation provided by the institutional setting is associated with the development of such attitudes and behavior. As Cline indicates:

> "This model has been implicit in many demands for penal reform; it is based upon the assumption that being in prison is a degrading and depriving experience, and that inmates respond to this experience with feelings of hostility towards those who they see as the enforcement agents of their incarceration, the staff" (Cline, 1968, pp. 174-175).

Although most researchers using this model have tried to link the deprivations of the prison experience to negative attitudes and norms of prisonization, the extension of the argument to the actual behaviors of inmates seems logical. Acts of defiance and anger, in particular, may be closely linked to feelings of alienation and hostility toward authorities and fellow prisoners. Acts of escape and self-mutilation might be associated with feelings of hopelessness and frustration.

In a study of seven prisons in the United States, estimated rates of drug use and homosexual behavior were higher in institutions with punitive, repressive, and harsh environments than in those which were open, humane, and treatment-oriented. The authors concluded that the extent to which convicts are engaged in these two types of deviant behavior during the time of their incarceration, was more a function of the type of prison which held them than the social characteristics they brought with them from the outside (Akers, Hayner and Gruninger, 1974). Unfortunately there were a number of serious methodological problems in this study.

The characterization of institutional environments was made by the three researchers on the basis of tape recorded interviews with the top administrators of the various prisons, and not using the perceptions and reports of the inmates themselves. Data on the amount of homosexual involvement and specific use of drugs were obtained from responses to questions about the participation of other inmates. The questions were written in the following form: "How many inmates do you know for sure have participated in homosexual relations in this institution at least once in the past year?" The same question was asked separately for: drugs (no kind specified), marijuana, heroin, or drugs other than marijuana or heroin. There was no information about the frequency of involvement in these behaviors by inmates themselves. It is certainly possible that inmates in more punitive institutions believe that other inmates are more deviant than they

actually are while this same "pluralistic ignorance" may not be operative in more open and humane settings. Since the analysis was only based on ecological correlations between type of prison and rates of reported homosexual and drug activities, there was no way to link the actual involvements of inmates in these behaviors to their felt deprivation.

Similar problems were characteristic of the studies which attributed the frequency of absconding to characteristics of the environments of training schools. Not only were there very few attempts to link situational or environmental factors to absconding, but the measurement of school environment was quite inadequate. For example, Clarke and Martin, in looking at official absconding rates for July to December of 1964 and 1966 in England, found wide differences between schools in these rates "which reflect differences in school environment" and further found:

> "these differences in absconding rates are relatively stable over time (at least for senior and intermediate schools) in the same way as many differences of school regimes which might be implicated in absconding are stable" (Clarke and Martin, 1971, p. 52).

Yet they made no real effort to identify the differences in school environments which they believed to be related to the absconding rate. They did note a study by Sinclair in which the failure rates (as a result of absconding or an offense) in probation hostels were largely accounted for by the personalities and training methods of the hostel wardens. The hostels with low failure rates had strict discipline, "but the warden was kind and well supported by his wife." Clarke and

Martin admit, however:

> "As approved schools are more complex organizations than probation hostels, it is not likely that the personality and training methods of a single member of staff, e.g., the headmaster or housemaster, would be as important in absconding, and thus it might be more difficult to identify crucial variables" (Clarke and Martin, 1971, p. 53).

In their further studies of boys in British approved schools, Clarke and Martin pursued this investigation by examining, among other things, whether youths who were extroverted or introverted (as measured by the Junior Eysenck Personality Inventory) would have different absconding rates depending on the kind of program environment in which they were placed. They expected to find that introverted boys would be more likely to run away from schools that emphasized team games and house spirit than from those which emphasized individual casework. These and other hypotheses were not confirmed. What is important, from our perspective, is the problematic characterization of school environment in the study. The regime of each school was described very simply as "permissive-therapeutic" (casework), "traditional-structured," "training school," and "paternalistic-traditional." These descriptions were arrived at in consultation with the Headmaster of the classifying center that referred boys to the various schools, rather than by more systematic or objective assessments. The perceptions of the boys themselves were not solicited at all.

In their comparison of the runaway rates in a mediatory community program and a total institution, Empey and Lubeck presented few definitive findings regarding the impact of en-

vironmental variables. Although they suggested that dynamic and drastic shifts in the institutionalized norms of programs led to a state of anomie which produced escapist behavior such as absconding in the total institution, this did not really occur in the community program, where the overall rate remained stable over the entire period despite similar changes (Empey and Lubeck, 1971). We were given no information about the subjective perceptions of boys regarding changes in the programs and ways in which these might be related to their own participation in running away and other critical incidents. No attempt was made to relate self-reported participation in deviant behavior to individual perceptions of the deprivations and frustrations of life in the program.

Despite the lack of adequate research, there is always a great deal of speculation as to the causes of absconding and other types of institutional misconduct. Slavson argued that misconduct is a result of problems in the relationship between youth and staff.

> "...we were nearly always able to discover a precipitating act of 'unjust' or unkindly treatment on the part of some staff member. In some instances these feelings had no foundation in fact but the boys, oversensitive as they were to adults' snubs and persecution, interpreted some innocent act as such" (Slavson, 1954, p. 99).

Others speculate that absconding is motivated by: "difficulties and pressures within the institution" (Levine, 1962); "running away from conflict and stress" (Hildebrand, 1968); attempts to secure staff attention (Farrington, et. al. 1963); "being fed up because they are not getting any benefit from

the time in the program" (Carter, 1963); "undue delays or complications in parole placement" (Levine, 1962); "a way of postponing parole without having to admit to peers that one does not really want to be released" (Hildebrand, 1968); "for the sheer phenomenal enjoyment and excitement of a chase... just to 'get away' with getting away" (Hildebrand, 1968); and "homesickness and related anxieties" (Levine, 1962).

A few studies have gone beyond speculation. Using the social climate scales developed by Moos which provide systematic measures of the subjective perspectives of inmates as to the program environment, absconders' scores were compared to those of graduates of New York correctional programs for youth. Results indicated that the youth who later absconded rated their programs as permitting significantly less Expressiveness and as putting more stress on Staff Control than nonabsconders (graduates). There was also a slight tendency for absconders to rate the programs higher on Order and Organization than nonabsconders. Even within a particular program absconders rated the social climate very differently from graduates (Chase, 1975).

> "Absconders rated the program significantly lower than graduates on the Relationship and Treatment program dimensions and significantly higher on the System Maintenance dimensions...Differences between the two groups were particularly marked on the Expressiveness scale" (Chase, 1975, p. 203).

There was also some evidence that the subjective perceptions of youth tapped by the Social Climate scales were stable over time. Chase found that sixty percent of the absconders stayed in the program for two or more months after being tested. She

concluded from this that:

> "their absconding characteristics were discernible for at least two months, and in many cases much longer, before they actually ran. This result held true for the other types of-within program measures and led to a direct program implication, namely, that if systematic assessments could be made of each youth at intake or shortly after, efforts to forestall absconding could be started much earlier, with a corresponding increase in the likelihood of averting such behavior"(Chase, 1975, p. 204).

In two studies of the attitudes of youth who were considered troublemakers by staff, there is evidence that such youth hold more negative perceptions of the institutional environment than do conforming youth. Moos related scores on the Social Climate scales to a three month record of disciplinary infractions in two juvenile correctional units (Moos, 1975). He found that the rule breakers saw the social environments of the two units much more negatively than did the residents who did not break any rules. This was particularly true with regard to scales of Expressiveness, Practical Orientation, and Personal Problem Orientation. Rule breakers rated themselves as much less satisfied with the institution, as liking the staff less, as feeling that they had less chance to develop their abilities and self confidence, and as being more likely to get into trouble in the institution. On the other hand, rule breakers were much more positive about other residents than non-rule breakers (Moos, 1975).

The inmate's definition of his institutional situation as "a negative opportunity structure, as a negative authority structure, and as an arbitrary and externally controlled environment" was believed to lead to troublemaking behavior in

a study by Wood, Wilson, Jessor and Bogan. Using staff nominations of "troublemakers" and disciplinary reports on each inmate, they found that these hypotheses were confirmed. Youth who were nominated by four or more staff members as troublemakers saw less opportunity, less reasonable and sympathetic authority, and greater arbitrary unpredictability in the institutional situation than other youth. Although these troublemakers had spent significantly longer time in the institution than the Control group, the researchers found that unfavorable definitions were unrelated to length of stay. Trouble making behavior was also apparently unrelated to demographic, life history, and delinquency history variables though there was a tendency for such youth to have had slightly greater previous exposure to institutionalization (Wood, Wilson, Jessor, and Bogan, 1966).

Since, in both of these studies, misconduct measures were based on official not self-reports, it is quite likely that the negative attitudes of youth were related to the treatment they received from staff and the ways in which they were labeled by them. The labeling of youth as "troublemakers" or "rule breakers" by staff may have resulted in differential treatment of these youth and consequently produced perceptions of the institution as a negative and repressive environment. It is also possible that youth who committed the same acts of misconduct, but were not detected as troublemakers, did not share these perceptions.

In the present analysis, though we use self-report mea-

sures of misconduct, we share many of the other problems inherent in cross-sectional designs relating attitudes to behaviors. Though significant associations may be found between negative perceptions of the institution and deviant behavior, we still won't know whether youth who have strong feelings of alienation/deprivation are more likely to break rules or whether the direction of influence is reversed. Longitudinal analyses are necessary to establish the causal direction conclusively.

Moreover, we are painfully aware of the difficulties in constructing measures of deprivation and repression appropriate to the understanding of institutional misconduct. As Cline discovered in a study of fifteen correctional institutions in Scandinavian countries,

> "It is more difficult to construct measures for the deprivation model than for the direct importation model. There are a number of different dimensions of deprivation; for example, the loss of personal freedom; the perception of rejection and its potential impact on self concept; the absence of heterosexual contacts; the scarcity of such personal amenities as tobacco, coffee, and toilet articles; and the restrictions and limitations on contacts with others both inside and outside the institution" (Cline, 1968, p. 181).

Cline only developed an index of the last type of deprivation, which he called "social deprivation" and based it on objective characteristics of the program such as restrictions on the length of time permitted with visitors, restrictions on the number of furloughs that inmates were permitted, and the proportion of inmates who eat their meals alone in their rooms. His finding of a positive relationship between measures

of social contact and anti-staff attitudes was surprising since the deprivation model predicts the opposite. In explaining the finding, he turns to the concept of relative deprivation, saying:

> "...the finding...invites the notion that it is the very contact itself, especially the contact with the outside world, that enables the inmate to see clearly what he is missing out there. The more contact with that world, the more he may use it as a reference point, and hence the more depriving the world of the prison appears to him" (Cline, 1968, p. 182).

Although this may be true, we feel that the finding may be more a function of the way in which social deprivation was measured. It is our contention that the deprivation model requires some assessment of the pains of imprisonment as _perceived by inmates_ rather than as _perceived by research investigators_. The existence of rules and policies regulating contact with the outside may bear little relationship to the actual experiences of inmates in terms of number of home visits, contact with family and friends, and interaction in the community. We know from our field work experiences that many youth had little communication with their family and outside friends while institutionalized although they were in programs which encouraged home visits and correspondence with the outside. The differences in the amount of social isolation experienced by inmates may not be related to the policies of the programs. Moreover, the felt deprivation of inmates may not be consistent with the objective situation. Inmates may feel more or less deprived than one another, given the same situation, because of differences in expectations and pre-pri-

son deprivations. Finally, we expect their reactions to be more closely allied with their subjective feelings of deprivation than to actual institutional characteristics.

In this chapter we will use a combination of objective and subjective measures to test the efficacy of the Deprivation Model. All of these measures are based on youth reports and individual level analyses relating frequency of misconduct to each of them will be used. As in Chapter Five, each of the indicators will be described and comparisons between the three types of institutions will be made for each of them. The relationship of each deprivation variable to each type of institutional misconduct will be examined before pursuing the multivariate analyses in which they are considered a set.

Length of Stay

Studies of assimilation into the prison setting, as well as those concerned with deprivation, have included classifications of inmates according to their length of stay, since the early work of Clemmer who directed his attention to:

> "the manner in which the attitudes of prisoners are modified as the men spend month after month in the penal milieu" (Clemmer, 1940, p. 294).

A number of studies of prisonization and membership in collective inmate organizations have found that negative attitudes and behaviors intensified over the period of time served (Wheeler, 1961; Wellford, 1967; Tittle, 1972). Although a progressive opposition to staff norms (measured by attitude scales) is observed when inmates are classified either by length of time served or by the stage of their institutional career, we know of no studies indicating that miscon-

duct behavior increases over time. We would, however, expect to find that it does, for two reasons. First, the extent to which the pains of imprisonment increase or become more intolerable to inmates over time should, according to the Deprivation Model, be reflected in higher frequencies of negative, acting-out behavior. Secondly, youth who were involved consistently in such negative behavior, and were detected, probably have had their sentences increased as a result. Long terms may thus be a "result" rather than a "cause" of misconduct.

Youth were asked to report the month, day, and year they were sent to the institution. To determine how long they had been in the program, coders calculated the difference between the date the questionnaire was administered and the entry date provided by the youth. The difference between the two dates was coded to the nearest month; thus anything less than 15 days was coded as zero and any days over this were coded as the next month. The average length of time youth had been in our sampled programs at the time of our visit was 7.6 months, and a one way analysis of variance revealed no statistically significant differences among the three types of institutions in the average length of stay.

According to Wheeler, the overriding concern of criminologists with processes of induction and assimilation into the institution led to a neglect of the processes involved in leaving it, and re-adapting to the outside world. As long as analyses are restricted to the length of time since entrance into the prison, important features of the inmate's response

to the institution may be missed. Wheeler maintains:

> "There is evidence, however, that from the inmate's perspective the length of time remaining to be served may be the most crucial temporal aspect. Many inmates can repeat the precise number of months, weeks, and days until their parole date arrives, whereas few are equally accurate in reporting the length of time they have served" (Wheeler, 1961, pp. 698-699).

This last observation may be limited to prisons which provide determinate sentences for offenders, such as the one Wheeler studied. In juvenile institutions, sentences are indeterminate for the most part and we attribute far less accuracy to the estimates of remaining time than Wheeler did. However, we also feel that the perceptions of youth with regard to their remaining time may be more crucial as a deprivation variable than the actual amount of remaining time to be served.

At any rate, Wheeler noted a U-shaped distribution of high conformity responses of inmates suggesting that:

> "inmates who have recently been in the broader community and inmates who are soon to return to that community are more frequently oriented in terms of conventional values. Inmates conform least to conventional standards during the middle phase of their institutional career" (Wheeler, 1961, p. 706).

If this observation holds for acts of misconduct, we would expect to find that the frequency of misconduct is highest for youth in the middle phases of institutionalization. Wheeler suggests that the reason for this U-shaped distribution is that the inmate culture should exert its major impact on inmates during the middle of their stay, at the point in time when they are farthest removed from the outside world.

On the other hand, Wheeler contended that the last stage of the institutional career (with the shortest remaining time) was the most painful for inmates.

> "The inmate who sheds the negative outlook required by the inmate system may inherit in its place the rejecting feelings the culture served largely to deny...It is precisely at this point when the meaning of being an inmate as it is viewed by the outside world, is most likely to have its impact...If this interpretation is correct, many of the psychological pains of imprisonment are revealed most clearly at time of release rather than entry" (Wheeler, 1961, p. 711).

Essentially then, we are led to believe that if this theory holds for institutional misconduct, the frequency of involvement should be lowest in the earliest stage of the career (with the longest remaining number of months) and should be high in the middle phase (because of the lack of attachment to the outside community) and in the last phase (because of the anxieties created by feelings of potential rejection).

The Deprivation Model, on the other hand, would suggest that misconduct would be most often committed by youth with a lot of time left to serve and/or those who have already served a lot of time since we would expect both groups to experience the most severe pains of imprisonment. The association between length of stay and perceived pains of imprisonment is obviously not clear either empirically or theoretically.

Because the institutions in our sample differed in terms of the usual length of time served by youth, and because we did not know how long the youth would actually stay in them, it was impossible to classify youth by the phases of their institutional careers, as Wheeler and others have done.

Rather we constructed two variables: the length of time youth had already served at the time of the questionnaire administration and the remaining amount of time they believed they would stay.

In answer to the question, "How much longer do you think you will stay here?"_____(months), youth reported an average of 5.1 months but there were significant differences among the three types of institutions. Youth in utilitarian programs believed that they had an average of 6.4 months remaining time and in custodial institutions, the youth reported an average of 5.3 months left to serve. In contrast youth in participatory programs believed that they had to stay in the institution an average of only 3.9 months longer (F=11.131, 1232 d.f., p=.0000).

Because we believed that youths' feelings of deprivation might have been a result of comparisons of their own experiences with other youth in the program (relative deprivation), a crude measure of the discrepancy between their own perceived total length of stay and what they believed to be the usual sentence in the program was devised. Youth were asked "How long do most youth stay here?" _____(months). We calculated their perceived total length of stay by summing the number of months they reported being in the program up to that time and the number of months more they expected to stay. In subtracting their estimates of the usual sentence from their estimates of their own we had a measure of the perceived discrepancy between their own and others' total length of stay. Obviously there were problems with this measure since many youth were

unable to remember when they entered the program and more were quite uncertain as to when they would leave. Estimates of the usual length of stay were approximations rather than clear-cut reports. A more direct and unambiguous measure of perceived discrepancy in sentences would have been preferable but we were forced to rely on this indirect one.

In each of the three types of institutions youth believed that they would have to stay longer than the usual term and the average discrepancy was 2.8, indicating that youth felt they would be in the program almost three months longer than the usual time. Statistically significant differences between the three types of institutions did not emerge from a one way analysis of variance, indicating that there was more variation within the types than between them. However, the average discrepancy was higher in custodial and participatory programs than in utilitarian ones. Custodial program youth felt that on the average they would stay 3.6 months longer than usual and participatory program youth felt they would stay about 2.6 months longer. In utilitarian programs, on the other hand, youth believed they would stay only 1.6 months longer than usual.

The average total length of stay expected by the youth in our sample was slightly over a year (12.7 months) but there was significant variation by institutional compliance/management style. Youth in custodial institutions expected to stay an average of 13.3 months and in utilitarian programs the projected figure was 13.5 months. The total length of

time the average youth expected to spend in participatory programs was less - 11.3 months (F=4.1988, 1161 d.f., p=.02). Product moment correlations between the frequency of institutional misconduct within the one month period and the three measures of length of stay were computed. The number of months youth had already been in the program was directly related to the use of illegal drugs (r=.13), internal theft (r=.13), property damage (r=.11), and all serious misconduct (r=.15). The number of months youth believed they had to remain in the program was directly related to the use of illegal drugs (r=.11), absconding (r=.06), assaults on staff (r=.09), fighting (r=.08), and all serious misconduct (r=.11). Moreover, youth who believed that they would stay in the program longer than the usual time were more likely to use drugs (r=.12), steal (r=.08), damage property (r=.08), hit staff (r=.11), and engage in higher frequencies of all serious misconduct (r=.15).

Distance from Home

In the movement to develop community-based correctional facilities, there is an implicit assumption that the placement of offenders in programs at some distance from their home communities is particularly painful. Because of the problems involved in visits to youth by parents and friends living many miles from a program and in arranging for home visits by youth to these communities, we would expect to find that feelings of isolation and loneliness would be more intense among youth whose home communities were far from the institution.

To the extent that these feelings were translated into acts of rebellion and withdrawal, we would expect distance from home to be directly related to the frequency of misconduct.

Youth were asked to provide the name of the city or town they thought of as home, and a road atlas was used to determine the distance between this community and the institution, using the shortest route. The median number of miles between the institution and the youths' homes was 80 across all programs, but while custodial programs had a median of 98 miles, and participatory programs had a median of 80 miles, utilitarian programs were located closer to youths own homes, with a median of only 18 miles.

There were small but statistically significant relationships between distance from home and the frequency of several types of serious misconduct, but they were inversely related, in the opposite direction from the hypothesis. Specifically, the greater the distance between a youth's home and the institution, the less frequently he was involved in the use of illegal drugs (r=-.08), absconding (r=-.08), damaging property (r=-.07), and all types of serious misconduct (r=-.07). There was, however, a slight but significant direct relationship between the frequency of staff assaults and the distance from home (r=.06). We think it would be unwise to draw any conclusions from these correlations since they are quite small. At any rate, it is obvious that those youth who were incarcerated at some distance from their home communities engaged in misconduct no more frequently than those who were closer to

their homes. The number of miles between one's home and the institution is probably not as good an indicator of isolation as more direct perceptual questions.

Home Visits

For a variety of reasons, including the reluctance of parents, transportation problems, institutional rules and regulations, and possibly the behavior of youth, home visits were not frequent in the programs in our sample. They were, however, among the few meaningful rewards and pleasures available to incarcerated youth. We would expect to find that youth who have been allowed more frequent furloughs, for whatever reason, would be less likely to engage in institutional misconduct, if the Deprivation Model is correct.

Although we did not know whether youth were allowed to go home on a visit during the month preceding our field visit (the period of time of self-reported misconduct) we did ask them to tell us: "How many times have you been home on a visit since you've been here?" In order to control for varying lengths of time in the program, we calculated the average number of home visits per month in the institution.

Across all programs, the average was less than one home visit every two months (.42), but there were significant differences among the three types of programs (F=34.863, 1162 d. f., p=.0000). Youth in utilitarian programs reported being able to have a home visit nearly once a month (.86) and in participatory settings youth had home visits less than once every two months (.42), on the average. But in custodial

programs, the average frequency was .16, indicating that youth were able to visit their homes an average of less than once every six months.

We do not know when these home visits occurred, under what circumstances, or how long youth were allowed to stay at home. But in the two programs which had the highest average (Juniper and Wildwood), home visits were encouraged and youth were allowed to spend entire weekends with their families at least once a month. In most other programs, home visits were rare events.

The only type of misconduct that was related to the number of home visits was the use of illegal drugs but the direction of the relationship was inverse (r=.09). Youth having more home visits reported higher frequencies of drug use. Both lesser distance from home and more home visits may increase the opportunities for youth to obtain drugs.

Contact with Parents, Other Adults, and Friends

The feelings of isolation and loneliness experienced by youth who were not able to visit their homes may have been mitigated to some extent by continuous contacts with their friends and families through correspondence, phone calls, and institutional visits. In order to compare the frequency of such contacts, youth were asked to report how often they had been in touch with their mother, father, adults close to them, and friends their own age who were not in the program during the last month. About seven percent of the sample reported not having a mother and 17 percent had no father but

only 2 percent had no close adults and 3 percent had no friends outside the program.

In Table 6.1, the percent of youth reporting no contacts during the last month with these "significant others" is shown.

TABLE 6.1 PERCENT OF YOUTH WHO HAD NO CONTACT IN THE PAST MONTH WITH MOTHER, FATHER, OTHER ADULTS CLOSE TO THEM, AND FRIENDS OUTSIDE THE PROGRAM, BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Compliance/ Management Type | No Contact With: Mother | Father | Other Adults | Friends |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Custodial (N=559-562) | 22% | 51% | 39% | 52% |
| Utilitarian (N=303-304) | 19 | 43 | 37 | 36 |
| Participatory (N=437-446) | 21 | 51 | 29 | 47 |
| TOTAL (N=1300-1312) | 21% | 49% | 35% | 46% |
| Chi Square | 16.995 6 d.f. p=.009 | 9.5452 6 d.f. NS | 15.769 6 d.f. p=.02 | 23.130 6 d.f. p=.0008 |

Over eighty percent of the youth reported at least one contact with their mothers in the month preceding the field visit and about two-thirds of them had had contact with their fathers (or else did not have a father). Contact with some other adult such as close relatives also occurred among two-thirds of sampled youth. But a relatively high proportion of them had no contact with friends their own age outside the program in the past month, and this was probably due in part

to program restrictions on such contact by phone, letter or visits.

Although there were statistically significant differences in the proportion of youth who had no contact with their mothers, other adults, and friends by program type, most of these were minor. On the whole youth in utilitarian programs reported more contact with their immediate families and friends than youth in the other two program types and this may have been a function of the continuity of contact possible in utilitarian programs because they were not as isolated and inaccessible. The amount of contact youth had had with their fathers or friends, through phone calls, letters or visits was not at all related to the frequency of their institutional misconduct. There was a slight relationship however between having little contact with mother and involvement in stealing (r=.06), damaging property (r=.06), and hitting staff (r=.06). Youth who had little contact with other adults close to them had higher self-reported involvement in absconding (r=.08), and stealing (r=.06) during that one month period. Although these relationships are in the direction predicted by the Deprivation Model, they are small and the causal direction is unknown.

Perceived Isolation

Cognizant of the possibility that youths' feelings of deprivation of contact with friends and family might not have paralleled the actual amount of contact they had, we asked them to tell us their feelings about it in the following two

questions:

"I can be in touch with my friends enough."

____ True ____ False

"I can be in touch with my family enough."

____ True ____ False

The two items were significantly correlated (.42) and each of them was related significantly to the corresponding item on frequency of actual contact. Youth who had had less contact in the last month with friends were less likely to think they had enough contact (.13). Feelings of deprivation of family contact were related to the infrequency of recent contacts with mothers (.23) and with fathers (.14). Though these correlations were in the predicted direction and were statistically significant, they were relatively small, indicating that the number of actual contacts through correspondence, phone calls, and visits does not fully explain differences in felt deprivation.

An index of perceived isolation was constructed by summing the responses of youth to the two questions. Item to scale correlations are shown in Appendix C. Index scores range from zero (enough contact with both friends and family) to 2 (not enough contact with both friends or family). The mean score for the sample as a whole was .9, indicating medium feelings of isolation, but a one way analysis of variance showed significant differences in perceived isolation among youth in the three types of programs. Youth in custodial and utilitarian programs had average scores of 1.0, meaning that

they felt they did not have enough contact with friends or with their families, but in participatory programs the average score was .7, indicating less dissatisfaction with the amount of contact they had.

In Table 6.2 the correlations of this index with more objective indicators of isolation indicate that there was no relationship between youths' feelings of isolation and their length of stay, remaining months in the program, or distance between home and program. Though the actual frequency of contact with parents, adults, and friends and the average number of home visits were related to their feelings with statistical significance, these relationships were relatively small and explained only a small part of the variance.

Youth who felt that they were deprived of enough contact with family and friends were slightly more likely to have been involved in stealing (r=.07), damaging property (r=.06), fighting (r=.06), and serious misconduct in general (r=.07), than other youth. However, although these correlations are statistically significant they are quite small.

Off Grounds Experiences

The restriction of all or most leisure time activity to the institutional setting can be seen as a major "pain of imprisonment" for adolescents because their peers on the outside are typically involved in a whole series of recreational activities, shopping excursions and social interactions, which are central to their lives.

We asked youth to tell us how many times in the last

TABLE 6.2 CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE PERCEIVED ISOLATION AND THE ACTUAL ISOLATION EXPERIENCED BY YOUTH

| | Perceived Isolation from Family and Friends (n=1061) |
|---|---|
| Distance between home and program | .01 |
| Average number of home visits per month | -.09** |
| Low contact with mother | .20** |
| Low contact with father | .14** |
| Low contact with other adults | .15** |
| Low contact with friends | .12** |
| Months in program | -.01 |
| Remaining months | .03 |
| Total length of stay | .02 |
| Discrepancy between own and usual length of stay | -.01 |

month they had engaged in a variety of outside activities, including spending time with neighborhood youth, going off grounds for work and school, and going off grounds for other reasons. Very few youth in any program had spent time with youth in the neighborhood or worked or gone to school outside so analysis was limited to the last question:

> "How many times in the last month have you gone off grounds for other reasons - like shopping, recreation, religious services, movies, etc. (Check one)
>
> _____Every day _____2-3 times a week _____ 2-3 times a month _____ Once a month _____ Never

Over a third of the youth in the sample (37 percent) had not gone off grounds at all in the past month but a quarter of

them had gone at least once a week. There were significant differences among the three types of institutions in the frequency of these off campus excursions. Only about a quarter of the youth (28 percent) in utilitarian programs had not gone off grounds in the past month but a third of the youth in participatory programs (32 percent) and nearly half of the youth in custodial programs (47 percent) reported that they had not gone off grounds. In fact more than a third of the youth in utilitarian programs went off campus once a week or more, as compared to twenty-six percent of the youth in participatory programs and only fifteen percent of the youth in custodial programs (Chi Square = 83.314, 6 d.f., p=.0000).

The ways in which off grounds trips were organized and monitored varied, and we were aware of the fact that such experiences may have been so controlled as to provide very little contact with the community and very little freedom. Unfortunately our questions did not tap youths' experiences on these trips but we do know that at two of the utilitarian programs (Juniper and Hickory Creek), youth were allowed to go out by themselves with no chaperones while at most of the other programs, youth had to be accompanied by staff and had to remain in groups throughout all excursions.

The only type of misconduct that was related to the opportunities to go off grounds was absconding (r=.12). Youth who had fewer off grounds experiences had more frequently absconded within that month than youth who had been able to go on shopping excursions and recreational activities off campus.

In this situation, we believe that the causal direction is reversed and that youth who had absconded were restricted from these activities upon their return to the institution, rather than that the lack of off grounds experiences caused youth to run away.

Perceived Lack of Autonomy and Privacy

Confinement in an institution entails a loss of freedom and autonomy that may be particularly problematic for adolescents. Initial factor analyses indicated that three items in the questionnaire seemed to tap an underlying dimension of concern about loss of autonomy and privacy.

"I can wear both my clothes and hair the way I want."

_____ True _____ False

"I can have enough of my own things here."

_____ True _____ False

"I can be alone when I want."

_____ True _____ False

Responses of youth to these three questions were summed and the resulting index of lack of autonomy has scores ranging from 0 (low deprivation) to 3 (high deprivation). Item to scale correlations are contained in Appendix C. The average score was 1.4, indicating a moderate amount of dissatisfaction with their status, but there were significant differences among the three program types. The mean score for custodial programs was 1.6, compared to 1.1 for utilitarian and 1.2 for participatory programs (F=4-.724, 1323 d.f., p=.0000). Youth in custodial programs were given less autonomy and privacy

than youth in the other programs.

Youth who felt that they were deprived of their autonomy and privacy during their incarceration were more likely to have stolen (r=.07), damaged property (r=.08), fought other youth (r=.08), and engaged in more acts of serious misconduct in general (r=.10), than youth who were more content. Although these correlations are in the predicted direction, we must remind ourselves that they are rather small.

Boredom

The monotony of the daily routine and the lack of challenging activity programs for youth are often cited as factors responsible for much of the misconduct occurring in these settings. Even the inmates believe this to be true, as evidenced by the comments of a "lonely isolate" quoted by Rubenfeld and Stafford:

> "There's not much to do around here, and there's a lot of time for thinking, and it can sure mess up your mind. But I got some paint. I stole it out of the school building, and I'm painting up the tool shop (where he was alone). This passes the time, and if I get caught I get another misconduct, but I don't care. It passes the time" (Rubenfeld and Stafford, 1963, p. 245).

Many of the recommendations for reducing incidents of misconduct contain ways of alleviating boredom. In their study of escape attempts at the Wisconsin School for Girls, Farley and Farley suggested that institutions providing varied and stimulating activities would have lower absconding rates:

> "Simply put, their necessity for high levels of varied stimulus input could be met by the institution, perhaps in special trips, opportunities to undertake a wider, more varied range of extracurricular activities (e.g.

special movies, more frequent access to records, light shows, visitors, and so on)" (Farley and Farley, 1972, p. 96.

We asked youth to respond to the following statement:

"Most of the time it is boring here."

_____ True _____ False

Over three quarters of the youth in the sample (77%) felt that the institution was usually boring, and in fact the majority of youth in most of the programs felt this way, though there were significant differences among the three program types (F=37.754, 2 d.f., p=.0000). Eighty four percent of the youth in custodial programs said that they were bored most of the time, as did seventy seven percent of the youth in utilitarian programs. And in participatory programs, boredom was usual for over two thirds of the youth (sixty eight percent). Clearly, many more youth are bored with their institutional lives than become involved in acts of misconduct, but boredom may be one of several factors that precipitate these behaviors.

There is a tendency for youth who reported being bored with their programs to be more frequently involved in the use of illegal drugs (r=.06), fighting with youth (r=.11) and all serious misconduct (r=.10).

Relationships with Staff Members

If misconduct behaviors are really acts of defiance and resistance to the "regime of the custodians" (Sykes, 1966) we would expect that youth who perceived staff as punitive, uncaring, and ineffective would more frequently be involved in

institutional delinquency than other youth. As Wood, Wilson, Jessor and Bogan maintained:

> "The inmate who perceives the presence and implementation of rules and regulations as reasonable, necessary and conducive to order and who sees the officers of the institution as helpful and interested authority figures should find it both appropriate and in his own interest to accomodate to regulations and to staff members. To define the authority aspects of his situation otherwise should increase inmate problem behavior" (Wood, et. al., 1966, p. 796).

Early factor analyses indicated the existence of two clusters of items relevant to this hypothesis. The first set, which we labeled "Rules and Punishments" contained the following questions:

1. Most of the staff here really don't care what happens to us; they're just doing a job.

   ____ Strongly agree ____ Agree ____ Mildly agree ____ Mildly disagree ____ Disagree ____ Strongly disagree

2. The staff often punish you for things you don't do.

   ____ Strongly agree ____ Agree ____ Mildly agree ____ Mildly disagree ____ Disagree ____ Strongly Disagree

3. If you tell too much about yourself to staff here, the information will probably be used against you.

   ____ Strongly agree ____ Agree ____ Mildly agree ____ Mildly disagree ____ Disagree ____ Strongly agree

4. How much do the staff here try to <u>punish youth</u>?

   ____ A lot ____ Some ____ Not very much ____ Not at all

5. There are too many rules here. ___ True ___ False

6. The punishments here are too hard.

   ____ True ____ False

The second set, labeled "Helpfulness of Staff" contained the following items: (All questions have same answer format)

1. How much do the staff here try to <u>keep youth satisfied and content</u>?

   ___ A lot ___ Some ___ Not very much ___ Not at all

2. How much do the staff try to <u>have close relationships with youth here</u>?

3. How much do the staff here try to <u>set good examples for your behavior</u>?

4. How much do staff here try to <u>help youth</u> of different races or ethnic groups learn to live together in mutual respect?

5. How much do the staff here try to <u>train youth so that they can get good jobs</u>.

6. How much do the staff here try to <u>stop youth from making trouble in the community</u>?

7. How much do the staff here try to <u>get youth into community activities</u>?

8. How much do the staff here try to <u>teach respect for others property</u>?

9. How much do the staff here try to <u>help youth with school</u>?

10. How much do the staff here try to <u>help youth understand why they get into trouble</u>?

11. How much do the staff here try to <u>help youth to get along better with their families</u>?

12. The staff here prepares you to stay out of trouble after you leave.

    ___ Strongly agree ___ Mildly agree and agree
    ___ Mildly disagree and disagree ___ Strongly disagree

13. Most of the staff are clear about what they expect of me.

    ___ Strongly agree ___ Mildly agree and agree
    ___ Mildly disagree and agree ___Strongly disagree

The average response to the set of items in each index was used as the score for each respondent.[3] Item to scale correlations are contained in Appendix C. Scores on the "Rules and Punishments" index ranged from 1 (Low Punitiveness) to 4 (High Punitiveness) and the mean was 2.7, indicating that the average youth felt that staff were rather punitive. There were significant differences among the three types of programs in this regard as revealed by a one way analysis of variance (F=59.713, 1320 d.f., p=.0000). In both custodial and utilitarian programs, youth perceived the rules and punishments as being harsher than in participatory programs. The average score on the index was 2.9 in custodial and 2.8 in utilitarian programs, but only 2.4 in participatory programs.

Scores on the index of "Staff Helpfulness" ranged from 1 (Very Helpful) to 4 (Not at all Helpful) and the average score was 2.0, indicating that youth found staff trying somewhat to help them in various ways. Item to scale correlations are contained in Appendix C. Differences in the three types of institutions were statistically significant (F=44.347, 1310 d.f., p=.0000), with youth in custodial and utilitarian programs having average scores of 2.2 and 2.0 respectively, as opposed to an average score of 1.8 in participatory programs. In participatory programs, youth perceived staff as being both more helpful and less punitive than was true of the other two types of institutions. These two indices were significantly and strongly related (.55) to each other.

Youth who held negative attitudes toward staff, in terms

of the punitiveness of treatment and the lack of help received, reported higher frequencies of involvement in every type of misconduct. Youth who believed that staff were generally punitive were more often involved in feigning illness (r=.09), using drugs (r=.09), absconding (r=.06), stealing (r=.12), damaging property (r=.16), hitting staff (r=.10), fighting other youth (r=.14), and all acts of serious misconduct (r=.21). Similarly, youth who felt that staff did not try very hard to help with various aspects of their treatment were also more likely to feign illness (r=.12), hit staff (r=.09), fight other youth (r=.16), and engage in serious misconduct as a whole (r=.22).

Participation in Policy-Making

Studies in a variety of contexts have emphasized the importance of sharing of power and influence among various levels of an organization in order to promote feelings of commitment and involvement. Secondary schools, colleges and universities, as well as industrial organizations have been sites for experiments involving self government. But in the correctional setting, we are aware of very few efforts to foster true participation of inmates in the decisions affecting their lives. There were only a few institutions in our sample which had any ongoing mechanisms for the input of student opinion in the formulation of rules and policies.

According to studies of adolescents in secondary school settings, organizational structures which do not permit student participation in decision-making seem to have more alien-

ated students (Wittes, 1970). We would expect to find that youth who felt they had the ability to influence important facets of program operation would feel more involved and committed and they would be less likely to engage in delinquent acts inside the institution.

We asked youth the following question:

"How often have you been able to change the rules here?"

_____ Almost always _____ Sometimes _____ Seldom

_____ Never _____ I've never tried

More than a quarter of the youth in each of the three types of programs reported that they had never tried to change the rules. We do not know whether this was because they agreed with the rules, just did not want to become involved, or felt that such efforts would be futile. There were, however, statistically significant differences among the three program types in the percent of youth who were successful in their efforts (F=27.275, 4 d.f., p=.0000). Thirty percent of the youth in utilitarian programs and thirty-four percent of those in custodial programs had been able to effect such changes at least once, and nearly half of the youth in participatory programs (46 percent) were successful in these efforts.

Youth who felt that they had been unable to change rules in the program were only slightly more likely to have engaged in serious misconduct than other youth (r=.06). The only specific type of misconduct related to this lack of participation in policy-making was fighting (r=.08).

Effectiveness of Treatment Strategies

The deprivations involved in congregate living with other youth twenty four hours a day may be mitigated, at least in part, by opportunities for personal growth and development provided by these programs. As Wood, Wilson, Jessor and Bogan hypothesized in their study of troublemaking youth:

> "It seems reasonable to assume that an inmate who defines his commitment as a situation which provides opportunities for positive development and accomplishment should be motivated to adjust to the situation and to cooperate with those who oversee it. On the other hand, failure to see the situation in this light and definition of it as one in which the inmate is simply 'pulling time' being punished, or being exposed to negative influences, produces opposition" (Wood, et. al., 1966, p. 796).

We asked youth to indicate their feelings of commitment to the treatment goals of the program in the following question:

> "How much do you agree with the changes the program is trying to make in young people like yourself?"
>
> ______ A lot ______ Some ______ Not very much ______ Not at all ______ The program is not trying to make changes

Differences among the three types of programs were statistically significant (F=46.031, 8 d.f., p=.0000). Over a third of the youth in both custodial and utilitarian programs (37 percent in each) disagreed with the program treatment goals but this was true of only 27 percent of the youth in participatory programs. Moreover, when the proportion of youth who believed that the program was not trying to make any changes was deleted, even clearer differences emerged. Forty three percent of the youth in custodial programs, who believed that

their institutions were trying to make changes, disagreed with them, but this was true of only 34 percent of their counterparts in utilitarian programs, and 26 percent of those in participatory programs.

Youth who disagreed with the changes the program was trying to make in young people were more likely to use drugs (r=.13), abscond (r=.09), steal (r=.10), damage property (r=.10), fight other youth (r=.07), and engage in serious misconduct as a whole (r=.16) than youth who agreed with the program objectives.

Any measure of perceived program effectiveness has to take into account the diversity of services provided by juvenile correctional institutions. The provision of treatment, education, and work experiences as well as other facets of program operations may be assigned very different values by youth in their overall assessments. In order to understand the ways in which youth evaluated the individual components of their programs, we asked them the following set of questions: (All questions have same answer format)

a. "How much does the school program help you?"

___ A lot ___ Some ___ Not very much

___ Not at all ___ I don't participate

b. How much does the individual counseling program help you?

c. How much does the group counseling program help you?

d. How much does the vocational and job training help you?

e. How much do sports and recreation help you?

f. How much does the work experience help you?

g. How much does the token and point system help you?

h. How much does the religious program help you?

i. How much do the volunteers help you?

Youth who were in programs not offering particular types of services or who were not availing themselves of such services were asked to check "I don't participate." In order for us to develop a summary measure of the overall value they attached to the services they were given, we calculated the mean on the basis of all of the services in which they did participate. Item to scale correlations are contained in Appendix C (In order to be included on this index, youth had to indicate participation in four out of the nine items, and this was true for 1280 youth). The range of the Index of "Ineffectiveness of Program" was 1 (Very Effective) to 4 (Not at All Effective) and the mean was 2.2, indicating a moderate perception of program helpfulness. There were significant differences in the average scores of the three program types on this measure of ineffectiveness (F=10.773, 1279 d.f., p=.0000). In both custodial and utilitarian programs, the average score was 2.2, as opposed to the average of 2.0 in participatory programs. Although these differences were minor, there was at least some tendency for youth in participatory programs to believe that the services provided helped them more than was true of youth in the other institutions.

Youth who believed that the services provided to them were, on the average, ineffective were more frequently in-

volved in using drugs (r=.18), absconding (r=.14), stealing (r=.11), damaging property (r=.12), hitting staff (r=.08), fighting other youth (r=.09), and all acts of serious misconduct (r=.22) than youth who believed the services were more helpful.

Any assessment of program effectiveness should also consider negative impact such as the extent to which youth became more delinquent during their incarceration. We asked youth the following question:

> "Since I have been here, I have learned to break the law":
>
> ___ In many ways
>
> ___ In a few ways
>
> ___ Not at all

Over half of the youth in the sample (52%) reported that they had learned at least a few delinquent practices since entry to the institution but there were very significant differences among the programs (F=75.064, 4 d.f., p=.0000). Nearly two thirds of the youth in custodial programs (64 percent) and over half of the utilitarian program youth (52 percent) reported that they had been inducted into new criminal techniques since entering the program. But this was true of only about a third of the youth in participatory programs (38 percent).

Youth who said that they learned new ways to break the law since coming to the program reported higher frequencies of every type of misconduct. The product moment correlations between the acquisition of deviant skills and each type of

misconduct were as follows: feigned illness (r=.08), used drugs (r=.18), absconded (r=.11), stole (r=.17), damaged property (r=.22), hit staff (r=.06), fought with youth (r=.16), all serious misconduct (r=.29).

Relations with Peers

Some theorists believe that misconduct, particularly absconding, is a result of feelings of isolation and discomfort in interactions with peers. Acts of aggression and assault, scapegoating, teasing, and ranking by peers may become so unbearable to youth that escape and withdrawal become the only solutions. Polsky noted that in *Cottage Six:*

> "The runaway...is a reaction to an inhospitable and threatening peer milieu...They were isolated from both adults and peers; their way out was literally to leave the 'field'." (Polsky, 1962, p. 85).

It also seems likely that being associated with a tight-knit, cohesive friendship group and/or inmate collectivity would provide some relief from "pains of imprisonment" and would reduce the amount of aggressive behavior directed toward peers. We might expect to find that youth with many friends would be infrequently involved in fighting and stealing. On the other hand, since the use of illegal drugs is generally a group centered activity, we would expect that it would be less characteristic of "isolates."

We do not have information on the interaction patterns, clique formations, sociometric positions of youth, but in order to develop measures of relations with peers, we asked two questions:

"How many of the youth you have met here would you like to see again after you leave?"

___ Almost all of them ___ Quite a few of them
___ Some of them ___ Not many of them ___ None of them

"How many of the youth here are close friends of yours?" (check one)

___ None ___ One ___ Two ___ Three ___ Four or five
___ Six or seven ___ Eight or nine ___ Ten or more

We also tried to crudely ascertain youths' position in the sociometric structure of the program by asking the following question:

"I would best describe myself as...(check only one)

___ A leader among all the youth here
___ A leader in the cottage or dorm
___ A regular member of a group here
___ Not a real member of any group, but friends with some youth here
___ Pretty much of a loner

Though there are statistically significant relationships among these three items, they are certainly not duplicative. The correlation between number of close friends and position in the sociometric structure was .12; between number of close friends and desire to see youth again (.17); and between position in sociometric structure and desire to see other youth again (.10).

There were very few self-defined isolates. Overall, about 16 percent of the youth defined themselves as loners, and only 9 percent said that they had no close friends in the program. Most of the youth did nothave large numbers of friends but have at least one or two. More than two thirds of them (69 percent) said that they would like to see at least some of the youth again after they were released.

TABLE 6.3 YOUTH REPORTS OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEERS IN PROGRAM, BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| | Percent of youth who: | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Compliance/ Management Style | Had no close friends in program | Would not like to see many youth after release | Defined themselves "Pretty much as loners" |
| Custodial (N=546-563) | 11% | 33% | 19% |
| Utilitarian (N=292-302) | 6 | 33 | 16 |
| Participatory (N=423-451) | 9 | 27 | 13 |
| TOTAL (N=1261-1316) | 9 | 31 | 16 |
| Chi Square | 16.723 4 d.f. p=.002 | 6.2021 2 d.f. p=.04 | 9.8792 4 d.f. p=.04 |

Table 6.3 shows the percentages of youth in each program providing answers to the items indicating negative peer relationships. There were minor but consistent differences among the three program types in the proportion of youth who felt little closeness to other inmates. Custodial programs contained the highest proportion of youth who had no close friends, defined themselves as loners, and wanted to terminate contacts with inmates upon release.

In every program, the proportions of youth who were loners and had no close friends were much smaller than the number who wanted to break ties with other inmates after release. It may well be that other factors besides their present feel-

ings were involved in decisions to cut off contact with their peers. The extent to which youth were part of an inmate social system may have had little to do with their long term feelings of closeness and trust in its members. We have to report on these indirect measures of friendship but it would have been preferable to have had a direct measure of the extent of felt deprivation of close friends.

In our sample of youth, there was no evidence that absconding was at all related to problems of peer interaction, at least as perceived by youth. None of the three peer relations measures were correlated with the frequency of absconding. However, there were some significant relationships with other types of serious misconduct. Youth who felt that they did not want to see very many inmates after they left the program were more frequently involved in stealing (r=.07), fighting (r=.08) and serious misconduct as a whole (r=.07). Youth who said they had few close friends were also more likely to have fought other youth (r=.07) than those with more friends. Boys and girls who identified themselves as lower in the sociometric structure (loners) more often reported stealing (r=.05) but less often were involved in drug use (r=-.08) than leaders. We expected to find this since we already knew that stealing was a much more solitary activity whereas drug use was usually social in these programs.

Stigmatization

In his enumeration of the "pains of imprisonment" Sykes believed that the labeling of inmates as "sick" or "evil"

was the most devastating aspect of incarceration. The resultant feelings of rejection and stigmatization were believed to lead to the development of an inmate social system.

> "In short, the wall which seals off the criminal, the contaminated man, is a constant threat to the prisoner's self-conception and the threat is continually repeated in the many daily reminders that he must be kept apart from 'decent' men. Somehow this rejection or degradation by the free community must be warded off, turned aside, rendered harmless. Somehow the imprisoned criminal must find a device for rejecting his rejectors, if he is to endure psychologically" (Sykes, 1966, p. 67).

We might expect that involvement in misconduct would be another means for youth who felt stigmatized to "reject their rejectors." Youth were asked the following two questions:

"People think of me as a criminal because I'm here."

_____ True _____ False

"People think of me as mentally ill because I'm here."

_____ True _____ False

The index of stigmatization summed these two questions with a range of 0 (no stigmatization) to 2 (high stigmatization). Item to scale correlations are in Appendix C. A mean score for the 1322 respondents was .8, but there were statistically significant differences among the three types of programs (F=29.381, 1321 d.f., p=.0000). The highest scores on the stigmatization index were found in custodial programs with an average of .9, utilitarian programs had an average of .8 and in participatory programs, the average was only .6.

There was a tendency for youth who believed that others thought of them as criminals or mentally ill to be more fre-

quently involved in feigned illness (r=.10), drug use (r=.10) stealing (r=.07), property damage (r=.10), fighting other youth (r=.12), and all types of serious misconduct (r=.16) than youth who did not feel stigmatized.

Future Chances for Success

A perceived disjunction between goals (aspirations) and means (opportunities) for achieving them has been used to explain feelings of alienation and hostility resulting in acts of rebellion, withdrawal, and delinquency (Stinchcombe, 1964; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Elliott, 1962). According to Cloward:

> "Our hypothesis is that deviance arises in the prison largely in response to discrepancies between aspirations for rehabilitation and expectations of achievement" (Cloward, 1968, p. 91).

Similarly, in the high school setting, Stinchcombe used the following hypothesis:

> "We hold that high school rebellion and expressive alienation occurs when future status is not clearly related to present performance. When a student realizes that he does not achieve status increment from improved current performance, current performance loses meaning. The student becomes hedonistic because he does not visualize achievement lf long-run goals through current self-restraint. He reacts negatively to a conformity that offers nothing concrete" (Stinchcombe, 1964, pp. 5-6).

In order to adequately test this hypothesis, we would need to have information about the ways in which youth connected institutional treatment and their future statuses. Youth were not asked direct questions about the ways in which their misconduct and/or conformity would affect them in the future or the degree of congruence between institutional treatment programs and future needs.

However, youth were asked to respond to a series of questions about their expectations of success in the future and we would expect that youth with dimmer prospects would be more frequently involved in misconduct than youth with higher expectations. Youth seemed generally optimistic in their responses to the following items:

"What are your chances of getting a job that you like ten years from now?"

___ Very good ___ Good ___ Fair ___ Poor
___ Very poor

"In the future, what do you think are your chances of getting as much education as you would like?"

___ Very good ___ Good ___ Fair ___ Poor
___ Very poor

"In the future, what do you think are your chances of having a happy family life?"

___ Very good ___ Good ___ Fair ___ Poor
___ Very poor

"In your opinion, what is your chance for making good when you leave here?"

___ Very good ___ Good ___ Fair ___ Poor
___ Very poor

In Table 6.4 the percentages of youth giving pessimistic responses are shown. Most of the youth in our sample were optimistic about their chances for future happiness; two thirds of them gave positive responses to each of the items. But there were significant differences among the three types of programs. Youth in participatory programs were consistently more hopeful about the future than other youth.

The basis for the overall optimism of these youth is unknown. Clearly, youth may have felt hopeful because of per-

sonal feelings of self-esteem and confidence, unrelated to the cpportunities provided by their institutions. These feelings may have been "imported" into the situation, remaining relatively unchanged by actual experiences in the programs. On the other hand the relative isolation of these programs from the community and from the realities of the current economic situation as it affected adolescents, may have tended to promote a false sense of well being and expectation. Upon release the harsh realities experienced by many of these youth may have been especially difficult because of these expectations.

TABLE 6.4 PERCENT OF YOUTH WITH POOR EXPECTATIONS FOR FUTURE SUCCESS, BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| | Chances were fair to very poor for: | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Compliance/ Management Style | Getting a good job | Getting enough education | Having a happy family life | Making good in the future |
| Custodial (N=545-557) | 35% | 39% | 23% | 34% |
| Utilitarian (N=291-301) | 36 | 37 | 22 | 42 |
| Participatory (N=437-447) | 26 | 27 | 16 | 29 |
| TOTAL (N=1272-1305) | 32 | 34 | 20 | 34 |
| Chi Square | 12.122<br>2 d.f.<br>p=.002 | 16.868<br>2 d.f.<br>p=.0002 | 7.5461<br>2 d.f.<br>p=.02 | 13.035<br>2 d.f.<br>p=.002 |

Pessimism about the future showed only modest but statistically significant relationships to the frequency of insti-

tutional misconduct during the one month period. Youth who felt that they had few chances of getting a job they would like were slightly more likely to have stolen something (r=.07), to have damaged property (r=.07), to have fought with other youth (r=.07), and to have engaged in a variety of types of serious misconduct (r=.09) than those who had more hope. Similarly, youth who felt that their chances of getting as much education as they would like were poor tended to more frequently steal (r=.07), damage property (r=.13), fight (r=.08), and engage in serious misconduct in general (r=.12). Youth who believed that their chances of having a happy family life in the future were poor engaged in more feigning of illness (r=.07), use of drugs (r=.06), stealing (r=.07, fighting (r=.06), and general serious misconduct (r=.09). Finally, youth who were not optimistic about their chances of making good in the future were more likely to feign illness (r=.07), use drugs (r=.09), steal (r=.08), damage property (r=.07), fight (r=.10), and engage in a variety of types of serious misconduct (r=.13).

Deprivation Variables as Predictors of Institutional Misconduct

Though there were statistically significant differences among the institutions on most of these deprivation variables we also found that the programs could not be consistently ranked on them. No program could be designated as the most gratifying or the most depriving on every dimension.[4]

Because we cannot determine a priori which types of perceived and objective deprivation may be most crucial in explaining feelings of alienation and hostility that result in

misconduct, we will look at each of them as separate predictors in a multiple regression analysis. Least Squares multiple regression is used to estimate the total amount of variance in each of the dependent variables (frequencies of institutional misconduct of various types) that the entire set of independent variables (deprivation) can account for as a set and also to evaluate the relative contribution of particular independent variables within the set.

In Table 6.5 the relationships between the frequency of self-reported feigning of illness and the entire set of deprivation variables are presented. Only about four percent of the variance in the amount of pretending to be sick is accounted for by the entire set of deprivation predictor variables. Examining the zero order correlations we found that frequency of feigned illness was directly associated with perception of harsh rules and punishments and little staff effort to be helpful, feeling stigmatized, poor expectations of making good generally, as well as learning new ways to commit illegal acts in the program. When the intercorrelations between these variables are controlled, however, only one of them had a statistically significant relationship with the dependent variable and that was the expectation of little chance to make good in the future. The standardized partial regression coefficient (beta) was small but significant.

There was little evidence that self-reported feigned illness was a result of feelings of deprivation and frustration with the institutional experience. Although there were

TABLE 6.5 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF FEIGNED ILLNESS ON DEPRIVATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .04, 820 d.f., F=1.3094, NS N=821

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present stay (months) | .02 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Remaining stay (months) | .02 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Stay longer than usual | .04 | .00 | .01 |
| Distance from home | .04 | .02 | .02 |
| Home visits/month | .04 | .04 | .04 |
| Low contact/mother | .05 | .04 | .05 |
| Low contact, father | .00 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Low contact/adults | -.02 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Low contact/friends | .00 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Perceived isolation | .01 | -.01 | -.02 |
| Few off grounds trips | .02 | .04 | .05 |
| Low autonomy/privacy | .01 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Boredom | .04 | .00 | .00 |
| Rules and punishments | .08 | .03 | .04 |
| Little staff help | .08 | .05 | .09 |
| Can't change rules | -.02 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Disagree with goals | .00 | -.06 | -.07 |
| Program ineffective | .05 | -.02 | -.03 |
| Learned deviant ways | .10 | .04 | .05 |
| Not see peers again | .00 | .00 | .00 |
| Few close friends | -.02 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Low sociometric | -.04 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Stigmatization | .09 | .05 | .06 |
| Poor job chances | .00 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Poor education | .07 | .04 | .05 |
| Poor family life | .07 | .03 | .03 |
| make good | .11 | .09 | .10** |

[a] Partial correlation Coefficients with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables and the regression coefficients are beta weights.

* P = .05
** P = .01
*** P = .001
****P = .0001

relationships between these acts and feelings of dissatisfaction with staff and program policies with regard to control, the most important predictor variable may not have been related to the institutional experience at all but may instead have been a long term personality or attitudinal characteristic.

In Table 6.6 we can see that the deprivation variables had more predictive power on the frequency of illegal drug use in the institution. Thirteen percent of the variance could be accounted for by the full set of predictor variables. When we look at the zero order correlations, some highly significant relationships emerged. Drug use was highest among youth who had been in a program a long time, who thought that their length of stay would be longer than average, who thought that staff were not particularly helpful, who disagreed with the ways the program tried to change youth, who felt that the services the program offered were not helpful, who learned new ways to break the law in the program, who felt stigmatized, who had poor expectations regarding their future educational attainment.

Drug use was also higher among youth who had more, not less, home visits. This finding, which runs counter to the Deprivation hypothesis, may be a function of the greater opportunity available to youth on home visits to procure drugs and bring them back into the institution. The use of drugs, as opposed to the other types of misconduct we have studied, does require a source of supply.

TABLE 6.6 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF DRUG USE ON DEPRIVATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .13, 820 d.f., F=4.3245, P=.0000 N=821

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present stay (months) | .14 | .08 | .10* |
| Remaining stay (months) | .06 | .03 | .03 |
| Stay longer than usual | .11 | -.01 | -.02 |
| Distance from home | -.00 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Home visits/month | .14 | .13 | .13*** |
| Low contact/mother | .01 | .00 | .00 |
| Low contact/father | -.05 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Low contact/adults | -.01 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Low contact/friends | -.08 | -.07 | -.08* |
| Perceived isolation | .02 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Few off grounds trips | -.02 | .04 | .04 |
| Low autonomy/privacy | .04 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Boredom | .01 | -.05 | -.05 |
| Rules and punishments | .08 | -.06 | -.07 |
| Little staff help | .17 | .08 | .11* |
| Can't change rules | -.01 | -.05 | -.04 |
| Disagree with goals | .15 | .07 | .09* |
| Program ineffective | .17 | .03 | .04 |
| Learned deviant ways | .20 | .10 | .11** |
| Not see peers again | .00 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Few close friends | -.01 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Low sociometric | -.09 | -.08 | -.08* |
| Stigmatization | .13 | .08 | .09* |
| Poor job chances | .04 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Poor education | .11 | .06 | .06 |
| Poor family life | .05 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Poor chance to make good | .12 | .08 | .08* |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables, and the regression coefficients are beta weights.

* P = .05
** P = .01
*** P = .001
****P = .0001

Because many of these variables were intercorrelated, a number of them dropped out when the effects of the other variables were controlled. The beta weights indicate that the average number of home visits per month and the acquisition of deviant techniques in the program contributed most significantly to the explanation of drug use during the one month period. Other variables showed independent contributions to the explanation, albeit with slightly less statistical significance, including the length of time youth had been in the program, more contact with friends outside the program, perception that staff was not particularly helpful, disagreement with the changes the program was trying to make, higher position in the sociometric structure, feelings of stigmatization, and poor expectations of making good in the future.

A different set of deprivation variables predict to the frequency of absconding from the institution, at least for those who returned within the month period and answered the questionnaire. As we see in Table 6.7 about eight percent of the variance in the frequency of absconding from the institution was explained by the full set of variables. Examination of the zero order correlations reveals that youth who defined themselves as loners, who had little contact with adults they felt close to outside the program, who had been able to go on few excursions off grounds, who felt that most of the services offered by the program had not been helpful, and who had learned new techniques of delinquency in the pro-

TABLE 6.7 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF ABSCONDING ON DEPRIVATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .08 320 d.f., F=2.7606, P=.0000 N=821

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present stay (months) | -.04 | -.03 | -.04 |
| Remaining stay (months) | .07 | .04 | .04 |
| Stay longer than usual | .02 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Distance from home | -.00 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Home visits/month | -.02 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Low contact/mother | .05 | .05 | .05 |
| Low contact/father | -.04 | -.05 | -.06 |
| Low contact/adults | .10 | .11 | .12** |
| Low contact/friends | -.06 | -.11 | -.12** |
| Perceived isolation | -.01 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Few off grounds trips | .10 | .10 | .10** |
| Low autonomy/privacy | -.06 | -.09 | -.10** |
| Boredom | .02 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Rules and punishments | .03 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Little staff help | .09 | .01 | .02 |
| Can't change rules | .06 | .00 | .00 |
| Disagree with goals | .06 | .01 | .01 |
| Learned deviant ways | .11 | .10 | .11** |
| Nor see peers again | .05 | .06 | .06 |
| Few close friends | -.00 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Low sociometric | .12 | .10 | .1** |
| Stigmatization | .03 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Poor job chances | -.01 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Poor education | -.01 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Poor family life | .01 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Poor chance to make good | .05 | .02 | .02 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients with the dependent variable, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables, and the regression coefficients are beta weights.

* p = .05
** p = .01
*** p = .001
****p = .0001

gram were the most likely to have absconded.

When each of the predictor variables was examined for its net effects by controlling the other variables, some changes occurred. When all of the other variables were controlled, a high level of contact with friends outside the institution seemed to be significantly associated with the frequency of running away. The theoretical significance of this association may be relatively minor since it may have been almost entirely due to the fact that the frequency of reported contact with friends increased during the period of time they were absent from the institution. However, they still had less contact with other adults close to them, more often regarded themselves as loners, went on fewer off grounds excursions, and more often learned illegal tactics in the institution. At the same time they less often felt that their autonomy and privacy had been threatened by their incarceration. To some extent, as we just mentioned, some of these perceptions and attitudes may have been a function of their experiences while running away or even after returning to the program rather than prior to these incidents. For example, their feelings of isolation from other youth and the fewer number of off grounds trips may have been a result of enforced separation and restriction after running away, and thus, cannot necessarily be construed as predictive of abscondings.

It is quite clear that youths' feelings about the staff, their future chances, and the effectiveness of the institu-

tional program, as well as most of the pains of imprisonment had little net impact on the frequency of their acts of running away. In our sample of youth, at least, short-term unauthorized absences were not strongly associated with feelings of deprivation and pains of imprisonment.

About eight percent of the variance in the frequency of internal theft was accounted for by the deprivation variables, as shown in Table 6.8. Although there were a number of significant zero order correlations between theft and deprivation variables, many of them were highly correlated with the number of months youth had been in a program and the extent to which they acquired deviant skills. On the basis of the beta weights, the only three significant independent predictors of internal theft were youth reports of the number of ways he/she has learned to break the law since entering the institution, the number of months spent in the program, and little desire to see other youth again after release.

The number of ways youth learned to break the law since their incarceration was the most significant predictor variable for the frequency of institutional property damage as well, according to Table 6.9. Again we note that the zero order correlations between property damage and many deprivation variables, that attained statistical significance, were reduced because of the intercorrelation between those variables and the learning of illegitimate skills in the institution. We also see that the youth with more home visits more frequently reported damaging property in the program when all

TABLE 6.8 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF STEALING ON DEPRIVATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .08 820 d.f., F = 2.4567, P = .0001 N = 821

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present stay (months) | .13 | .09 | .13** |
| Remaining stay (months) | .07 | .05 | .06 |
| Stay longer than usual | .10 | -.03 | -.05 |
| Distance from home | .05 | .02 | .02 |
| Home visits/month | -.05 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Low contact/mother | .08 | .04 | .04 |
| Low contact/father | .01 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Low contact/adults | .07 | .02 | .02 |
| Low contact/friends | .08 | .03 | .04 |
| Perceived isolation | .08 | .01 | .01 |
| Few off grounds trips | .05 | .00 | .00 |
| Low autonomy/privacy | .06 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Boredom | .04 | -.05 | -.05 |
| Rules and puhishments | .14 | .04 | .05 |
| Little staff help | .17 | .04 | .06 |
| Can't change rules | .05 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Disagree with goals | .12 | .03 | .04 |
| Program ineffective | .13 | -.00 | -.01 |
| Learned deviant ways | .17 | .10 | .11** |
| Not see peers again | .08 | .07 | .08* |
| Few close friends | -.00 | -.05 | -.06 |
| Low sociometric | .07 | .06 | .06 |
| Stigmatization | .10 | .01 | .01 |
| Poor job chances | .06 | .04 | .04 |
| Poor education | .03 | -.02 | -.03 |
| Poor family life | .04 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Poor chance to make good | .06 | .00 | .00 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients with the dependent variablus, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables, and the regression coefficients are beta weights.

* p = .05
** p = .01
*** p = .001
****p = .0001

TABLE 6.9 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSIONS OF DAMAGING PROPERTY ON DEPRIVATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .11, 820 d.f., F = 3.6331, P = .0000 N = 821

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present Stay (months) | .15 | .05 | .07 |
| Remaining stay (months) | .01 | -.05 | -.06 |
| Stay longer than usual | .12 | .03 | .04 |
| Distance from home | -.01 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Home visits/month | .02 | .07 | .07* |
| Low contact/mother | .08 | .04 | .04 |
| Low contact/father | .02 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Low contact/adults | .07 | .01 | .01 |
| Low contact/friends | .08 | .04 | .04 |
| Perceived isolation | .08 | .01 | .01 |
| Few off grounds trips | .04 | .02 | .02 |
| Low autonomy/privacy | .12 | .03 | .03 |
| Boredom | .05 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Rules and punishments | .17 | .06 | .08 |
| Little staff help | .20 | .06 | .09 |
| Can't change rules | .05 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Disagree with goals | .09 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Program ineffective | .15 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Learned deviant ways | .22 | .14 | .15**** |
| Not see peers again | .02 | .00 | .00 |
| Few close friends | -.02 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Low sociometric | .02 | .00 | .00 |
| Stigmatization | .12 | .02 | .02 |
| Poor job chances | .10 | .02 | .02 |
| Poor education | .14 | .07 | .07 |
| Poor family life | .08 | .01 | .01 |
| Poor chance to make good | .12 | .04 | .04 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients with the dependnet variables, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables and the regression coefficients are beta weights.

* p = .05
** p = .01
*** p = .001
****p = .0001

the other deprivation variables were controlled. These were the only two variables that had significant net effects on property damage and the full set of deprivation predictors only accounted for about eleven percent of the variance.

Actual and perceived pains of imprisonment were relatively ineffective predictors of the frequency of staff assaults by youth, as we can see in Table 6.10. Only four percent of the variance was accounted for by the full set of variables and only three of them had statistically significant net effects -- rules and punishments of staff and feelings of stigmatization, and surprisingly, the feeling that staff tried to be helpful.

Despite an impressive number of significant zero order correlations between the frequency of fighting and the deprivation variables, only two of them had significant net effects -- the number of ways youth learned to break the law since entering the program, and contact with fathers. Moreover, the full set of predictors explains less than eight percent of the variance, as we can see in table 6.11.

When we combined the particular types of serious misconduct into a measure of the total frequency of these acts, we see in Table 6.12 that eighteen percent of the variance was explained by the set of deprivation variables. At the bivariate level of analysis the most substantial predictor variables were: acquisition of illegitimate skills during incarceration, belief that staff was not helpful, belief that program was ineffective, feelings of stigma, and beliefs

TABLE 6.10 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF HITTING STAFF ON DEPRIVATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .04 320 d.f., F = 1.2664, NS N=821

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present stay (months) | .06 | .00 | .00 |
| Remaining stay (months) | -.02 | -.05 | -.06 |
| Stay longer than usual | .04 | .04 | .06 |
| Distance from home | .01 | .00 | .00 |
| Home visits/month | -.02 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Low contact/mother | .04 | .02 | .02 |
| Low contact/father | .03 | .02 | .02 |
| Low contact/adults | .00 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Low contact/friends | .06 | .06 | .07 |
| Perceived isolation | .05 | .02 | .02 |
| Few off grounds trips | .02 | .00 | .00 |
| Low autonomy/privacy | .04 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Boredom | .04 | -.01 | 0.01 |
| Rules and punishments | .10 | .08 | .10* |
| Little staff help | .03 | -.07 | -.11* |
| Can't change rules | -.01 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Disagree with goals | .04 | .01 | .01 |
| Program ineffective | .07 | .06 | .08 |
| Learned deviant ways | .07 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Not see peers again | .02 | .03 | .03 |
| Few close friends | -.03 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Low sociometric | -.03 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Stigmatization | .12 | .09 | .10** |
| Poor job chances | .00 | .01 | .01 |
| Poor education | -.00 | -.01 | -.02 |
| Poor family life | -.01 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Poor chance to make good | .02 | -.00 | -.00 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients with the dependent variables, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables and the regression coefficients are beta weights.

* P = .05
** P = .01
*** P = .001
****P = .0001

TABLE 6.11 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF FIGHTING ON DEPRIVATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .08 820 d.f., F = 2.4762, P = .0001 N=821

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present stay (months) | .02 | .00 | .01 |
| Remaining stay (months) | .05 | .01 | .01 |
| Stay longer than usual | .02 | -.02 | -.04 |
| Distance from home | .04 | .02 | .02 |
| Home visits/month | .01 | .00 | .00 |
| Low contact/mother | -.02 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Low contact/father | -.07 | -.07 | -.08* |
| Low contact/adults | -.01 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Low contact/friends | .02 | .01 | .01 |
| Perceived isolation | .03 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Few off grounds trips | -.02 | -.02 | -.03 |
| Low autonomy/privacy | .06 | .00 | .00 |
| Boredom | .10 | .03 | .03 |
| Rules and punishments | .16 | .06 | .07 |
| Little staff help | .16 | .06 | .10 |
| Can't change rules | .07 | .02 | .02 |
| Disagree with goals | .06 | -.06 | -.07 |
| Program ineffective | .08 | -.05 | -.07 |
| Learned deviant ways | .18 | .11 | .12** |
| Not see peers again | .08 | .05 | .05 |
| Few close friends | .05 | .04 | .04 |
| Low sociometric | -.01 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Stigmatization | .15 | .07 | .07 |
| Poor job chances | .03 | .00 | .00 |
| Poor education | .07 | .02 | .03 |
| Poor family life | .05 | .00 | .00 |
| Poor chance to make good | .10 | .06 | .07 |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients with the dependent variables, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables and the regression coefficients are beta weights.

* p = .05
** p = .01
*** p = .001
****p = .0001

TABLE 6.12 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF SERIOUS MISCONDUCT ON DEPRIVATION VARIABLES

$R^2$ = .13 820 d.f., F=6.3110 P = .0000 N=821

| Variables | Zero Order Correlation | Partial (a) Correlation | Beta (b) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Present stay (months) | .18 | .09 | .12** |
| Remaining stay (months) | .08 | .02 | .02 |
| Stay longer than usual | .14 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Distance from home | .03 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Home visits/month | .06 | .03 | .07* |
| Low contact/mother | .06 | .03 | .03 |
| Low contact/father | -.04 | -.05 | -.06 |
| Low contact/adults | .04 | -.00 | -.00 |
| Low contact/friends | .02 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Perceived isolation | .08 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Few off grounds trips | .02 | .03 | .03 |
| Low autonomy/privacy | .10 | -.01 | -.01 |
| Boredom | .08 | -.05 | -.05 |
| Rules and punishments | .22 | .04 | .05 |
| Little staff help | .28 | .09 | .13** |
| Can't change rules | .06 | -.03 | -.03 |
| Disagree with goals | .18 | .02 | .02 |
| Program ineffective | .22 | .00 | .00 |
| Learned deviant ways | .31 | .18 | .20**** |
| Not see peers again | .08 | .05 | .05 |
| Few close friends | .00 | -.04 | -.04 |
| Low sociometric | -.01 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Stigmatization | .21 | .09 | .09** |
| Poor job chances | .09 | .03 | .03 |
| Poor education | .13 | .05 | .05 |
| Poor family life | .08 | .01 | -.01 |
| Poor chance to make good | .16 | .08 | .08* |

[a] Partial Correlation Coefficients with the dependent variables, partialled on the other variables in the model.

[b] The analysis was performed on standardized variables and the regression coefficients are beta weights.

* P = .05
** P = .01
*** P = .001
****P = .0001

that rules were harsh and staff was punitive. These were followed in turn by perceived stigmatization, disagreement with program goals, number of months in the program, perceived longer length of stay than average, and poor expectations for the future.

The regression analysis indicates that when the direct effects of each of the predictor variables were examined, while controlling simultaneously for the direct effects of all the other variables in the regression equation, the acquisition of illegitimate skills still had the strongest substantial independent effect, followed by perceived lack of staff helpfulness, number of months in the program at the time, perceived stigmatization, poor expectation of making good after release, and the average number of home visits. Hence at the multivariate level of analysis the cumulative frequency of serious misconduct was most directly and substantially related to having learned new ways to break the law since entering, by feeling the staff did not try very hard to help youth with various problems, by the number of months the youth had been in the program, by feelings that chances for success after release were relatively poor, and that others stigmatized them. We also found that youth who went on more frequent home visits also engaged in more misconduct.

Very few of the twenty seven different deprivation variables entered into these regression equations had anything to contribute to an explanation of institutional misconduct

in a one month period, when the impact of the other variables was controlled. Yet many of these same variables had relatively strong bivariate relationships with various types of misconduct. Hirschi discusses this problem as an artifact of the regression procedure.

> "The problem here is that a hypothesis developed and defended at some length by the use of tabular material may fail when subjected to more complex analysis. The solution to this 'problem' is well known: the hypothesis is rejected and previous argument in its favor abbreviated, revised, or discarded. Unfortunately, the testing of such hypotheses by regression analysis is not straightforward and the 'failure' of the hypothesis may be due to misuse of the testing procedure rather than to lack of agreement with 'the facts.' It is common practice in tabular analysis, for example, to buttress one's argument by showing the effects of more than one indicator of the independent variable. If all measures of this independent variable are then included in a regression analysis, none may appear to have much effect on the dependent variable, and previous argument will appear to have been erroneous, that is, the effects of the variable will appear to be largely spurious...This misuse of the technique is well known and in principle easily corrected: the analysis is repeated using one relatively pure measure of the variable in question" (Hirschi, 1972, pp. 245-246).

Clearly we included a large number of measures of the independent variable in the regression equation and most of them appeared to have little independent effect on the dependent variable. Cautioned by Hirschi however, we cannot state that the bivariate relationships are spurious. Unfortunately, we do not have one relatively pure measure of deprivation to use in the equations so this cannot resolve our dilemma. What becomes important to note is the relatively small amount of variance explained by the <u>whole set</u> of deprivation predictors -- from 4 to 18 percent depending on the dependent variable.

It is of course possible that items measuring other aspects of perceived and actual deprivation would have been more powerful predictors of misconduct. This might have been particularly true if we added variables that were much more highly correlated with misconduct and/or variables uncorrelated with those already used. However, experience has shown that the point of diminishing returns is reached very rapidly in this kind of analysis.

> "...in general, the increase in the multiple correlation which results from adding variables beyond the first five or six is very small" (Quinn McNemar, 1949, p. 163).

It is also conceivable that a linear regression procedure may fail because some of the relationships are nonlinear and are not independent, but result from the interaction of variables. However, there was no theoretical basis for questioning the assumption of linearity or independence, and so this linear additive model was used in an exploratory fashion. Strictly speaking, many of the variables do not meet the requirements of correlation and regression analyses but again these limitations were ignored for present purposes. In the regression analyses of misconduct, considerable information is missing for many of the respondents so the number involved in the computation of these coefficients was considerably reduced from those involved in pairwise correlations. This missing data may represent a possible source of bias and may in fact account for some of the differences between the standardized partial regression coefficients (beta weights) and pairwise correlations shown earlier in the chapter. How-

ever, comparison of the means of the variables involved in the pairwise correlations and those of the complete cases in the regression equations showed no striking differences.

In looking at the deprivation variables the "nonfindings" are particularly interesting. There is no evidence that youth who were placed in institutions at considerable distances from their home communities and who had very few home visits during their stay reacted to this by engaging in acts of deviance and delinquency. In fact, there is some evidence suggesting the opposite phenomenon. Youth who were allowed to go on home visits more often were more frequently involved in using drugs. Perhaps, as we suggested earlier, the opportunities for procurement of drugs during home visits account for this relationship.

Youth who had little contact with their parents and friends at home during the month were no more likely to engage in institutional delinquency than other youth. In fact, there is a slight tendency for youth who have had more contact with their friends to report engaging more often in illegal drug use and running away. Since this relationship between drug use and contact with friends held, even when the number of home visits is controlled, it could be explained as occurring outside the institution. Since contact with friends included communication by telephone, letter and visitation, we cannot assume that drugs were brought into the institution through these contacts. It is equally plausible to assume that youth who had more contact with their outside friends

were more "sociable" by nature, and since drug use is a group-related behavior, they naturally gravitated to such activities in the institution. It is also possible that youth who retained frequent contact with their outside friends were also those most likely to have used drugs prior to their incarceration and thus the association may be spurious. As we noted earlier, the relationship between the frequency of absconding and contact with friends at home may be also based on what transpired during the time the youth was absent from the institution.

Feelings of isolation from parents and friends, lack of autonomy and privacy, boredom, and alienation from other youth in the program seem no more characteristic of youth who misbehave than of those who conform. There is no evidence that the number of off grounds trips youth were allowed to take during the month period was at all related to the frequency of most misconduct, except absconding. It is of course possible, and probable, that within particular programs youth who misbehaved in any of these ways were "grounded" but when the correlations were computed for the sample as a whole, there was no evidence that off grounds restrictions either preceded or followed most acts of misconduct.

There were fairly consistent but weak patterns of association between youths' feelings that staff were punitive, rule-bound and less than helpful and the frequency of each type of misconduct. We do not know that these feelings actually preceded the acts of misconduct so a causal direction

can only be suggested. It is, of course, possible that these feelings of youth toward staff were a result of their treatment after engaging in misconduct. In each of the regression equations, the explanatory power of these variables was quite minimal - dropping considerably from what was expected by examination of the bivariate correlations. This probably occurred because these two variables were highly correlated (.54), so the independent effect of either of them appeared small. However, even the bivariate correlations, though statistically significant, were not strong enough to warrant a great deal of attention.

This same pattern held for the relationship between most types of misconduct and youths' feelings that the services offered to them by the program had not been helpful and their lack of commitment to the changes the program was trying to make in youth. Although there were consistent patterns between youth attitudes in this area and the frequency of most types of serious misconduct, these bivariate zero order correlations were considerably reduced when other variables are controlled. Although in large part these beta weights may have been low because of the relatively high intercorrelations among the independent variables, the bivariate correlations themselves were not high enough to be considered very predictive.

The fact that youth had not been able to participate in decisions affecting their lives in the institutions (being unable to change the rules) seemed to have no impact on the

likelihood that they would misbehave. We don't know, of course, the amount of effort youth actually expended on trying to effect such changes, and variations in this effort might have accounted for differences in expressed alienation and frustration that conceivably led to acts of misconduct. We would expect to find that youth who were actively involved in trying to change rules they considered oppressive and who failed in these efforts would feel more frustration than youth who only halfheartedly tried to change some relatively minor policies.

For the most part, variables measuring the relationships youth had with institutional peers added nothing to the explanation of misconduct. Despite the fact that the deprivation perspective predicted that feelings of isolation and alienation from other youth would lead to higher rates of misconduct we found that this was only slightly true for absconding and stealing and was not at all true of drug use. Isolates or loners were less likely to be involved in the use of illegal drugs than youth who considered themselves leaders or regular members of a group of friends. This is consistent with our finding in Chapter Four that drug use was largely a group phenomenon.

The future expectations of the youth in our sample with regard to good jobs, enough education, and a happy family life had very little to do with their self-reported misconduct. Of these three types of future expectations, education was the most predictive but even this variable had minimal explana-

tory power. Poor expectations of being able to "make good" after being released seemed somewhat more strongly related to whether or not a youth was involved in institutional misconduct, especially feigned illness, drug use and all serious acts. Feeling labeled or stigmatized as a criminal and/or mentally ill was slightly important in predicting serious misconduct, especially assaults on staff and drug use.

For most types of serious misconduct, the most important single predictor variable was whether or not youth had learned new ways to commit illegal acts since their incarceration. It is of course possible to consider it as part of the dependent variable and thus, tautological. We do not consider it tautological, however, because the learning of illegal behaviors is not the same as engaging in them. Moreover, we believe that youth reports that they have become more criminally sophisticated as a result of their institutionalization are measures of the perceived ineffectiveness and harmfulness of the experience. They are also indicators of the illegitimate learning structure provided by the institutional peer group, which may contribute both to increased delinquency in the program and after release. This variable may be more conducive to a test of differential association theory confirming our finding that the deprivation perspective is inadequate as a single explanation of institutional misconduct.

Although we do not believe that the deprivation and importation perspectives should be viewed as opposing explana-

tions, it may be useful at this point to compare their relative effectiveness. Neither model was particularly impressive in accounting for the frequency of feigned illness or assaults on staff, with about three percent of the variance explained by the Importation Model variables and about four percent explained by the Deprivation set of variables. For both absconding and internal theft, the Deprivation Model explained about twice as much of the variance (eight percent) as the Importation Model (three to four percent) but this is only a relative victory. Both of the models explain eight percent of the variance in the frequency of fighting. With regard to both property damage and the use of illegal drugs, the predictive power of both the models showed some slight improvement, with the Importation variables accounting for about seven percent of the variance in property damage and nine percent of the variance in the use of drugs and the Deprivation variables explaining elevent percent of the variance in property damage and thirteen percent of the variance in drug use. For the frequency of all serious misconduct, the Deprivation Model fared slightly better than the Importation Model, explaining about eighteen percent as opposed to thirteen percent of the variance.

Summary

In our examination of the Deprivation perspective on institutional misconduct, we did not assume that these behaviors were "functional" in the sense of mitigating the pains of imprisonment. Because the research design was not

longitudinal, we could only speculate about the direction of causality between youths' feelings of deprivation and alienation and their involvement in delinquent acts. The model suggested by previous theorists was that the subjective feelings of deprivation and frustration of youth would provide the motivation to engage in acts of rebellion and resistance to institutional rules and standards.

In characterizing deprivation, we attempted to tap as many different aspects of youths' experiences and attitudes as possible. Previous research provided no clearcut guidelines for choosing which aspects of institutionalization were the most painful for inmates and/or which were most likely to lead to deviant behavior.

Across the total sample, we found that the "average" youth had been in the program over seven months at the time of our visit and expected to stay another five months. Living at some distance from their home communities and with very infrequent home visits, the typical youth felt somewhat isolated from his friends and family, though there had been some contact with them in the past month.

Most youth had only occasionally been able to leave the institution for short term shopping or recreational experiences and felt bored by the program. Many youth felt that their chances for autonomy and privacy in the setting were quite limited. Though the average youth thought that staff generally tried at least somewhat to help them with various problems and that the services provided them by the program

were moderately helpful, the institutions were viewed as quite custodial and punitive. Though most youth agreed with the ways in which the program tried to rehabilitate them, they also reported learning new ways to commit crimes since entering the program. Most youth were at least moderately involved with their peers in the program, having developed some close friendships and wanting to continue them after release. Participating in policy making was not widespread; the majority of youth either had never tried or had never been able to change program rules.

Perhaps because the average youth did not feel labeled as a criminal or as mentally ill because of his incarceration, he/she was generally optimistic about the future. After leaving the institution, the average youth felt that chances for getting a good job, enough education, having a happy family life, and generally "making good" were quite promising.

For most of these dimensions of deprivation and social climate, there were statistically significant differences among the three types of programs (custodial, utilitarian, and participatory) though these differences were often quite small. In general, the balance of gratifications as opposed to deprivations was highest in participatory programs, where youth expected to stay the shortest period of time, felt that they were less isolated, were most able to participate in changing rules, agreed with the treatment goals of their programs, felt that staff were less punitive and more helpful, believed that services provided were more effective, and were

more hopeful about their future chances than youth in the other two programs. Overall, the perceptions of deprivation in the institutional experience were greatest among youth in custodial programs. Utilitarian programs, however, provided youth with the most contact with their homes and the outside community. Youth in these programs lived closest to their homes, were given more home visits and more off grounds experiences, and maintained more contact with significant others in their lives than youth in the other program types.

Individual level zero order correlations between each dimension of deprivation and the frequency of each type of misconduct produced a large number of significant associations but the predictor variables were not the same for each type of behavior. Moreover, the correlations were relatively weak in accounting for the frequency of delinquent acts within the institution.

Because many of the "pains of imprisonment" and negative attitudes of youth were intercorrelated, we used multiple regression analyses to allow us to assess the independent effects of each of them, while simultaneously controlling for the effects of the others. Only about eighteen percent of the variance in the cumulative frequency of serious misconduct was accounted for by the full set of deprivation variables, and the most substantial predictor variable was whether or not youth learned new techniques of criminality since entering the program. Between four and thirteen percent of the variance in the amount of each particular type of misconduct

could be accounted for by these variables, only slightly more than the amount explained by the Importation Model. This may have occurred because pre-institutional characteristics were strongly related to the feelings youth have about their institutional experiences as well as the ways in which they were treated by the programs in which they were placed.

The weakness of the deprivation variables in the explanation of institutional misconduct also may have been a function of the fact that they only provide an explanation of motivation and ignore the variations in opportunity and control. As Wilson pointed out, aspects of control structures are usually taken for granted by deprivation theorists.

> "In most of the studies reported in the literature, some comment is made on the high levels of stress and deprivation suffered by inmates that presumably provide ample motivation for deviant and disorderly behavior in the absence of strong controlling mechanisms" (Wilson, 1965, p. 30). (underlining mine)

In institutional settings, the researcher cannot assume the "absence of strong controlling mechanisms." In fact, in settings characterized by both harsh deprivations and strong control, the effects of deprivation may well be masked. In the following chapter, we will explore the ways in which the opportunities for deviance and the control exercised by staff affect the frequencies of institutional misconduct.

FOOTNOTES

1. The latter model has often been called the "indigenous origins theory" because prison subcultures are held to be largely a response to conditions within the prison, or the pains of imprisonment.

2. Several theorists have made the point that these two approaches actually are complementary and supplement each other, most notably Akers, Hayner and Gruninger (1974) and Thomas and Foster (1972).

3. Youth must have answered at least four out of the six items contained in the "Rules and Punishments" index to be included and must have answered at least 11 out of the 13 items in the "Helpfulness of Staff" index.

4. For example, although the youth in Juniper reported the least isolation from their family, friends and community and relatively high amounts of autonomy and privacy, they also felt more stigmatized and more pessimistic about their future chances than youth in other programs. They also expected to remain longer than youth in most of the other programs.

CHAPTER VII

# THE CONTROL PERSPECTIVE ON INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT

The Importation and Deprivation perspectives provide a variety of answers to the question of "Why do youth engage in misconduct in juvenile institutions?" These perspectives, in trying to understand the motivations for such behavior, frame their answers in terms of long-term patterns of behavior (importation) or short-term situational experiences (deprivation).

Control theorists, on the other hand, pose the question "Why don't more youth engage in acts of misconduct?" and look at variations in opportunities and deterrent systems. Deviant behavior is explained not by differences in the impulses of youth but by the absence of effective controls. The security precautions and the proliferation of rules and regulations in institutions are seen as ways of coping with the underlying pressure toward deviance believed to be present among most inmates. As Sykes states:

> "...There is the question of the nature and extent of the disorder which would arise within the prison if the custodians did not exercise strict supervision and control over the activities of the inmates. There are few who will claim that in the complete absence of supervision and control the inmate population would live harmoniously within the walls of their prison ...In brief, say the custodians, the maximum security prison is not a Boy Scout camp and do not ask us to treat it as if it were. We are dealing with men inured to violence and other forms of anti-social behavior and order can be maintained only if we establish rules which eliminate the situations in which such behavior can arise" (Sykes, 1966, p. 24).

Despite a great deal of speculation about the impact of

various practices of control and authority on the incidence of institutional delinquency, there is surprisingly little research on the subject. In training schools variations in rates of absconding have more often than any other behavior been linked to differences in surveillance systems. For many control theorists, the provision of environmental constraints is crucial in reducing escape attempts. Hildebrand, a clinical psychologist at a California training school reports that most absconding takes place after dark from dormitories that are less secure. He suggests that the installation of an observation tower and a closed circuit television system designed to expose blind spots with the fenced areas were very effective in reducing escapes (1969). Allen hypothesized that comfort as well as opportunity are important, noting that most escapes from his institution tended to occur during the warmer months and the majority were from reduced custody (1969). Practical suggestions arising from very limited research include: keeping the immediate surroundings of buildings well-lit during winter evenings, reducing the number of exits so that the remaining ones could be kept under fuller surveillance, keeping strategic doors locked even if only for a few hours at night, improving the staff-youth ratio, and keeping the school warm and comfortable in winter months so that absconding would be even less attractive than it appears to be at these times (Clarke and Martin, 1971).

Acts of collective resistance to authority and organized deviance have also been linked to the opportunities provided

by the institution for unsupervised group interaction. As Street noted in his study of six juvenile institutions for boys:

> "Although only extreme techniques, such as keeping the inmates locked in separate rooms, effectively prevent the emergence of social relations among the inmates, rigorous control would severely limit and structure opportunities for interaction and group formation - particularly the formation of groups covering the entire institution" (Street, 1962, pp. 49-50).

Opportunities for deviant behavior presumably increase when there are significant changes in institutional staff or when there is a great deal of turnover of personnel. In several programs these changes were accompanied by increased rates of absconding. In Cottage Six Polsky reported that most escapes occurred on the days off of the cottage parents (1962). Sinclair also noted in his study of probation hostels that in the months during which the warden was on leave. absconding from the hostel was considerably higher (1971). There are of course a number of other possible explanations for the increase in escapes during these periods other than increased opportunity but the control perspective is the usual one advanced.

The impact of severe sanctions in deterring institutional misconduct is another important facet of the control perspective. Although usually not empirically tested, the prevailing view is that the actual and/or potential use of severe punishment varies among programs and is reflected in the rates of deviancy. For example, Street reported that:

> "Inspection of the questionnaires also indicated that because staff members in the more custodial institutions were more willing to use negative sanctions they probably were confronted with less disruptive behavior, since the inmates recognized the costs of acting as they felt" (Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966, pp. 170-171).

Using the absconding records of the Kingswood Classifying School in Great Britain between 1960 and 1964, Clarke and Martin found that for both juniors and seniors fewer of the boys who had been caned for their first absconding ran away again compared with the boys who had not been caned. At first sight, this seemed to indicate that caning was an effective deterrent but there was an alternative explanation. The selection procedure used by the Warden in deciding which boys to cane may have resulted in boys being selected for caning who were unlikely to abscond again anyway (1971).

In a study of a probation hostel in Great Britain, Sinclair tried to discover whether a severe court sentence for absconding reduced its incidence. He calculated the interval until the next absconding separately for those boys who were sentenced severely by the court and those who were not. Though he undertook the study because of the strong conviction of wardens and probation officers that severe sentencing deterred other boys from absconding, he found no significant difference between the groups in the interval till next absconding, although the intervals were slightly longer for the severely dealt-with cases (1971).

Using the same methodology. Clarke and Martin in their study of the Kingswood Classifying School looked at the deter-

rent effect of caning on the absconding of other boys. They concluded that caning a junior boy for absconding did not deter other juniors from absconding but caning a senior deterred other seniors from absconding (1971). To draw any conclusion from either of these studies about the effect of either severe court sentencing or caning seems quite risky. Since so many other factors could affect the number of days between one absconding and the next one besides youth's calculations of the probability of severe punishment, drawing any conclusions from these two pieces of research is foolish.

The effects of severe punishment and restrictive practices are not at all clear, for some researchers believe that they may also intensify the feelings of frustration and bitterness that lead to certain types of misconduct (e.g., Cloward, 1968, p. 80; Street, 1962). According to Hildebrand:

> "Allowance for more breathing room within the institution would make it less necessary to breathe from without the institution. Lacking an 'out' while 'in' increases the need to get out regardless of the means or consequences of getting there. It could be said that those who would make expression by inmates impossible make escape and internal tumult inevitable" (Hildebrand, 1968, p. 66).

Some support for this position was provided by Chase in a study of 395 youth in three different types of open community-based residential programs operated by the New York State Division for Youth. She found that youths who rated their programs high on Staff Control and low on Expressiveness (using the CIES developed by Moos) were more likely to abscond than youths who rated the programs high on both scales or low

on both scales. Moreover this combination of variables was associated with absconding even after their Jesness Manifest Aggression scores were taken into account (partialled out). She concluded that in order to avert absconding programs should exert any necessary staff controls in a manner that would be less threatening to youths' sense of autonomy and responsibility and encourage them to express themselves more openly (Chase, 1975, pp. 202-204).

Street theorized that certain types of punishment would increase the polarization between the staff and the inmates, possibly leading to acts of defiance and resistance.

> "Frequent scheduling of mass activities in the company of other inmates, group punishment, and administering physical punishment before groups of inmates enhance the probability that inmates identify strongly with one another against staff. When, in addition, staff maintain domineering authority relationships and considerable social distance, inmates further perceive themselves as members of a group opposed to staff, and divergent interests between these groups are more fully recognized" (Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966, p. 225).

In a study of inmate reports of other inmates' involvement in drug and homosexual behavior in prisons in Germany, England, Mexico, Spain and the United States, Akers found higher rates in more repressive environments. Though because of problems in measurement of these behaviors this study is less than conclusive Akers does support the theory advanced by Street, et al.:

> "It would seem that those prisons with a policy of strongly custodial security practices, severely restrict the inmate's contact with the outside, have a staff makeup that is custodial, or house the inmates in stark, old-style architecture especially are apt to experience greater amounts of homosexual and drug behavior by inmates...The prison administrator or

> planner who wishes to reduce the general level of these forms of deviance (and probably other forms as well) would be well advised to house prisoners in something other than the old-style fortress of cell blocks, institute less rigid surveillance and security checks on inmates, obtain higher ratios of better trained personnel, and loosen policy on visitation, letters, and outside contact" (Akers, undated, pp. 60 and 117).

The theory that certain types of behavior may be exacerbated by punishment was further supported by a study done by Palmer, who found that the smoking of boys in training schools who had been caned increased whereas the smoking of boys who had not been caned decreased. However, he was also aware that uncontrolled selection in the decision about caning could have accounted for the findings (1965).

Because of widely divergent methods of defining and measuring misconduct as well as problems of uncontrolled selection procedures in sanctioning, there is no way of resolving the contradictory results of the research on control and deterrence done so far in juvenile institutions. Earlier studies serve to sensitize us, however, to some of the issues that must be considered in extending these efforts. First, if punishment and surveillance enter into the calculus of an individual in deciding whether or not to engage in deviant behavior, then one's <u>perception</u> of the control situation would seem to be more important in influencing action than the <u>actual</u> or objective situation. These perceptions could be based on the actual experiences of the youth or others in his immediate environment or on threats, rumors, policy pronouncements or overactive imaginations. There is no reason to assume that actual experiences of punishment are more ef-

fective in deterring behavior than potential threats. But in only one of the studies we have cited, that of Chase, was there any attempt to relate differences in misconduct behavior to different perceptions of the control structure by the actors.

Secondly, the certainty of punishment may be more important in the control of disapproved behavior than the severity of punishment. If the possibility of being caught for acts of misconduct and/or being formally sanctioned for them is extremely remote, than it seems likely that the harshness of the punishment may have relatively little bearing on one's actions.

Thirdly, the impact of control and punishment on feelings of alienation, hostility, or rebelliousness may be dependent on factors in the institutional environment which have not been considered in most research to date. To the extent that strict rules and policies are accompanied by feelings of warmth and closeness, negative side-effects may be lessened. In institutions where control is maintained by a consistently firm but concerned staff in interaction with youth, there may be far less evidence of flagrant rule violation than in programs where control is based on rigid policies and procedures implemented by staff but not legitimated by the youth.

Any thorough examination of the effects of strategies of surveillance and punishment should be based on a longitudinal design so that the causal direction of the relationships can be clearly understood. Moreover, it is important to control for the effects of selection into different types of

programs in any analysis of these differences, as well as to discover the possible interactions between strategies of inmate management and individual background and personality characteristics. For certain types of youth, strict and repressive controls may effectively suppress acting-out behaviors while the same restrictions may only incite other types of youth. Unfortunately, in the present research data was collected at only one point in time, so it was impossible to determine the extent to which youths' perceptions of the control and punishment structures actually influenced their behavior.

In Chapter Three we classified the institutions in the sample according to their compliance/management styles. In this chapter we will examine the extent to which the control practices of the three types of programs differ, both in terms of official policies and youth perceptions. The data for the measures of Official Control Policies were obtained from the administrators' responses to the Service Unit Questionnaire, which were examined and cross-checked with field observations and other program documents. We found only a few serious discrepancies in these multiple sources and in cases where the correct response could not be determined, the data was considered missing.

## Official Policies of Surveillance and Control

In developing measures of official control mechanisms, thirty six variables were considered, ranging from such items as the presence or absence of discipline or central security

units to hair and dress codes, restricted smoking, and the frequency of coed dances. In order to see if any empirical clusters emerged, these items were correlated, and though there were a few significant associations, the clusters were not conceptually satisfying.[1]

Three separate measures were constructed - tapping policies related to : physical contraints, restrictions on internal movement and autonomy, and restrictions on outside contact.[2]

Physical Constraints

Administrators in each of the sixteen programs were asked about the following features of physical control over youth:

Were there locked gates or fences?

Were there bars on the windows?

Was there a centrally coordinated security system?

Could anyone (supervisor or juveniles) observe the toilet facilities?

Was there a special facility used to place disciplinary cases?

Could anyone (supervisor or juveniles) observe the shower facilities?

Could youth control the lights in their bedrooms?

Did youth have control over whether their windows were open or closed?

The responses were coded such that a score of 1 indicated high control and 2 indicated low control and the scale was constructed by calculating the average score of at least five items. Item to scale correlations are shown in Appendix

D. The average score for the 16 institutions was 1.6 but there were significant differences in the three compliance/ management types with custodial programs having much higher physical constraint (1.3) than utilitarian (1.8) and participatory (1.7) programs (F=11.512, 15 d.f., p=.001).

Restrictions on Internal Movement and Autonomy

Using the same pattern of scoring discussed above, an index of the policies and procedures of institutions relating to the freedom and autonomy of residents was constructed from the following items: (Item to scale correlations are contained in Appendix D)

Could youth move around the living unit without constraints of any kind?

Was seating in the dining room completely by choice or were tables and/or seats assigned?

Were youth free to come and go individually to meals and other activities or did they come in a group with staff or were they marched in groups?

Could youth talk freely during meal time or did they use low voice levels or eat in silence?

Were youth allowed to go into the kitchen to fix themselves meals?

Was there a hair code?

Was there a dress code?

Was television censored?

Were youth allowed to smoke freely or was smoking restricted or not allowed?

Were youth allowed to keep cigarettes or tobacco in their rooms?

Was church attendance mandatory?

The average score on at least seven of these eleven items

was the scale score for the institution and the range could be from 1 (high internal restrictiveness) to 2 (low internal restrictiveness). The mean for the sixteen institutions was 1.4930 with a standard deviation of .23668, indicating considerable variation among them. Although there were no statistically significant differences in the official policies regarding internal movement and autonomy among the three types of compliance/management styles, there was some tendency for custodial programs to be more restrictive. The average score for custodial institutions was 1.4, constrated with 1.5 for participatory and 1.6 for utilitarian programs.

Restrictions on Contact with the Outside Community

An index of the average propensity of institutions to monitor and restrict contact of youth with their family and friends on the outside was constructed by taking the mean of their responses to the following items:

Was any of incoming correspondence to youth censored?

Was any of outgoing correspondence to youth censored?

Were there any restrictions on the following forms of communication?

Individuals with whom youth may correspond?

Frequency of correspondence?

Individuals with whom youth may visit?

Individuals with whom youth may talk to by telephone?

Frequency of telephone calls?

How frequently could parents visit? (once a week; less than once a week)

How frequently could friends visit? (once a week; less

than once a week)

If parents or relatives visit, was a youth permitted to go "offgrounds"?

The answers to each of these items were dichotimized and the scores assigned were 1 for a restrictive response and 2 for a nonrestrictive response. Since there was a perfect correspondence (a correlation of 1.00) between censorship of incoming and outgoing mail, these were combined as one item. The scale score for an institution was the average response to at least 5 out of the 9 items. The mean score for the sixteen institutions was 1.5253 with a standard deviation of .24838, indicating that there was considerable variation in the propensities of institutions to restrict outside contact. Statistically significant differences among the three compliance/management types did not emerge, although the average score of the custodial programs (1.4) indicated that they were as a group slightly more restrictive with regard to outside contact than utilitarian or participatory programs with average scores of 1.6.

The correlations between these three indices of control practices of institutions are moderate but statistically insignificant. The zero order correlations are .388 between physical controls and restrictions on internal movement and autonomy; .368 between physical controls and restrictions on outside contact; and .510 between restrictions on internal movement and autonomy and restrictions on outside contact. Clearly, though these controls were related, the indices measured different facets of program operations.

As the following sets of correlations between selected structural features of institutions and their average control practices indicate, physical constraints were strongly associated with size and auspices.

TABLE 7.1 ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SELECTED STRUCTURAL VARIABLES AND CONTROL PRACTICES IN SIXTEEN INSTITUTIONS

| | Average Physical Control | Average Internal Control | Average External Control |
|---|---|---|---|
| Size of Institution | .755** | .107 | .078 |
| Average Living Unit Size | .692** | .046 | .065 |
| Public Auspices | .656** | .065 | .031 |
| Male Youth | .445 | .334 | -.130 |

* p is less than .05
**p is less than .01

Although statistically insignificant, there was a noticeable tendency for institutions holding male youth to have higher average scores on physical constraint and internal restrictions than was true for female and coed programs.

However, there was no association between the size of either the institution or the living unit and the restrictiveness of policies relating to internal movement and autonomy or contact with outsiders. Size and auspices were related to fairly permanent features of the physical environment but not to official policies regarding internal and external movement. The same observations hold true for the three com-

pliance/management types, since they also differed in size, auspices, and the sex composition of their clientele. The compliance/management type was related to the amount of physical control quite significantly but not to more flexible practices such as official procedures of maintaining control over internal and external movement.

In Table 7.2 the average frequency of self-reported institutional misconduct is shown for the programs, dichotimized on the basis of these three measures of official control policy. There were clear and consistent differences in the frequency of serious misconduct associated with their official policies of control. Youth in programs with more physical constraints, and greater restrictions on internal autonomy and contact with the outside reported significantly higher rates of serious misconduct, especially stealing and fighting. The only two instances in which this pattern is reversed occurs when youth in programs with fewer restrictions on outside contact report higher frequencies of absconding and feigned illness. The higher runaway rates may have been a function of more opportunity and staff tolerance of such acts in these settings. We don't know why there were more reports of pretending to be sick in these kinds of programs but it might have enabled youth to evade responsibilities and activities (such as school attendance) in more open programs that could not be avoided in more restrictive settings.

Although this may well be a "chicken or the egg" question since the official policies of restriction and control

TABLE 7.2 FREQUENCY OF INSTITUTIONAL MISCONDUCT, BY OFFICIAL CONTROL PRACTICES

| Frequency of: | Physical Control | | | Internal Restrictions | | | Outside Restrictions | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High | Low | | High | Low | | High | Low | |
| Feigned Illness | .65 | .42 | F=4.8542<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.03 | .57 | .58 | F=.0237<br>1 d.f.<br>NS | .45 | .68 | F=5.9037<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.02 |
| Using Drugs | 1.21 | 1.24 | F=.0243<br>1.d.f.<br>NS | 1.21 | 1.23 | F=.0133<br>1 d.f.<br>NS | 1.35 | 1.10 | F=2.7678<br>1 d.f.<br>NS |
| Absconding | .19 | .20 | F=.0123<br>1 d.f.<br>NS | .19 | .20 | F=.1429<br>1 d.f.<br>NS | .14 | .24 | F=11.180<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.0008 |
| Stealing | .79 | .33 | F=18.069<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.0000 | .82 | .45 | F=13.592<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.0002 | .85 | .48 | F=13.357<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.0003 |
| Damaging Property | .72 | .51 | F=4.5030<br>1 d.f.<br>p=,03 | .77 | .52 | F=8.7232<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.006 | .74 | .57 | F=3.5790<br>1 d.f.<br>NS |
| Hitting Staff | .28 | .12 | F=6.5095<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.01 | .25 | .21 | F=.5196<br>1 d.f.<br>NS | .23 | .23 | F=.0000<br>1 d.f.<br>NS |
| Fighting Youth | 1.15 | .73 | F=12.199<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.0005 | 1.24 | .77 | F=18.303<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.0000 | 1.14 | .90 | F=4.3983<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.04 |
| All Serious Misconduct | 4.31 | 3.11 | F=13.693<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.0002 | 4.46 | 3.35 | F=13.260<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.0003 | 4.42 | 3.50 | F=9.1131<br>1 d.f.<br>p=.003 |

may have been a result of the previous patterns of institutional misconduct rather than a cause, there is at least some evidence that institutions with rigid and repressive policies for controlling youth were more apt to be confronted with misconduct than programs not using such procedures. It is of course quite possible that programs with strict policies of control would have been faced with even more disruption and misbehavior without these policies. Without a longitudinal design, these issues cannot be resolved. What is clear from this data is despite concerned efforts on the part of certain institutions to maintain strict surveillance and restrictive policies over their clientele, these programs were unable to prevent a number of very aggressive and disruptive behaviors from occurring. And those programs with the most frequent misconduct behaviors were the very ones with the most restrictive policies.

In order to understand the impact of these official policies on the youth, we will concentrate in the rest of this chapter on their perceptions of the control structure and the ways in which these perceptions were related to the frequency of their misconduct.

## Perceptions of Surveillance and Control

We asked youth a series of questions about the degree of surveillance and control exercised over them. The sum of at least five of these items was used as an index of restrictiveness:

If you want to talk to a lawyer, will the staff here help you to do so?

1. Almost always; often; sometimes
2. Don't know
3. Seldom; never

Can you use the phone here to call a lawyer when you want to?

1. Yes
2. Don't know
3. No

Does the staff open the mail you get here?

1. No
2. Don't know
3. Yes

Does the staff read the letters you send?

1. No
2. Don't know
3. Yes

How often are your things searched here?

1. They don't search our things here
3. Every day; about once a week; about once a month; you can never tell when

How often are you searched here?

1. They don't search us here
3. Every day; about once a week; about once a month; you can never tell when

Index scores ranged from 5 (little control) to 18 (very high control) with a mean of 13.67 for the 1276 respondents who could be scored. A one way analysis of variance on the differences among the three types of institutions indicated strong and statistically significant differences between them (F=119.36, 1275 d.f., p=.0000), as shown in Table 7.3. Participatory compliance structures were characterized by lower average scores on control and surveillance than were the

other two types of institutions

TABLE 7.3 CONTROL AND SURVEILLANCE SCORES BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Compliance/Management Type | Average Score on Control/ Surveillance Index |
|---|---|
| Custodial | 14.7 |
| Utilitarian | 14.2 |
| Participatory | 12.0 |
| GRAND MEAN | 13.7 |

The product moment correlations which were computed between the control/surveillance index and the frequency of misconduct were statistically significant for all types of misconduct, except feigned illness and absconding. Youth who reported that staff engaged in fairly intensive surveillance activites also reported higher frequencies of drug use (r=.11), stealing (r=.18), damaging property (r=.14), hitting staff (r=.06), fighting (r=.13), and all types of serious misconduct (r=.21). This tends to confirm our earlier findings with regard to the relationship to official policies of control and surveillance and institutional misconduct, in which we reported that programs which maintained more rigid control procedures also had higher rates of institutional misconduct.

Usual Punishments

Youth were asked to indicate the usual system of punishments for most of the specific acts of misconduct we have included in this study. In order to standardize the conditions under which various sanctions were given, we framed the ques-

tions as follows:

> "When staff members catch youth doing things that are against the rules in places like this, there are different things they can do about it. Please tell us what the staff members here usually do when they catch a youth, for the first time, doing each of the following things. (Some of the staff actions might not fit a place like this. Just ignore these.) CHECK AS MANY AS DO APPLY.

Five specific acts of misconduct were included in this question: (1) using drugs, (2) running away and returning within two weeks, (3) stealing from youth in the program, (4) hitting a staff member, (5) starting a fight with a youth in the program.

Youth were given eight "usual punishments" options to choose from for each of the behaviors: (1) talking to youth about it, (2) letting the youth decide what to do, (3 ) keeping youth here longer, (4) separating youth from others, (5) taking away points or privileges, (6) transfering the youth to another place, (7) contacting the parole or probation officer or court worker, and (8) doing nothing.

We chose to limit our index to the clearly defined, serious punishments. For each type of misconduct the number of "serious punishments" were summed (keeping him longer, separating him from others, taking away points or privileges, and transferring to another place). Item to scale score correlations are contained in Appendix D. The range in responses was between 0 (no serious punishments to 4 (all of them) and the means were 1.7 for drug use, 2.0 for running away, 1.1 for stealing, 1.9 for hitting staff, and 1.3 for fighting for the sample as a whole.

One way analysis of variance indicated that there were statistically significant differences among the three types of institutions, with custodial programs averaging the most and participatory programs the fewest serious punishments for each type of misconduct (all of these differences were significant beyond the .0000 level).

Earlier analysis by this author indicated that youth believed that staff consistently used particular sanctions, regardless of the type of misconduct. Youth did not think that the type of punishment was determined by the particular type of offense. And staff confirmed the existence of this pattern, when their responses to similar questions were analyzed. Both youth and staff reported that the underlying punishment options were more decisive in understanding staff reactions to misbehavior than any differences in these behaviors themselves (Selo, 1976, pp. 108-118).

It thus seems unlikely that differences in rates of misconduct would be a function of the differences in the perceived severity of punishment, since the number and types of punishments given for these different behaviors were roughly the same.

When the product moment correlations between the sum of serious punishments and the actual frequency of each type of misconduct were examined, we found that the relationships were insignificant. There was no evidence that youths' perceptions of the severity of the punishments given for particular types of misconduct had any relationship to their self-

reported involvement in these acts.

The two measures of perceived control/surveillance and perceived number of serious punishments for misconduct were correlated with several measures of deprivation, from the previous chapter, as we can see in Table 7.4. Youth who reported that they were subjected to fairly intensive surveillance and were usually given serious punishments for misconduct, also tended to feel that staff were punitive and less than helpful to them, that the services provided were ineffective, and that they suffered from various pains of imprisonment including isolation, lack of autonomy and stigmatization.

Peer Control

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the role of the peer group or inmate subculture in the rehabilitation process. The treatment technologies we have characterized as Participatory (Guided Group Interaction and Positive Peer Culture) particularly focus on the critical role of the peer group in effecting control within the institutional setting.

> "In everyday terms, then, the entire concept of group living and the need for living arrangements and conditions must become the responsibility of the young people themselves. There are certain false assumptions that most institutions currently accept which must be examined. For example, the notion that one staff member effectively supervises thirty or forty students is very questionable. The entire operation of most institutions is dependent upon a certain amount of cooperation and good will of the young people involved. We traditionally, however, tend to run our institutions as if the staff on study were in complete control and totally res-

TABLE 7.4 ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CONTROL/SURVEILLANCE AND PUNISHMENT POLICIES AND YOUTH ATTITUDES OF DEPRIVATION AND FRUSTRATION

| | | Sum of Serious Punishments for: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Perceived Control/ Surveillance | Drug Use | Running | Stealing | Hitting Staff | Fighting |
| Lack of staff helpfulness | .43** | .23** | .13** | .12** | .15** | .12** |
| Rules and punishments | .50** | .27** | .20** | .20** | .22** | .19** |
| Ineffectiveness of program services | .34** | .11** | .06* | .03 | .08** | .11** |
| Perceived isolation | .28** | .12** | .10** | .07* | .09** | .09** |
| Lack of autonomy/ privacy | .31** | .16** | .09** | .14** | .13** | .14** |
| Stigmatization | .26** | .15** | .12** | .17** | .15** | .15** |

* p is less than .05
**p is less than .01

> ponsible for everything that goes on. The PPC program not only rejects the concept, but further recognizes the reality and formally places the responsibility onto the young people, staff stepping in only when students fail to meet their responsibilities, using that failure as a further example of their problem" (Vorrath, 1972, p. VII).

Depending on the ideological position of the theorist, peer control has been variously characterized as "loyalty and solidarity," "collusion with and cooptation by staff," "accepting responsibility for others," or "snitching and ratting." In an effort to neutralize these labels in our examination of peer control, we asked youth the following questions omitting value-laden terms:

> I tell on other youth when they have done something wrong.
>
> Strongly agree___ Agree ___ Mildly agree ___
> Mildly disagree ___ Disagree ___ Strongly Disagree ___
>
> Suppose a youth you knew fairly well was planning to run away or leave the program.
>
> Would you try to talk the youth out of doing it?
>
> _____ Yes _____ No
>
> Would you tell staff here about it?
>
> _____ Yes _____ No
>
> Would you tell staff if no one else knew you told?
>
> _____ Yes _____ No

The answers to the first question were dichotomized into Agree and Disagree and an index of low peer control was constructed on the basis of the mean response of youth to these four questions. Index scores ranged from 1 (high peer control) to 5 (low peer control) with a mean of 3.08 for the

1291 respondents to at least three out of the four questions.

A one way analysis of variance indicated clear differences among the three types of institutions in reports of peer control (F=88.395, 1290 d.f., p=.0000), with such control being highest in participatory programs and lower in custodial and utilitarian ones. Participatory compliance types were characterized by a greater willingness on the part of youth to monitor the behavior of other youth and to make efforts to thwart absconding than was true of the other two types of programs. Particular participatory programs which had very strong group decision-making technologies (e.g., Greyshire and Wildwood) had very high peer control scores, as we expected. In such programs youth were encouraged to indicate care for other youth and to be concerned about their fellow students' misconduct or delinquent attitudes. Staff were expected to create an atmosphere in which students would share information about others with the group. Suggested strategies for insuring that this took place were given in staff manuals:

> "When information is withheld by a whole group, the group leader must find ways to put pressure on them. He should not verbally state that the group is withholding but, rather, place a few individuals on a type of restriction with no given reason for it. It is the group's responsibility to find out why. They should think, 'What does he know about individuals that we don't,' or 'He must know that Jack and Bill sniffed glue, and we didn't bring it up on them'" (Vorrath, 1972, p. 33).

The group leader was also expected to help develop a climate of openness among the youth so that problems and misdeeds

could be discussed without fear of punitive sanctions.

In Table 7.5 which shows the zero order correlations between youth reports on the control/surveillance and punishment policies of their programs and their willingness to exercise control on the behavior of their peers, we see that there are relatively strong and significant relationships between the measures. Youth who reported that their programs had extensive policies of control and surveillance and who reported more serious punishments for misconduct, less often were willing to inform staff about the misdeeds of others and took less responsibility, in general, for peers.

TABLE 7.5 ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDICES OF CONTROL/SURVEILLANCE, USUAL PUNISHMENTS AND PEER CONTROL

| | Low Peer Control |
|---|---|
| High Control/Surveillance | .46** |
| Punishments for Drug Use | .20 ** |
| Punishments for Running | .18** |
| Punishments for Stealing | .16** |
| Punishments for Hitting Staff | .23** |
| Punishments for Fighting | .17** |

** p =.01

In programs where staff were seen as providing fewer restrictions and punishments, youth tend to take more responsibility for monitoring and controlling the behavior of their peers.

Moreover, youth who reported little willingness to take responsibility for the actions of their peers and to tell staff about acts of misconduct were significantly more like-

ly to hold attitudes of hostility toward staff and feelings of deprivation, as we see in Table 7.6 where the zero order correlations between the index of peer control and attitudes of frustration and deprivation are shown.

TABLE 7.6 ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PEER CONTROL INDEX AND YOUTH ATTITUDES TOWARD STAFF AND PROGRAM (N=1285)

| | Low Peer Control |
|---|---|
| Lack of Staff Helpfulness | .43** |
| Staff Punitiveness | .36** |
| Ineffectiveness of Program Services | .39** |
| Isolation from Family/Friends | .19** |
| Lack of Individualism/ Privacy | .21** |
| Stigmatization | .19** |

** p=.01

The strong and consistent relationship between peer control and other aspects of the institutional experience in our sample is in marked contrast to the findings reported in six juvenile institutions for boys in Organization for Treatment. Using a measure they labeled "ratting to staff" which is quite similar to our "peer control index," they found no differences between custodial and treatment institutions. However, they noted that in treatment settings, youth who were more highly integrated into the inmate group were more willing to talk with the staff about other inmates, while this was not true in obedience/conformity and reeducation/development institutions (Street, Vinter and Perrow, 1966, pp. 232-

236).

We repeated their analysis, using the same measure of integration, based on the youths' responses to the question about the number of close friends he/she had among the other youth in the program. Respondents who said they had no friends or only one were classified as "not integrated" and those with two or more close friends were labeled as "integrated" into the inmate group. One way analyses of variance between the scores on the peer control index for integrated and nonintegrated youth in each of the three compliance/management styles showed no significant differences between them in any of the program types. In fact, residents of programs with participatory compliance structures were more likely to exercise control and responsibility toward their peers than those in other types of programs, regardless of their degree of integration into the inmate group. There was no evidence that the number of close friends youth reported having had any impact on the extent to which they reported "ratting on each other" or exercising other forms of peer control. The compliance/management style of the program, however, did have a significant effect on youths' willingness to collaborate with staff in thwarting the misconduct of peers.

There are a number of possible reasons for greater peer control in participatory compliance structures. The successful implementation of technologies such as Guided Group Interaction, Positive Peer Culture and other Group Decision-Making Strategies is premised on the commitment of youth to the reha-

bilitation goals of the program and their intensive participation in the process. The whole tenor of such programs is based on the acceptance by both youth and staff of norms of responsibility and concern for other youth. This means that legitimacy is accorded to what might be considered "squealing or ratting" in other types of programs. Moreover, the consequences of informing on other youth may have been a good deal less severe in participatory programs. We have already seen that youth in these programs believed that fewer serious punishments were given for each type of misconduct than was true in custodial and utilitarian institutions. Because there were fewer serious sanctions attached to these acts, youth may have felt that informing on others would not result in severe repression in participatory settings as opposed to the other types of institutions. On the other hand, there was a good deal of pressure in many of these programs for youth to "check each others' behavior" and the group as a whole may have been punished for not taking this type of responsibility. The manual in a rather vague way makes the point as follows:

> "We are not interested in purely overt behavioral changes. Suppressing behavior in one situation will not prevent its recurrence in another. Therefore, we do not punish students for showing problems; however, those who refuse to help others with problems are made to face the consequences of their irresponsibility (Vorath, 1972, p. 4).

Self-selection was also a possible factor. In _Organization for Treatment_, there was some indication that uncooperative views of "ratting" were more frequent in cottages with

larger proportions of nonwhites, older boys, and inmates from urban areas (Street, et. al., 1966, p. 253). To the extent that the participatory institutions in our sample were composed of larger proportions of whites, younger youth, girls, and rural youth than the other types of institutions (and they were), there may have been some importation of attitudes more favorable to peer control in these settings.

Product moment correlations between the measure of peer control and the frequency of institutional misconduct indicated that youth who were more willing to exert control over their peers were less likely to have feigned illness (r=.08), used drugs (r=.23), absconded (r=.15), stolen (r=.19), damaged property (r=.21), hit staff (r=.10), fought with other youth (r=.15), or engaged in all types of serious misconduct (r=.32).

Institutional Climate of Control

In this chapter, we have seen that using individual-level analyses, there are strong and consistent relationships between program policies of control and surveillance and the frequency of self-reported misconduct. Regardless of whether control was operationalized using official practices or youth perceptions, we found that institutions with more restrictive and repressive policies had higher frequencies of serious misconduct. At the same time, programs in which youth assumed much of the responsibility for the actions of their peers were characterized by less misbehavior. However, there was no association between the frequency of misconduct and the

number of serious punishments which youth believed were usually given. Even when each specific type of punishment was examined for its relationship to misconduct, no relationship emerged.

In order to look at the impact of the climate of control in an institution on its rate of reported misconduct, we repeated the analysis, using the institution and not the individual as the unit of analysis. One could argue that regardless of the lack of association between the serious punishments perceived by the individual and his own misconduct, the climate of punishment in the institutions as a whole might be related to its rate of misconduct. In Table 7.7 we see that the zero order correlations between the average scores of institutions on the series of control and punishment indices and misconduct were in the same directions as the individual-level relationships.

There were higher rates of most types of serious misconduct, especially theft, in programs with more restrictive policies of surveillance and control. As we already noted, youth who thought that staff were fairly strict more often reported engaging in these activities. We also found that there were higher rates of serious misconduct in programs where youth were unwilling to exert much control over their peers and that youth in all programs who were frequent troublemakers were less apt to inform on their friends. Although we can point to associations between these variables, we cannot pinpoint the causal direction. Rigid control by staff might

TABLE 7.7 ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INSTITUTION'S AVERAGE SCORES ON PERCEIVING CONTROL/SURVEILLANCE, NUMBER OF SERIOUS PUNISHMENTS, PEER CONTROL, AND THE RATES OF VARIOUS TYPES OF MISCONDUCT (N=16)

| | Feigned Illness | Drug Use | Running Away | Rates of Stealing | Damaging Property | Hitting Staff | Fighting Youth | Total Serious Miscon-duct |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Staff Control/ Surveillance | -.02 | .15 | -.22 | .59* | .37 | .18 | .37 | .37 |
| Low Peer Control | .04 | .47 | .03 | .67** | .64** | .27 | .53* | .63** |
| Punishments for Drugs | - | .22 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Punishments for Running | - | - | -.50* | - | - | - | - | - |
| Punishments for Stealing | - | - | - | .42 | - | - | - | - |
| Punishments for Hitting Staff | - | - | - | - | - | .23 | - | - |
| Punishments for Fighting | - | - | - | - | - | - | .20 | - |

* p is less than .05
** p is less than .01

either be a cause or a result of frequent misbehavior on the part of youth. Similarly, the widespread concern of youth with the misconduct of other youth might be either a cause or a result of little delinquent activity in the institution. Moreover, it was quite possible that staff efforts to maintain rigid surveillance over youth was both a cause and a result of the unwillingness of youth to cooperate with them in controlling the behavior of their peers - a kind of vicious circle.

Higher rates of drug use, stealing, aggression toward staff, and fighting were characteristic of institutions which used more severe punishments for these behaviors. On the other hand, there were lower runaway rates in programs which gave more serious punishments for absconding.[3] For the most part, however, the relationship between the perceived punishments and the rates of particular types of misconduct were insignificant at both the individual and institutional levels of analysis. Although rigid punishment and control policies may have reflected or intensified the problems of maintaining order and discipline, the extent to which youth were involved in the process seems to have been more important. Institutions in which youth were highly involved in encouraging their peers to behave and become rehabilitated seem to have had more success in reducing the amount of misconduct.

## The Relationship of Serious Misconduct to Selected Importation, Deprivation and Control Variables

As noted earlier in this chapter, there were significant

correlations between variables attached to the three perspectives we are considering. It thus becomes important to begin to sort out the independent effects of each of the variables as well as to determine their total contribution as a group to the explanation of misconduct in the institutional setting. In Table 7.8 we show the results of a multiple regression analysis on selected predictor variables. We used variables which had been shown both in this chapter and previous ones to be significant at the .01 level of analysis in the explanation of serious misconduct as a whole.

TABLE 7.8 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF SERIOUS MISCONDUCT ON SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FROM THE IMPORTATION, DEPRIVATION AND CONTROL MODELS

$R^2$ = .22 1024 d.f. F=31.775 p=.0000 N=1025

| Variable | Zero Order Correlation | Partial Correlation | Beta |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sex (Female) | -.15 | -.06 | -.06* |
| Previous Crimes | .36 | .21 | .22**** |
| Previous Abscondings | .20 | .07 | .07* |
| Present Stay (months) | .17 | .06 | .06* |
| Little Staff Help | .28 | .12 | .12*** |
| Learned Deviant Ways | .28 | .08 | .08* |
| Stigmatization | .18 | .05 | .05 |
| Perceived Control/ Surveillance | .24 | .04 | .04 |
| Willingness to Control Peers | -.32 | -.10 | -.11** |

* p=.05 *** p = .001
** p=.01 ****p=.0001

Twenty two percent of the variance in the frequency of serious institutional misconduct was accounted for by the entire set of significant predictor variables from the three theoretical perspectives we have considered. The previous involvement of youth in criminal activities was the most significant independent predictor of misconduct, followed by youths' perceptions that staff made very little effort to help them. We also found that independent contributions to the explanation were by the variables of sex, previous history of absconding, length of stay, learning deviant techniques in the program, and peer control. Specifically, males with previous histories of criminal and absconding activities who had been in their programs longer, who thought that staff members were not helpful to them, who learned deviant techniques while incarcerated, and who were unwilling to help control the behavior of their youth were most frequently involved in serious misconduct.

The fact that nearly eighty percent of the variance was unexplained is of course somewhat disappointing but the problem of multicolinearity among the independent variables must be understood in interpreting these relationships.

It is very important to refrain from using the beta coefficients as measures of relative importance of variables, as Hirschi and Selvin have pointed out:

> "A relatively minor error...is to consider the beta coefficients as measures of the relative importance of variables. This practice is almost universal in regression analysis but it is, nevertheless, wrong, except in the rare case where the independent variables are essentially uncorrelated with each other. By

themselves, the beta-coefficients measure the 'direct' contribution of each independent variable to the dependent variable, but they do not take account of the 'indirect' contribution that each independent variable makes through its correlations with the other independent variables" (Hirschi and Selvin, 1973, p. 157).

The problem of multicollinearity may be in part responsible for the fact that the length of stay did not emerge as a significant independent predictor of misconduct. In an earlier report on some of this data, Newcomb found that youth who had been in programs for a full year or more reported more institutional offenses than those who had been there less time. He also found that in programs with longer average sentences ("veteran programs") youth reported more misconduct than in programs with shorter average lengths of stay ("newcomer programs"), regardless of their own length of stay. He attributed the differences in inmate misconduct across programs to the "hardening process" or socialization by peers who have been in these programs for long periods of time. But he also conceded that there were other characteristics both of programs and of youth which were substantially correlated with the average length of confinement, such as size.

"Other characteristics, of course, are associated with large size, and these surely affect the reported frequencies of fighting. These may, but do not necessarily, include the proportions of youth with serious offense records - particularly those involving assault - and probably the greater likelihood that larger programs contain a critical mass of fighting-prone youth. Whatever these associated variables, they appear to be brought into play by such factors as critical masses of veteran youth in the same program, almost regardless of sex" (Newcomb, 1976, p. 94).

The intercorrelations of length of stay with offense history and feelings of deprivation may have substantially weakened the impact of length of stay as an independent predictor of misconduct. We also noted earlier that the three types of institutions were significantly different in their average length of stay. It is quite possible that the effect of length of stay was masked by its correlations with other important independent variables. It is also likely that the differences Newcomb attributed to length of stay might in fact have been at least partially due to other factors which were related to length of stay, such as the youth perceptions of staff and program, and previous offense patterns.

Another possible explanation for the weakness of the combined set of predictors in accounting for misconduct is that they interact with differences in program type and that their effects are masked in looking at all programs together. In a study of runaway behavior in two different institutional settings, Lubeck and Empey found that the predictor variables were quite different. They found that peer influence accounted for a higher proportion of the variance in running away at the mediatory program but that personality and background characteristics were better predictors at the institutional program. Moreover:

> "In attempting to isolate the nature of these differential interactive patterns, we discovered that these general findings, complex as they are, actually understate the interactive effects of organizational and personal variables. We discovered that as structural changes occurred with each of the organizations the relationship of the four sets of predictor variables to running away changed also, <u>suggesting that there</u>

> may be no uniform sets of personal variables that will be predictive of running away unless organizational characteristics are held constant" (Lubeck and Empey, 1968, p. 249).

The strength of the relationship between the independent variables and absconding varied not only between the two programs but also within each program before and after major organizational changes occurred. Unfortunately, Lubeck and Empey did not provide us with any explanations for these differences that would help us to understand our own data.

In Street's research on six juvenile correctional institutions for boys, interactions between program type and length of stay were emphasized in understanding attitude changes. In contrasting "custodial" and "treatment" institutions, he found that youths' attitudes seemed to become more negative only in custodial programs and that in treatment programs, the trend was for positive changes over time.

> "Within the custodial institutions, the overall trend is for the proportion negative to increase with length of stay. Although this tendency toward increasing negativism in the custodial institutions is akin to what one would predict under the prisonization model, attitude changes in the treatment institutions are in the opposite, positive direction. In these institutions, the proportion expressing positive perspectives increases rapidly over time in the early months, and, after a downturn, increases further in the later months" (Street, 1965, pp. 49-50).

In order to see whether interactions of this type masked the predictive strength of our independent variables, we reran the regression analysis for each of the three types of programs: custodial, utilitarian, and participatory, However, we found only slight differences among the three types in the amount of serious misconduct accounted for by the full battery

of measures (21 percent in custodial programs, 24 percent in utilitarian programs, and 26 percent in participatory programs). These differences are small compared to the differences found by Lubeck and Empey for explained variance in absconding (36% in the institutional sample versus 20% in the community sample).

The results of these three multiple regression analyses are contained in Table 7.9 to 7.11. We found, as did Lubeck and Empey, that there were no uniform sets of predictor variables across the three types of institutions. In both custodial and participatory programs, previous criminal activities were very significant independent predictors of serious misconduct but they contributed little to the explanation in utilitarian programs. In custodial programs females were more often involved in misconduct, while in utilitarian programs males were much more delinquent within the institution. In participatory programs, sex did not even emerge as an independent predictor. In both custodial and utilitarian programs, the perception that staff tried little to help them was an important part of the explanation of misconduct but it was not in participatory programs. The willingness of youth to control their peers was very important in the explanation in participatory programs, and slightly so in utilitarian ones, but it was insignificant in custodial programs. A previous history of absconding and feelings of stigmatization were only significant in utilitarian programs and the learning of new ways to break the law was only important in custodial

TABLE 7.9 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF SERIOUS MISCONDUCT ON SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FROM THE IMPORTATION, DEPRIVATION, AND CONTROL MODELS FOR CUSTODIAL PROGRAMS

$R^2$ = .21, 448 d.f., F = 12.660 P = .0000 N=449

| Variable | Zero Order Correlation | Partial Correlation | Beta |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sex (female) | .13 | .12 | .11** |
| Previous crimes | .34 | .22 | .24**** |
| Previous Abscondings | .23 | .01 | .01 |
| Present stay (months) | .20 | .06 | .06 |
| Little staff help | .27 | .14 | .15** |
| Learned deviant ways | .29 | .11 | .11* |
| Stigmatization | .10 | .03 | .02 |
| Perceived control/ surveillance | .25 | .05 | .05 |
| Willingness to control peers | -.26 | -.02 | -.02 |

* P = .05
** P = .01
*** P = .001
****P = .0001

TABLE 7.10 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF SERIOUS MISCONDUCT ON SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FROM THE IMPORTATION, DEPRIVATION AND CONTROL MODELS FOR UTILITARIAN PROGRAMS

$R^2$ = .24, 236 d.f., F = 8.1528 P = .0000 N=237

| Variable | Zero Order Correlation | Partial Correlation | Beta |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sex (female) | -.22 | -.29 | -.30**** |
| Previous crimes | .30 | .10 | .10 |
| Previous abscondings | .23 | .15 | .15* |
| Present stay (months) | .02 | .05 | .04 |
| Little staff help | .24 | .15 | .15* |
| Learned deviant ways | .19 | .12 | .12 |
| Stigmatization | .18 | .13 | .12* |
| Perceived control/ surveillance | -.01 | .01 | .01 |
| Willingness to control peers | -.25 | -.14 | -.14* |

* P = .05
** P = .01
*** P = .001
****P = .0001

TABLE 7.11 RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF SERIOUS MISCONDUCT ON SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FROM THE IMPORTATION, DEPRIVATION, AND CONTROL MODELS FOR PARTICIPATORY PROGRAMS

$R^2$ = .26, 338 d.f., F = 13.166, P = .0000 N=339

| Variable | Zero Order Correlation | Partial Correlation | Beta |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sex (female) | -.10 | -.00 | -.01 |
| Previous crimes | .38 | .26 | .27**** |
| Previous abscondings | .26 | .09 | .09 |
| Present stay (months) | .20 | .09 | .09 |
| Little staff help | .24 | .03 | .04 |
| Learned deviant ways | .25 | -.02 | -.02 |
| Stigmatization | .23 | .07 | .06 |
| Perceived control/ surveillance | .23 | .08 | .08 |
| Willingness to control peers | -.37 | -.21 | -.23**** |

* P = .05
** P = .01
*** P = .001
****P = .0001

programs.

In trying to understand the relative impact of importation, deprivation, and control variables in the explanation of serious misconduct in these three types of institutions, we must remember that many of the variables which did not emerge as independent predictors still had a relationship to misconduct indirectly through their correlations with other independent variables. The differences in the significant independent predictors for each of the types of programs thus may be simply an artifact of the multicollinearity of different independent variables in the three programs.

With this caveat in mind, we can now begin to speculate as to why some of these variables assumed greater importance in particular types of programs. The fact that females appeared to be more frequently involved in misconduct in custodial settings, even when their previous offenses and present experiences were controlled, should not be taken very seriously in this analysis, since females only constituted about one percent of the population and this undoubtedly affected the regression equation. In utilitarian programs, males were more involved in serious misconduct, even when the other variables, including previous delinquent activities, were controlled. In participatory programs, sex was not strongly related to misconduct. One possible explanation is that there was greater differentiation in the treatment of males and females in utilitarian programs than in participatory ones, either in terms of control or deprivation, such

that males were either more alienated and/or were provided more opportunity for misconduct than were females. We do know that among the utilitarian types, two of the three male institutions (Juniper and Hickory Creek) were very open and relaxed, and youth were allowed a lot of contact with the outside community. In contrast, both of the female programs were very structured and rather rigid, and made few efforts to provide youth with access to the surrounding community. As we noted in Chapter Three, the crucial differences among the utilitarian institutions were parallel to the differences in the sex composition of their clientele. This was not true of the other two program types. Thus, it seems likely that the sex differences in misconduct in the utilitarian programs were largely a function of the increased opportunity and decreased concern about misconduct in the male programs.

We also found that although the involvement in delinquent activities prior to their incarceration was a significant part of the explanation of institutional misconduct in all three program types, the involvement in criminal activities was an important independent predictor only in custodial and participatory programs. In utilitarian programs, prior involvement in abscondings was the significant independent predictor variable. Actually, the offense histories of youth, whether absconding or criminal activities, were more strongly related to misconduct in custodial and participatory programs than in utilitarian settings. It may be that previous offense patterns were more strongly related to both personal

characteristics of youth (e.g. sex) and to their program experiences (e.g. perception that staff was not helpful) in utilitarian programs than in the other types so that the independent effects of offense patterns were negligible in the multiple regression. On the other hand, it was also possible that utilitarian programs were able to overcome the ingrained patterns of criminal activity youth "imported" into the situation, through their systems of clearcut guidelines for the provision of a set of graduated privileges contingent upon acceptable behavior. In custodial programs, rewards were less consistently given for good behavior and other pressures may have made youth who were already seriously delinquent continue to misbehave. In participatory programs, less attention was focused on actual behavior, and more on attitudes and the expression of feelings, so imported behavioral patterns may have continued to a greater extent. In line with our earlier discussion with regard to differences in the treatment of youth with different characteristics, it is also possible that staff in custodial and participatory programs actually treated youth with more serious criminal histories differently than those committed for fairly minor offenses, and that these differences in treatment led to differences in misconduct. Perhaps this was not true in utilitarian programs, and instead that differences in the treatment of youth in those settings revolved primarily around sex differences.

In all of the programs, youth who believed that staff members made little effort to help them were more likely to

have engaged in serious misconduct, but when other variables were controlled, this was only central to the explanation in custodial and utilitarian programs. When other factors were considered, the negative attitudes of youth toward staff did not affect the frequency of misconduct in participatory programs. We believe that one possible explanation is that in participatory programs, youth were much more strongly oriented to their peers than to the staff, and the extent to which other youth helped them in the process of rehabilitation may have been much more important in understanding their responses than the extent to which staff were helpful.

In participatory programs, the amount of control youth were willing to exert over their peers was much more strongly related to their own misconduct than in the other two settings. Because peer control was such an important element in participatory programs, the willingness of youth to exert it was probably an important indication of their commitment and identification with the treatment process as a whole. In custodial and utilitarian programs, peer control may not have had this meaning and thus would be less strongly linked to youths' own behavioral patterns. Moreover, in participatory programs the injunction to be involved in the treatment process of their peers was central and affected all of the inmates, regardless of their previous patterns of delinquency. In the other two programs, the willingness to inform or "snitch" was related to youths' previous patterns and personal characteristics and not to program objectives, so that

there was a greater likelihood of multicollinearity among the indices of peer control and other independent variables in custodial and utilitarian programs.

When we try to compare the relative explanatory power of the importation, deprivation, and control variables in the three types of programs, we are faced with the fact that the variables were intermixed. In all of the programs, certain importation variables were important, particularly previous patterns of delinquency. In both the custodial and utilitarian programs, deprivation variables were significant independent predictors, particularly the perception that staff was not helpful, but these variables did not make an independent contribution in participatory programs. The only control variable that provided a net effect was peer control, and this was very important in participatory programs but relatively unimportant in the other types. Despite these differences among the three programs in specific independent predictor variables, the convergence of the three models provided a better explanation of misconduct in all of them than any of the separate perspectives, and the amount of variance explained was quite similar.

The Impact of Length of Stay

In contrast to the findings of David Street we previously reported, we did not find that the length of stay was a significant independent predictor of serious misconduct in any of the program types, and the direction of the relationship was similar in every one of the compliance types. How-

ever, we must note that in all three types, length of stay was significantly correlated with the other independent variables and thus, may have had an indirect effect on misconduct.

With regard to the deprivation variables, we did find, as Street did, that length of stay was directly related to negative attitudes and perceptions only in the custodial programs. In these programs, the zero order correlations between the length of time youth had been in the program and perceptions of staff control/surveillance (r=.35), feelings that staff were less than helpful (r=.24), reports that the services provided were ineffective (r=.20) and that rules and punishments were too harsh (r=.20) were all statistically significant at the .01 level and beyond. The relationships were small and insignificant in both utilitarian and participatory programs, with one exception. The exception occurred in utilitarian programs where youth who had been there for longer periods of time felt that staff were more helpful than youth who were there for only a short time (r=-.19).

Although length of stay was not an important independent predictor in any of the program types, there were consistent increases in the rate of misconduct by length of stay in each of the program types. Using the same categories as Newcomb we divided youth into newcomers (in program for two months or less), intermediates (in program from three to eight months), and veterans (in program for nine months or more). As we see in Table 7.12 the coerciveness of the programs and

the length of the confinement seem to exert a cumulative effect on misconduct, such that veteran youth in coercive programs had the highest rates of serious misconduct

TABLE 7.12 FREQUENCY OF MISCONDUCT, BY LENGTH OF TIME IN THREE TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS

| Length of Time Served | Compliance/Management Style | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Custodial | Utilitarian | Participatory |
| Newcomers | 2.8 (155) | 3.6 (110) | 2.1 (103) |
| Intermediates | 4.8 (214) | 3.8 (100) | 2.3 (206) |
| Veterans | 6.8 (144) | 4.0 (83) | 4.3 (111) |
| | F=16.108<br>512 d.f.<br>p=.0000 | F=.20634<br>292 d.f.<br>NS | F=9.0057<br>419 d.f.<br>p=.0001 |

Differences according to length of stay cannot be attributed to the amount of time youth had to commit these acts since the reporting period was only one month in all cases. At each level of time served, youth in participatory programs reported less misconduct than youth in other types of programs.

We would expect to find that length of stay was directly linked to the degree to which youth are socialized into illegitimate activities by other youth in their programs. In Table 7.13 the percentage of youth who reported that they learned many ways to break the law since their institutionalization is shown both by program type and length of stay. In Tables 7.12 and 7.13 we found that both the learning and practicing of misconduct increased directly with the length of

TABLE 7.13 PERCENT OF YOUTH WHO LEARNED MANY WAYS TO BREAK THE LAW, BY PROGRAM TYPE AND LENGTH OF STAY

| | Compliance/Management Style | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Length of Time Served | Custodial | Utilitarian | Participatory |
| Newcomers | 26% (155) | 17% (107) | 16% (103) |
| Intermediates | 36% (214) | 24% (96) | 21% (202) |
| Veterans | 52% (143) | 28% (83) | 35% (111) |
| | F=30.646<br>4 d.f.<br>p=.0000 | F=7.4409<br>4 d.f.<br>NS | F=14.431<br>4 d.f.<br>p=.006 |

the period of confinement and that this trend was especially marked in custodial and participatory programs where it was statistically significant. We also found that at each level of length of stay there were statistically significant differences between the program types in the amount of illegitimate learning that took place, all beyond the .001 level of significance. Regardless of length of confinement, youth in custodial programs learned more illegal skills than youth in other programs. Veteran youth in custodial programs reported learning most delinquent techniques and engaging in these activities most frequently.

In utilitarian programs, although newcomers had higher levels of misconduct than newcomers in the other programs, there was no significant increase in the amount associated with longer lengths of time in the program. In fact veteran youth in utilitarian programs were less likely either to have engaged in serious misconduct or to have learned new ways of breaking the law than their counterparts in the other insti-

tutions. The systems of graduated rewards and privileges tied to length of stay in utilitarian programs may have compensated for the otherwise negative effects of long sentences. In the other programs no such compensation may have existed to mitigate the feelings of deprivation attendant on long lengths of stay.

The learning of illegitimate behavior is believed to result from the exposure of youth to a "critical mass" of veterans, according to Newcomb.

> "...a 'critical mass' of veterans in a program serves to 'harden' both those veterans themselves and the newly arrived members. Within the group of veterans, it is a process of mutual reinforcement or social facilitation; they reinforce one another. Their effect upon the newcomer represents a process of socialization.
>
> Differential assignment to the several programs - especially if assignment has occurred in terms of previous incarceration - may well facilitate the 'hardening' process in certain programs. If so, it appears to be no more than a facilitator. With or without it, socialization occurs. And when socialization is in the 'hardening' direction, this can be attributed, not solely but in considerable degree, to a critical mass of veteran youth" (Newcomb, 1976, p. 92).

In order to see if youth who had been in programs longer were, in fact, more exposed to hard-core delinquent peers, we asked them to report how many of their friends inside the program had ever been involved in a series of offenses. Although we asked youth about twelve offenses, we only selected five of them which were comparable to questions about their own behavior. The selected offenses and the form of the question are shown below.

How many of your friends here have:

(damaged or messed up someone's property on purpose?)
(ever stolen property?)
(ever hurt someone on purpose?)
(used drugs to get high or for kicks?)
(ever joined with a bunch of friends to fight others?)

___ Almost all ___ Most ___ Some ___ Few
___ Almost none ___ None

In Table 7.14 the proportion of youth who felt that most of their friends had been involved in these offenses are shown. Clearly, veteran youth were much more likely to have had friends who had been or were presently involved in all of the offenses than youth in programs for shorter periods of time. Moreover, there were some significant differences in the program types. A slightly higher proportion of youth in custodial settings reported that most of their friends in the program had damaged property, stolen property, hurt someone on purpose, and fought with others than was true in the other program types. Except for damaging property and stealing, however, these differences were minor.

In utilitarian programs, there was no relationship between the length of time youth had been there and the extent to which their friends had engaged in any of the types of misconduct. In both custodial and participatory programs veteran youth were much more likely to have friends who had stolen property (r=.004) than youth who had been there for shorter periods of time. In participatory programs veteran youth were more likely to have friends who had fought with other youth than newcomers or intermediates (r=.004). And in custodial programs, veterans were more likely to have

TABLE 7.14 PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH REPORTING THAT MOST OF THEIR FRIENDS COMMITTED SELECTED DELINQUENT ACTS, BY PROGRAM TYPE AND LENGTH OF STAY

| | Most of Friends in Program Had: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Compliance Type | Damaged Property | Stolen Something | Hurt Someone on Purpose | Used Drugs | Fought Others |
| Custodial (547-555) | 47% | 62% | 45% | 65% | 44% |
| Utilitarian (284-289) | 39 | 50 | 37 | 63 | 42 |
| Participatory (431-443) | 38 | 47 | 40 | 69 | 39 |
| | p=.006 | p=.0000 | p=.050 | NS | NS |
| Length of Stay | | | | | |
| Newcomers (339-347) | 38% | 51% | 39% | 62% | 38% |
| Intermediates (497-509) | 40 | 52 | 40 | 66 | 41 |
| Veterans (333-336) | 50 | 65 | 49 | 70 | 51 |
| | p=.0004 | p=.0005 | p=.02 | NS | p=.002 |

(Probabilities based on Chi Square)

friends who used drugs (p=.001) and damaged property (p=.04) than newcomers or intermediates. Veteran youth in custodial programs were the most likely to have friendship networks in the institution largely composed of youth who damaged property, stole property and used illegal drugs.

Across all programs, there was strong and consistent evidence that the effects of length of stay and program type were both independent and cumulative. The longer youth had been in institutions, particularly custodial and participatory ones, the more frequently their friends consisted of youth who had committed serious acts of delinquency and the greater the tendency for them to learn new ways to break the law. They also tended to be more frequently involved in serious institutional misconduct. In custodial institutions, especially, youth who were incarcerated for long periods of time were particularly subject to these experiences.

## The Continuation and Conversion to Misconduct Behavior

We are aware of the possibility that the differences we have just noted were, in fact, not due to differences in the program or in the lengths of exposure to them but rather to the pre-institutional patterns of youth which may have been correlated with program type and length of stay. The fact that custodial programs contained higher proportions of youth with serious criminal histories and that these youth tended to remain in programs longer could account for the patterns we have seen.

In Table 7.15 we controlled for youths' self-reported pre-institutional offense patterns by focusing only on those who admitted engaging in each of the behaviors before coming to the program. Of those who had previous patterns of these behaviors, the percent of youth who continued these practices within a one month period is shown. More than half of the youth who had histories of hurting other people continued to fight youth in their programs but only fourteen percent had assaulted staff members. Nearly half of the youth who had used drugs before coming to the program continued to do so in their institutions and about forty three percent of youth who had previously damaged property continued to do this during the one month time period. Less than a third of the youth who had stolen property before admitted doing this in their programs. A quarter of the youth who had absconded from other correctional programs ran away from their present institutions in a one month time period.

A lower proportion of youth in participatory programs "imported" their previous patterns of delinquency than was true of youth in the other program types. At least within the one month reporting period, youth in custodial programs were more likely to have continued their previous practices of stealing, damaging property, and hurting others than youth in the other programs. Youth in utilitarian programs more often continued to use drugs and abscond than other youth.

Moreover, when length of time youth had been in the program was controlled, the same basic pattern remained. Table

TABLE 7.15 NET CONTINUATION RATES* ASSOCIATED WITH INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Percent of Youth who Continued to: | Compliance/Management Style | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Custodial | Utilitarian | Participatory | Total | |
| Use marijuana (a) | 46% (389)** | 36% (197) | 36% (320) | 45% (906) | p=.0000 |
| Use other drugs (b) | 50% (329) | 58% (174) | 38% (282) | 47% (785) | p=.0002 |
| Abscond from program (c) | 24% (241) | 33% (121) | 20% (202) | 25% (564) | p=.04 |
| Steal | 38% (481) | 26% (256) | 23% (350) | 30% (1087) | p=.0000 |
| Damage property | 48% (348) | 46% (176) | 34% (226) | 43% (750) | p=.002 |
| Hit staff (d) | 18% (339) | 11% (160) | 11% (247) | 14% (746) | p=.03 |
| Fight youth (e) | 62% (340) | 53% (160) | 39% (247) | 52% (747) | p=.0000 |

* Net continuation rates were calculated as the percent of youth who had engaged in each of the behaviors before their institutionalization who continued doing them within a one month period in the program.

** Base N's are the numbers of youth who had previous histories of each of the offenses.

[a] Percent of youth who had used marijuana or hashish before who continued using illegal drugs in the program.

[b] Percent of youth who had used other drugs before who continued to use illegal drugs in the program.

[c] Percent of youth who had previously absconded from other correctional programs who had absconded from the program.

[d] Percent of youth who had purposefully hurt someone before who hit staff in the program.

[e] Percent of youth who had purposefully hurt someone before who fought with youth in the program.

All probabilities were based on Chi Square statistics with two degrees of freedom.

7.16 shows the percentage of newcomers, intermediates and veterans in each of the program types who continued their preinstitutional activities within a one month period of time. At each level of length of stay, the percentage of youth continuing to use marijuana, steal, hurt staff, fight other youth, and damage property was higher in custodial than in participatory programs. For example, over half (55%) of the veterans in custodial programs continued to steal while this occurred among less than a third of the long term youth in utilitarian and participatory settings. Nearly half of the newcomers to custodial (40%) and utilitarian (42%) programs continued their preinstitutional acts of damaging property but this was true of less than a quarter (24%) of their counterparts in participatory programs.

There was a marked tendency for the proportion of youth continuing their delinquent patterns to increase over the length of time they were confined, particularly in custodial programs. The differences in the continuation of stealing and drug use over time in custodial and participatory programs were impressive, but the continuation rates of newcomers, intermediates, and veterans were not significantly different in utilitarian programs.

Both the length of stay and the institutional compliance/ management style were important influences on the extent to which imported behavioral patterns would be continued in correctional programs. There was a much stronger likelihood of most serious misconduct being continued by youth confined for

TABLE 7.16 NET CONTINUATION RATES, BY LENGTH OF TIME CONFINED IN THREE TYPES OF PROGRAMS

| Compliance/Management Type | Net Continuation of: Drug Use (d) | Stealing | Hurting Staff | Fighting | Damaging Property | Running from Program |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Custodial Programs | | | | | | |
| Newcomers (a) | 34% (109) | 25% (134) | 99% (85) | 55% (86) | 40% (81) | 27% (60) |
| Intermediates (b) | 46 (141) | 35 (184) | 24 (123) | 68 (124) | 49 (134) | 25 (84) |
| Veterans (c) | 55 (102) | 55 (133) | 22 (104 | 57 (104) | 58 (110) | 26 (81) |
| | p=.006 | p=.0000 | p=.03 | NS | p=.04 | NS |
| Utilitarian Programs | | | | | | |
| Newcomers | 47% (68) | 24% (97) | 5% (65) | 51% (65) | 42% (65) | 37% (35) |
| Intermediates | 60 (70) | 25 (84) | 15 (46) | 65 (46) | 51 (53) | 50 (40) |
| Veterans | 64 (52) | 30 (67) | 16 (44) | 41 (44) | 45 (53) | 20 (41) |
| | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| Participatory Programs | | | | | | |
| Newcomers | 22% (63) | 16% (74) | 6% (47) | 30% (47) | 24% (37) | 20% (35) |
| Intermediates | 35 (127) | 20 (166) | 37 (115) | 39 (115) | 30 (103) | 22 (87) |
| Veterans | 52 (79) | 32 (92) | 11 (70) | 41 (70) | 40 (74) | 18 (67) |
| | p=.001 | p=.04 | NS | NS | NS | NS |

[a] Youth who had been in the program for two months or less at the time of the study were classified as newcomers

[b] Youth who had been in the program for three to eight months were classified as intermediates.

[c] Youth who had been in the program for nine months or more were classified as veterans.

[d] Percent who had previously used marijuana or hashish who continued to use illegal drugs.

Probabilities are based on Chi Square statistics.

long periods of time in custodial programs than by those in other situations. The only exceptions to this were the use of drugs and absconding, which tended to be more often continued in utilitarian programs, probably because of greater opportunities in these settings.

In Table 7.17 we see that very few youth reported that their first experiences with serious misconduct occurred in the institutional setting. Less than ten percent of the youth with no previous offense patterns began to use illegal drugs, abscond, steal property, or hit staff members in the institutions. There was a slightly higher "conversion" rate for damaging property since seventeen percent of the youth who had never previously done this admitted doing it in a one month period. It is striking to note, moreover, that forty percent of the youth who said that they had never purposefully hurt someone before admitted fighting with other youth in the institutions.

Participatory programs consistently had lower rates of "conversion" to each type of misconduct than the other programs, although the only statistically significant differences among the programs were for absconding, damaging property and fighting. For example, almost half of the youth in custodial and utilitarian programs, who had never tried to hurt others before, began to fight in the institutions, as contrasted with the induction of only twenty seven percent of the youth in participatory programs into this behavior.

Since the reporting period of institutional misconduct

TABLE 7.17 NET CONVERSION RATES* ASSOCIATED WITH INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Percent of Youth who Continued to: | Compliance/Management Style: Custodial | Utilitarian | Participatory | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Use marijuana (a) | 7% (151)* | 6% (97) | 2% (119) | 5% (367) | NS |
| Use other drugs (b) | 11% (198) | 13% (114) | 6% (143) | 10% (455) | NS |
| Abscond from programs (c) | 10% (303) | 12% (173) | 4% (231) | 8% (707) | p=.004 |
| Steal | 12% (61) | 12% (40) | 5% (80) | 9% (181) | NS |
| Damage property | 19% (198) | 24% (117) | 11% (201) | 17% (516) | p=.007 |
| Hit staff (d) | 10% (212) | 7% (135) | 4% (191) | 7% (538) | NS |
| Fight youth (e) | 48% (211) | 47% (135) | 27% (192) | 40% (538) | p=.0000 |

* Net conversion rates were calculated as the percent of youth who had not previously engaged in each of these behaviors who admitted being involved in them during a one month period in the program.

** Base N's are the numbers of youth who had no previous histories of each of these offenses.

[a] Percent of youth who had not used marijuana or hashish before who used illegal drugs in the program.

[b] Percent of youth who had not used other drugs before who used illegal drugs in the program.

[c] Percent of youth who had not previously absconded from other correctional programs who had absconded from this program.

[d] Percent of youth who had not previously purposefully hurt someone who hit staff in the program

[e] Percent of youth who had not previously purposefully hurt someone who fought youth in the program.

All probabilities were based on Chi Square statistics with two degrees of freedom.

was only one month, we do not know when these youth began these behaviors or how long they had been involved in them. In Table 7.18, which shows the proportion of youth who began each of these activities by the program type and length of stay, we see that although induction into most of these acts seemed to increase after youth had been in programs for two months or more, length of stay had few statistically significant relationships with conversion in any of the programs.

The clear and consistent relationships between long periods of confinement and highly depriving and restrictive settings and self-reported serious misconduct cannot be dismissed as attributable to differences in imported criminal patterns. Even when previous offense history was controlled, the compliance/management styles of the programs and the length of confinement exerted independent and cumulative effects on the behavior of youth. There was virtually no evidence in this analysis to support the contention that the repression and control of the custodial type of institution reduced the level of disorder and disobedience among inmates. Although we do not know how chaotic these institutions might have been without the surveillance systems they employed, we did note that in less rigid programs there were lower rates of more serious types of misconduct. The apparent control imposed by strict rules and clearcut staff authority may, in fact, result in a breakdown of communication between staff and youth, leading to acts of resistance. As Johnson, in a study of the impact of confinement on psychological breakdowns

TABLE 7.18 NET CONVERSION RATES IN THE THREE COMPLIANCE TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS, BY LENGTH OF TIME CONFINED

| Compliance/Management Type | Net Conversion to: | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Marijuana Use (d) | Stealing | Hurting Staff | Fighting | Damaging Property | Running from Program |
| **Custodial Programs** | | | | | | |
| Newcomers (a) | 5% (41) | 0% (20) | 6% (67) | 46% (67) | 13% (71) | 6% (92) |
| Intermediates (b) | 9 (66) | 20 (20) | 12 (87) | 47 (87) | 24 (71) | 10 (123) |
| Veterans (c) | 12 (25) | 17 (6) | 18 (30) | 55 (38) | 33 (33) | 13 (67) |
| | NS | NS | NS | NS | p=.04 | NS |
| **Utilitarian Programs** | | | | | | |
| Newcomers | 6% (36) | 0% (10) | 2% (42) | 49% (41) | 20% (40) | 7% (68) |
| Intermediates (b) | 8 (26) | 8 (12) | 10 (49) | 40 (50) | 28 (43) | 14 (56) |
| Veterans | 6 (31) | 25 (16) | 5 (38) | 50 (38) | 21 (28) | 17 (42) |
| | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS | NS |
| **Participatory Programs** | | | | | | |
| Newcomers | 3% (31) | 0% (23) | 2% (52) | 14% (52) | 5% (59) | 2% (66) |
| Intermediates | 0 (58) | 9 (35) | 1 (87) | 30 (88) | 12 (95) | 3 (111) |
| Veterans | 5 (20) | 0 (14) | 10 (38) | 32 (38) | 15 (33) | 5 (39) |
| | NS | NS | p=.02 | NS | NS | NS |

[a] Youth who had been in the program two months or less at the time of the study were classified as newcomers.

[b] Youth who had been in the program for three to eight months were classified as intermediates.

[c] Youth who had been in the program for nine months or more were classifed as veterans.

[d] Percent of youth who had not previously used marijuana or hashish who began to use them in the institution

Probabilities are based on Chi Square statistics.

among prisoners, suggested:

> "Prison environments that are comparatively open and unstructured may produce fewer encounters that highlight staff control and give the image - if not the substance - of arbitrary and abusive treatment. The possibilities for communication in less rigid settings may make resentments easier to surface and to resolve when they arise" (Johnson, 1976, p. 138).

Custodial programs were not only more likely to foster feelings of resentment toward staff and to prevent the resolution of these feelings because of the social distance between youth and staff, but they also subjected their inmates to harsher living conditions than the other programs. For this reason the deprivation and control perspectives could not be empirically separated in this analysis. The measures of institutional control (e.g. staff policies of searching, censorship, and punishment) were closely associated with other aspects of the deprivation model, in the sense that they also reduced the privacy and autonomy of youth. Unfortunately we were not able to develop measures of the more positive aspects of control that we believe are analytically separate from the deprivation perspective.

The deprivation perspective (often called the functional explanation) is useful in explaining why length of confinement and program type both independently and additively affected institutional misconduct. Programs in which youth felt greater pains of imprisonment, including little privacy, boredom, harsh treatment by staff, and separation from the outside world were characterized by the alienation of youth from staff and stronger feelings of the futility of their institutional

experiences. According to the deprivation perspective, these feelings may be expressed in acts of aggression, withdrawal, or intransigence toward staff and other youth. Not only is the harshness of the setting related to the commission of acts of misconduct but the duration of the experience is also believed to have an effect. Because long periods of confinement mean that youth are exposed to the pains of imprisonment for longer periods of time and because this exposure becomes more difficult to bear as time goes on, negative attitudes and behaviors are expected to become more prevalent. We have seen that the cohort of youth who were in custodial programs for nine months or more reported substantially higher frequencies of serious institutional misconduct than veteran youth in other programs and shorter-term youth in their own programs. But we have also seen that the longer the period of confinement, the greater the involvement in institutional delinquency in all three types of programs. According to the deprivation argument, long periods of confinement in any setting constitute a significant pain of imprisonment for adolescents so length of stay is an independent predictor of misconduct. With long periods of confinement in any setting, regardless of how "treatment-oriented" the problems of institutional living seem to become more severe and result in more negative attitudes and behaviors.

It may well be, however, that the associations we have noted between length of confinement, program type, and serious misconduct were really a function of greater exposure to

illegitimate opportunities rather than alienation which is part of the deprivation perspective. Although we dismissed the importance of perceived staff control, surveillance, and punishment in inhibiting the commission of acts of misconduct, we found that programs where youth were willing to take responsibility for the actions of their peers were plagued with less internal disorder. In such programs, youth tended to be less exposed to delinquent peers and to be less likely to learn new techniques for breaking the law. Moreover, regardless of the type of program, longer lengths of confinement were associated with more learning of illegitimate activities and with more delinquent friendship networks. We cannot determine the relative efficacy of the "differential association" and "deprivation perspectives" but it seems likely that they are complementary explanations of misconduct. Although functional theorists maintain that the shared experiences of felt deprivations and low self-esteem lead to the development of subcultures of inmates which provide both an amelioration of these strains and illegitimate learning structures, others would reverse the order. They suggest that the perceptions of youth with regard to the harshness of their institutional experiences are learned along with misconduct behaviors as youth interact with more deviant peers. The subcultures of youth may serve to intensify rather than mitigate felt deprivations.

## Summary

Assuming that there are inherent pressures toward deviance

because of the types of youth confined and the situational pressures arising from congregate living, the Control Perspective adds another set of explanatory factors for analyzing variations in misconduct in institutions. This framework views organizational policies of surveillance and sanctioning, as well as subjective perceptions of the availability and attractiveness of delinquent activity, as critically important in understanding the frequency and seriousness of youthful misbehavior. Control theorists often assert that the emphasis on custody and security found in more traditional training schools is necessary to deter the natural impulses of inmates. In the absence of effective control, they maintain that institutions will be plagued by problems of internal disorder as youth will be free to continue their pre-institutional behavior patterns and will be socialized into even more serious offenses.

The Control Perspective has often been used by the advocates of traditional training schools to justify their policies of physical restriction and custody. They argue that without environmental constraints (such as fences or locked doors), strict authority of staff, rigid and detailed rules and policies, isolation from the community, and severe sanctions for misconduct, institutions cannot effectively manage their inmates. In this sense, the Control Perspective is often believed to be in opposition to the Deprivation Perspective, which asserts that these same policies tend to produce strong feelings of rebellion and resistance among inmates, which may

be expressed in more intense and serious acts of misconduct.

The apparent contradiction between the two perspectives is, however, based on an incomplete understanding of the tenets of the Control Theory. In looking at institutional features which may effectively control and deter the delinquency of the youth, it is necessary to consider a variety of techniques which may foster the identification of youth with program goals, make deviant activities less accessible and appealing, and sanction them when they do occur without imposing more "pains of imprisonment." Many institutions, in providing ways for youth to fully participate in the decision-making processes affecting their lives, in allowing youth to become fully involved in the treatment processes affecting themselves and their peers, and in fostering close and intense relationships between staff and youth, are in fact effectively controlling their behavior. When the dimensions of control are broadened to include the more positive strategies, the two perspectives (Control and Deprivation) become complementary explanations of fluctuations in misbehavior.

We began the chapter by constructing three indices of the official policies of institutions with regard to physical constraints, restrictions on internal movement and autonomy, and restrictions on contact with the outside community. In general custodial programs emerged as having more repressive policies with regard to each of these types of control than the other institutions, but the differences were rather small.

Most forms of serious misconduct occurred with greater frequency in programs where the official policies and procedures were designed to maintain pervasive control over the youth. Higher rates of absconding and feigned illness, however, were found in programs with fewer restrictions on outside contact. Throughout the rest of the chapter, we examined the subjective perceptions of youth with regard to the efforts of their programs to control them.

Three indices were constructed which tapped their perceptions of staff practices of surveillance and control, their assessment of the typical sanctions given for specific types of misconduct, and their willingness to control the delinquencies of their peers. There were clear and consistent differences among the program on each of these three measures. Youth in participatory programs were significantly less likely to report repressive policies of staff control and surveillance and severe sanctions for misconduct than youth in the other program types. There were strong relationships between youth reports of these negative control practices and measures of deprivation and pains of imprisonment, including feelings that staff were punitive, programs were ineffective, and that they were subjected to stigmatization, isolation, and little privacy. In contrast to these measures of staff control and punishment, scores on peer control (willingness to cooperate with staff in controlling the behavior of peers) was highest in participatory programs and lowest in custodial ones. In fact, the strength of peer control appeared inversely related

to the repressiveness of staff control and sanctioning practices. In programs where staff were seen as providing fewer restrictions and punishments, youth were more willing to monitor and control the behavior of their peers.

Although there were no significant relationships between youths' perceptions of the number of serious punishments for misconduct and the frequency of their participation in these acts, there were statistically significant correlations between reports of staff control and surveillance tactics and many types of misconduct. Youth who reported that staff monitored and restricted them in many ways were more likely than other youth to have engaged in acts of serious misconduct especially theft, fighting and damaging property. There were even stronger relationships between self-reported misconduct and low peer control. Youth who were unwilling to cooperate with staff in controlling other youth were much more likely to have been involved in serious institutional delinquency than more cooperative youth. Institutions which have successfully involved youth in the treatment and control processes seem to have had more success in reducing the amount of misconduct than those which have resorted to censorship, rigid rules, and severe sanctions.

In order to assess the independent and cumulative effects of the variables from all three of the perspectives (Importation, Deprivation and Control), a multiple regression analysis was run using predictor variables which had previously shown statistically significant relationships to misconduct behav-

ior. Twenty two percent of the variance in serious misconduct was explainable by the entire set of relevant predictors, and the most significant predictor was previous history of criminal activity. Other independent predictors included being male, longer lengths of stay, feelings that staff were not helpful, unwillingness to control peers, previous abscondings and learning new ways to break the law since entering the program.

The intercorrelations of many of the independent predictor variables (the problem of multicollinearity) may well account for the fact that several of them did not emerge as significant in the combined regression analysis. We found slight differences among custodial, utilitarian and participatory programs in the amount of variance explained by the full battery of measures, as well as differences in the relative net contribution made by particular variables.

Regardless of the type of program, longer periods of confinement were accompanied by more exposure to delinquent peers and illegitimate learning structures. As their length of stay increased, youth had a greater likelihood of frequent involvement in serious institutional misconduct. The effect was especially marked in custodial programs. When the previous offense histories of youth were controlled, we found that serious misconduct was least characteristic of participatory programs but that the frequencies of many of these behaviors increased with length of confinement in any of the institutions. Youth who had been confined in custodial programs for nine months or more reported a higher incidence of the continua-

tion of certain types of misconduct (especially theft, fighting and property damage) than other youth with similar pre-institutional offense histories. Although relatively few youth engaged in acts of institutional delinquency without previous histories of these offenses, the lowest rates of "conversion" or "induction" were found among youth in participatory programs.

The types of control characteristically exercised over inmates in custodial programs (such as censorship of mail, searching of possessions, isolation from home and community, strict and detailed rules of conduct, and severe sanctions for misconduct) did not appear to be particularly effective in reducing the level of disorder and disobedience. The higher rates of self-reported delinquency among youth in the more restrictive settings suggest that the more negative types of control may in fact have intensified feelings of deprivation and resistance toward staff, which were, to some extent, expressed in acts of misconduct. This does not negate the utility of the Control Perspective, however, since there is some evidence that programs in which youth were encouraged to show their concern for other youth by cooperating with staff in modifying the behavior of their peers, had lower rates of institutional misconduct. The impact of peer control on misbehavior seems to be much more substantial than that of staff control practices.

Moreover, the willingness of youth to take responsibility for controlling the misconduct of their peers was rather

strongly related to positive feelings toward staff and programs. In this sense the Deprivation and Control Perspectives are complementary explanations. In programs where youth had more positive perspectives and fewer pains of imprisonment, the control exercised by peers was also stronger and more effective. Such programs seem to have a commitment to the involvement and participation of youth in the decision-making and treatment processes affecting them, as well as a more open and flexible setting, and their rates of serious misconduct were substantially lower.

We were aware, however, that these associations between peer control, perceived pains of imprisonment and serious misconduct may be explained in a variety of ways. Our implicit model shows a chain of causation from harsh experiences in confinement to perceptions of deprivation and pains of imprisonment to negative attitudes toward staff and unwillingness to cooperate with them in monitoring the activities of peers. This combination of negative feelings toward staff and program and lack of peer control over the expression of these feelings in overt and resistant behavior leads to higher rates of serious aggressive misconduct within the institution. As various aspects of this model increase (such as the length of exposure to depriving features of the environment or the restrictiveness of the environment itself), the rates of misconduct will accelerate.

Without a longitudinal design, however, it is equally possible to argue that the causal direction is actually re-

versible. Under this model high rates of serious misconduct over long periods of time lead to attempts by staff and administrators to restore order by imposing stringent policies and rules which alienate youth even further and make it impossible for staff to gain the cooperation of youth. Others might argue that feelings of deprivation and perceived pains of imprisonment follow rather than precede misconduct behavior, and that they serve as "techniques of neutralization" to justify and rationalize the behavior (Sykes and Matza, 1957). Still other researchers have argued that strong peer control is a function of the seriousness of youths' own misconduct rather than a determinant of it. For example, Empey and Newland suggested that the willingness of youth to inform on others was a function of their own self-interest and was determined by youths' own participation in these delinquent activities.

> "When these boys participated in delinquent activities together, they had a stake in keeping their acts hidden. There was an unwritten, often unverbalized agreement against 'copping out' to other boys and staff in group meetings, and sanctions were used to enforce the agreement. As a result, the way the subgroup protected itself was to scapegoat the individual member -- that is, to bring up and discuss his activities rather than the subgroup's. Thus, the norm against being a 'fink' was not universal, but applied only when one's self-interest was at stake" (Empey and Newland, 1968, p. 11).

Problems of the causal ordering of variables were inherent in the design but it is perhaps even more important to note the inadequacies of all three perspectives, as they were operationalized in this analysis. Suggestions for reformulating the problem and the dimensions appropriate for an ex-

planation will be presented in the next chapter, as well as some ideas for further research in the area of inmate misconduct.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Because of the small number of cases (sixteen institutions), we did not rely only on the correlations which were statistically significant in trying to develop empirical clusters. Instead we also looked at the strength of the relationships and they, too, were very weak. We began to conclude that either there was no rational pattern to the control mechanisms used in these programs or that they tended to serve as functional equivalents for each other.

2. Our procedure for developing these scales was influenced by the work of King and Raynes in constructing an operational measure of inmate management in residential institutions, based on the extent to which they used institutionally-oriented versus inmate-oriented practices (King and Raynes, 1968).

3. The inverse correlation between a program's runaway rate and the usual punishments given for it may be misleading since the reported runaway rate is based only on youth who ran away during a one month period and returned to the program. Programs which tended to give harsher punishments (such as transferring absconders) may have had a lower rate of return though their actual runaway rate may have been the same or higher than less punitive programs.

4. When some or all of the independent variables are substantially correlated with each other, the coefficients obtained by the regression model for the entire set may be highly misleading. This situation is sometimes called the problem of multicollinearity. Since all other independent variables have been partialled from the relationship between each independent variable and the dependent variable, when two or more independent variables have highly redundant associations with the dependent variable, none of them may show nontrivial unique relationships, that is, all may show very small beta coefficients.

5. The dichotomy which was used was between youth who had ever done any of these acts before coming and those who had never done them. To some extent this dichotomy may underemphasize the actual differences in frequency of commission between the three programs. However there were only slight differences in the actual reported frequencies of pre-institutional delinquent activities among the three types of programs and these do not account for the observed patterns.

## CHAPTER VIII

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Inmate misconduct has been a subject of much speculation and very little research. Relative to the rather copious analyses of the attitudes, personality aberrations, and subcultures of inmates, studies of behavioral adaptations to confinement are very limited. This research is an attempt to understand the parameters of the problem of misconduct in juvenile correctional institutions. Our major objectives were to discover how prevalent selected types of misbehavior were in a number of different institutions, to explore the relative effectiveness of three theoretical perspectives in explaining misconduct, and thus, to be able to provide some directions for further research and correctional policy in this area.

The data for this analysis were gathered from sixteen institutional units for both males and females, which were part of a larger nationwide study of various types of juvenile correctional programs. Our comparative study of misconduct was based on the self-reports of youth, as well as material from staff members, administrators, and field observers, and probably represents the most comprehensive data base currently available on the subject.

The purposes of this chapter are to review the major findings of the research, to present some of the implications for correctional policy, and in the discussion of the strengths

and limitations of this analysis, suggest some directions for further research in this area.

## Review of the Major Findings

### The Prevalence of Institutional Misconduct

Whether or not correctional personnel are aware of it, the self-reports of youth in the training schools in our sample clearly indicated that misconduct was both frequent and pervasive. Youth reported an average of at least four incidents of serious misconduct during a one month period, and these are underestimates since youth were asked only about a small number of possible activities and because their responses were scored in a conservative fashion. Seventy four percent of the inmates admitted engaging in at least one act of serious misconduct, although only four youth (less than one percent) had been involved in all of them. The seven types of misconduct used in this study varied in frequency. Nearly half of the youth (47 percent) fought with other youth, a third of the youth damaged property and used illegal drugs, a quarter of the youth stole and feigned illness, sixteen percent absconded at least once, and eleven percent had hit staff members. All this occurred in a one month period.

There were quite significant differences in the amount of misconduct in the institutions, classified according to their predominant styles of securing the compliance of and managing inmates. Custodial programs had the highest rates of acts of misconduct which were directed against other youth and staff in the institution (i.e. theft, staff assaults,

and fighting youth). Utilitarian programs had the highest rates of types of misconduct which were not aggressive or hostile but rather more expressive (i.e. use of illegal drugs and fighting youth). In contrast youth in participatory programs reported the lowest frequencies of most types of misconduct. Although eighty percent of the youth in custodial and utilitarian programs were involved in at least one type of serious misconduct, this was true of only 63 percent of the youth in participatory programs.

Staff Underestimated the Amount of Misconduct

Most of the previous research on institutional misconduct has relied on official disciplinary records and staff nominations of "troublemakers" to develop measures of maladjustment, and the conclusions drawn have largely been based on these official definitions of misconduct. In this study we compared the self-reports of youth with staff reports of misconduct in each cottage in each institution and found that there were some critical differences. In cottages where more than one staff member responded to the question asking for reports of the numbers of youth involved in specific types of misbehavior within one month, we found very little agreement among staff within the same living unit. Staff members in less than ten percent of the cottages agreed in their estimates of numbers of youth who had feigned illness or fought other youth and in less than twenty percent of the cottages did staff agree about the incidence of theft or property damage. Only a third of the cottages provided consistent es-

timates of drug use and less than half of the cottages agreed on the number of youth who had hit staff members within the one month period. The range in estimates was also quite striking.

In a situation where staff disagreed among themselves about the incidence of misconduct, it was not surprising to find that there was very little congruence between self-reports and staff reports of these behaviors within the same time period. In the majority of cottages, more youth reported being involved in serious misconduct than reported by staff. In ninety percent of the cottages, self-reports of drug use were higher than staff reports and in over three fourths of the cottages, self-reports of fighting and damaging property were higher than staff estimates. These discrepancies occurred in every type of institution but were most apparent in custodial programs. The "group hazard" hypothesis which suggests that group incidents are more detectable by staff than individual ones was not comfirmed, for we found that types of misconduct that were most often done in groups were the most underreported by staff. Staff were just as ignorant of the numbers of youth involved in behaviors they considered serious (eg. drug use) as those considered relatively minor (e.g. feigned illness).

The Relative Effectiveness of the Importation, Deprivation, and Control Perspectives in Explaining Institutional Misconduct

The importation perspective, derived from studies of inmate subcultures, argues that misconduct is a product and a

reflection of prior experiences, orientations, and values which are carried into the institutional setting. The model provides an explanation of misconduct based on both personal characteristics of inmates, such as gender, age, race, and social class and their behavioral patterns related to misconduct, such as previous delinquent activities and correctional experiences. Specifically, it hypothesizes that youth will "import" their previous experiences and orientations into the new settings. Moreover, certain background characteristics are assumed to be associated with previous criminal activity, such as being male, older, black, and from lower class cultures, and so these characteristics are believed to account for much of the variance in institutional misconduct.

In our analysis, the battery of variables derived from the importation model accounted for very little of the variance in serious misconduct (13 percent). When the frequencies of each type of misconduct were considered separately even less of the variance in them was explained. The particular importation variables that proved most effective were previous delinquent activities, including crimes, more minor offenses, and abscondings; and to a lesser extent, correctional experiences were predictive.

In contrast to the importation perspective, both the deprivation and control models focus on aspects of the institutional experience in searching for causes of misconduct. The deprivation perspective regards misconduct as an expres-

sion of the alienation and frustration resulting from the degradation and pain of the institution. Institutions which provide more "pains of imprisonment" are, according to this perspective, likely to have higher rates of misconduct among inmates.

In our analysis, the set of variables designed to measure the perceived and actual deprivations of youth accounted for only slightly more of the variance in serious misconduct (eighteen percent) than did the importation variables. When the relative explanatory power of the two models were compared for particular types of misconduct, the differences were not overwhelming. The importation variables accounted for about three percent of the variance in both feigned illness and assaults on staff, and the deprivation variables explained four percent of the same behaviors. Each model explained about eight percent of the variance in fighting. Three percent of the variance in absconding was predicted by importation variables, as contrasted to eight percent by deprivation factors. Four percent of the variance in stealing was accounted for by the importation model, as opposed to eight percent by the deprivation model. The amount of variance in drug use accounted for by importation variables was nine percent, as opposed to thirteen percent by deprivation variables. Finally, the importation model explained seven percent, and the deprivation model explained eleven percent of the variance in the frequency of damaging property.

The third perspective we examined emphasized character-

istics of institutions which both allowed youth to become involved in illegitimate activities and failed to deter them. According to this control perspective, youth will tend to engage in misconduct if the opportunities are available and if sanctions are unlikely or relatively benign.

Institutions were classified according to their official policies and procedures regarding the physical control of youth, restrictions on their internal movements and autonomy, and restrictions on their contact with the outside community. In contrast to what might be expected, we found that the more coercive and restrictive programs had higher rates of most forms of serious misconduct than more relaxed facilities. The only exceptions occurred with regard to absconding and feigned illness, which were more frequent in programs which were fairly open to contact with the outside community.

When the perceptions of youth with regard to the mechanisms of surveillance and control, the use of severe sanctions for misconduct, and the amount of peer control were examined, we found that programs in which staff exercised rigid patterns of control and in which youth were unwilling to exert control over their peers had higher rates of misconduct than programs where the opposite patterns were in effect. We found some evidence of an inverse relationship between staff control and peer control in the sense that youth who believed that staff were coercive and restrictive were unwilling to cooperate with staff in trying to thwart the misbehavior of their peers. We also found that the num-

ber of serious punishments youth felt were usually given had little or nothing to do with the frequency of misconduct.

The amount of variance in serious misconduct explained by all the significant predictor variables from the three perspectives was approximately 22 percent, and the most important independent contribution was made by the importation variable of previous delinquent activities. Significant portions of variance were also attributable to being male, being in programs for long periods of time, feelings that staff were not very helpful, learning new patterns of delinquency in the program, and the unwillingness to monitor and control the behavior of peers.

The amount of serious misconduct accounted for by all three perspectives was very similar in custodial, utilitarian and participatory programs, but there were some differences in the relative importance of particular predictor variables. In utilitarian programs, the importation of previous delinquent experiences was not an independent predictor of institutional misconduct but gender (being male) was an important part of the explanation; in the other two types of institutions previous criminal experiences were significant predictors and gender was much less important. In participatory programs, the variables derived from the deprivation perspective were insignificant as independent predictors of misconduct but this was not true in the other programs. Yet in participatory programs, the amount of control youth were willing to exert over their peers had significant net effects on

their own misconduct but this was not the case in custodial programs and was only slightly important in utilitarian institutions.

The Impact of Long Periods of Confinement in Institutions

Youth who had been institutionalized for nine months or more reported having more access to illegitimate learning structures in their programs and also engaging in more serious misconduct than youth with shorter periods of confinement. The impact of long lengths of stay was particularly marked in custodial programs, and in fact, we noticed a cumulative effect of program type and length of stay such that veteran youth in custodial programs had the highest rates of serious misconduct.

In utilitarian programs, there was some evidence that the effects of long sentences were less severe. Differences between newcomers, intermediates, and veterans in these programs were only minor with regard to the acquisition of illegitimate skills, the degree to which their friendship networks were largely composed of seriously delinquent youth, and the frequency of their own serious misconduct.

The effect of long periods of confinement in more custodial programs remained even when the previous offense patterns of youth were controlled. Among youth who had previously been involved in these delinquent activities before their incarceration, length of stay was directly related to the degree to which these previous patterns were continued in most of the institutional settings. Length of stay was

not particularly important in understanding the extent to which these "imported patterns" continued in utilitarian programs, however.

The Initiation of Youth Into Acts of Misconduct in the Institutional Setting

Although the longer youth had been institutionalized, particularly in custodial programs, the more often they reported having learned new ways to break the law, we found very few youth who were engaged in acts of misconduct for the first time in their institutions. Less than ten percent of the youth with no prior offense histories of drug use, absconding, stealing, or hurting adults, were "converted" into these acts, at least in the one month reporting period. On the other hand, we found that seventeen percent of the youth who had never damaged property before began to, and about forty percent of youth who had never tried to hurt others before began to fight with other youth in their institutions. There was a tendency for the proportion of youth who were "converted" to acts of misconduct to increase after a stay of two months or more, but these differences were not statistically significant because so few youth reported that they had never engaged in these behaviors before. Participatory programs consistently had lower proportions of youth who began engaging in these behaviors during their confinement, and the differences in rates of conversion were particularly striking for absconding, damaging property, and fighting. Almost half of the youth in custodial and utilitarian programs tried to purposefully hurt other youth for the first

time in their lives, but this was true of only about a quarter of youth in participatory programs.

The Perpetuation of Delinquency in the Institutional Setting

The majority of the youth who had prior experiences with misconduct before their incarceration had, at least temporarily, ceased these activities. Yet the proportions of youth who continued to engage in these acts were very high, considering the fact that we only asked about misconduct during one month. About a quarter of the youth who had absconded from other correctional programs, ran away from these institutions. In fact, more youth may have actually absconded than we were aware of since they may not have been returned and thus were not counted. Almost a third of the youth continued their previous patterns of stealing, and nearly half of the youth continued to damage property and use drugs in the institution. More than half of the youth who had purposefully hurt others before, continued to fight while in the program.

The imported patterns of stealing, damaging property, and hurting others were most often perpetuated by custodial programs, and prior experiences of absconding and using drugs most often continued in utilitarian institutions. A lower proportion of youth in participatory programs imported their previous patterns of misconduct than those in the other institutions. This was true, regardless of how long youth had been confined.

We also found the importation of misconduct seemed to

increase with the length of time youth were in all of these programs, although the effect was most striking in custodial institutions. Utilitarian programs seemed best able to mitigate the effects of long periods of confinement. There was little evidence of a curvilinear effect of length of stay, as suggested by Wheeler, although the proportion of youth who continued to abscond decreased slightly with the longer periods of confinement.

Implications for Correctional Policy

Conclusions drawn from the present analysis must be viewed with considerable caution because this was an exploratory study, with some critical limitations both theoretically and methodologically. We will discuss some of these problems later in the chapter, but in this section we will speculate on some of the implications of the research for correctional policy.

A primary goal of juvenile correctional institutions must be to provide an organizational structure that is conducive to growth and rehabilitation of its clientele, and that at the same time minimizes physical and psychological brutalization and victimization. We found that in most institutions youth suffered "pains of imprisonment" such as lack of privacy, boredom, isolation, and dependency, and at the same time felt that the treatment they were being given was ineffective and often was harmful. Since virtually every incarcerated juvenile will eventually return to the community, it is necessary to make sure that the period of confinement is not

a source of degradation, injury or estrangement. The society has an obligation to provide these inmates, who are still legally children, with the most humane and least destructive circumstances possible, simply because they are human beings and have been imprisoned involuntarily.

Certain types of institutions seem better able to ameliorate the more negative aspects of imprisonment through the involvement of youth in all aspects of the experience including the formulation of policies and procedures, participation in important decisions and treatment processes, and showing care and concern about their peers. Other institutions seem particularly well suited to mitigating the negative effects of long periods of confinement by providing a set of concrete and graduated steps through which youth progress, so that long sentences often lead to more rewards and privileges. Yet in a whole set of institutions the experience of youth is dismal and they tend to react through acts of aggression and predatory exploitation directed at available targets, who are most often other youth.

Institutions we have called "participatory" because they are oriented to group process and decision-making technologies designed to involve youth in all aspects of the treatment experience were found to foster a stronger sense of commitment and identification than the other types of programs. Youth felt that they were growing in ways they wanted, were being helped with important problems, and had more positive outlooks on their future life chances than youth in other

programs. In participatory programs, the influence of staff was more indirect, involving an underlying concern about the youth expressed in efforts to facilitate their interaction with each other. Even among youth who had fairly extensive offense histories and criminalistic orientations, there was less evidence of serious misconduct in participatory programs than in the other settings.

It is important to be aware, however, that participatory programs have the potential to be even more coercive than the other institutions because they are able to exert even stronger control over youth through techniques of peer control and pressure. In the past, several institutions using Guided Group Interaction and Positive Peer Culture (two participatory strategies) have forced youth to apprehend other youth who have run away and have instituted strict policies of group punishment designed to force youth to collaborate (or inform) with staff in controlling other inmates. Although collaboration is the essential mechanism that allows staff to learn about and control inmate misconduct, it can be either a positive or negative influence on the rehabilitative process. In our study, there was little evidence that these participatory programs exploited the collaborative process in this way. None of the programs encouraged youth to apprehend their peers and group punishments were rare. Moreover, most of the youth were more positive about their experiences in these programs than in the other institutions. Yet the danger is always there and may be unrecognized even by the in-

mates themselves.

Institutions we have labeled "utilitarian" because they held out clearcut rewards and privileges for specific behaviors, tended to have slightly higher rates of misconduct than participatory programs but the effects of long periods of confinement were weaker. Several of these programs provided youth with more access to the community and fewer restrictions on their movements than any of the other institutions in our sample. We believe that they had higher rates of absconding and drug use than the other programs because the opportunities for obtaining drugs and escaping were greater. In these programs, youth were given more home visits, more off grounds experiences, and more opportunities to maintain their relationships with friends and relatives in their original communities. The costs in terms of higher rates of absconding and drug use must be weighed with the benefits of youth derived from these normal adolescent experiences.

In programs where youth are to be confined for long periods of time (as they often were in utilitarian programs), there are apparent advantages in staggering the available rewards and privileges according to the length of stay. Not only is the system highly structured, consistent, and predictable but the incentives are varied and always meaningful. In Adamek's study of Maryhill, an institution for delinquent girls, which we would classify as utilitarian, he also found that identification and conformity were a function of the degree to which behavior expectations and patterns of inter-

action were predictable, stable, and consistent (Adamek, 1968).

Institutions we called "custodial" because they tried to manage youth by using fairly traditional strategies of control and surveillance by staff and severe sanctions for deviance, seemed to be faced with considerably more resistance and hostility from their inmates than other programs. In these programs youth were more alienated from the staff, institution, and other youth and reacted by engaging in more serious acts of misconduct than was the case in other programs. There was no evidence that the kinds of rigid and repressive tactics used in these programs actually reduced the amount of disruption and deviance that occurred. In fact, there is at least some reason to believe that these strategies may lead to an intensification of acts of misconduct, particularly those directed against other persons. Zald and Street also found that the more serious kinds of collective incidents occurred in custodial institutions. They argued that the staff's repression of inmate social relations effectively reduced the level of inmate solidarity in custodial programs, but at the same time tended to assure that whatever inmate group activity did take place would be oriented against the institution and staff. In contrast, less rigid "treatment" institutions allowed inmates to organize and express hostility overtly and so youth were more day-to-day "trouble" to the staff. But the inmate groupings were less often oriented against the institution and staff and

had fewer undesirable effects upon the inmates' attitudes (Zald and Street, 1966).

It seems quite obvious that effective custody need not entail closed, punitive, and rigid accomodations. There are many ways to foster commitment and identification with an organization besides using sophisticated technologies and intervention strategies. We have suggested a few dimensions to consider, but there are others that may be more important including the size of the program, the composition of its clientele, the training of its staff, and the structure of the organization itself. It has been suggested by others that the most effective custody is probably established when small groups of children live in close contact with adults and develop close relationships with them in comfortable congenial surroundings but this would involve increasing the staff/child ratio and increasing the material resources available to these programs. Tutt suggested that the solution to misconduct may be rather simple:

> "The best deterrent to absconding on a cold winter's night is to be able to sit in a nice warm room and make a pot of tea with an adult who is interested and concerned about your welfare and is prepared to talk to you" (Tutt, 1975, p. 46).

It is important for correctional personnel to understand the complexity of the problem of misconduct, and to begin to try and understand the meaning of these behaviors for the youth themselves. Having one's property and personel possessions stolen or damaged is a considerable inconvenience even if it is only infrequent. Fearing for one's safety is even

more painful. Institutions cannot continue to ignore these incidents for they have a responsibility to the aggressors as well as the victims to provide a secure and stable environment. At the same time, however, staff must realize that certain types of misconduct may have positive functions, such as releasing tension or expressing bottled-up feelings, and that if these actions are suppressed without providing other functional alternatives, there may be unanticipated consequences.

In arguing for the importance of "undercover adaptations" for the structure of self-identity, Goffman makes the point that it is only against something that the self can emerge.

> "The practice of reserving something of oneself from the clutch of an institution is very visible in mental hospitals and prisons but can be found in more benign and less totalistic institutions, too. I want to argue that this recalcitrance is not an incidental mechanism of defense but rather an essential constituent of the self" (Goffman, 1961, p. 319).

The meaning of misconduct to staff and youth in these programs must be considered in developing strategies of management and prevention. This requires sensitive and compassionate attention to the complexity of the problem and the ways in which it is interwoven with other aspects of the institutional experience.

## Directions for Further Research

The present study was obviously not without limitations. Because it was a cross-sectional rather than longitudinal design, it was impossible to adequately describe a causal se-

quence of events and in the examination of the particular theoretical models chosen, this was a serious deficiency. Only a limited number of types of misconduct were studied and thse should be supplemented by a greater diversity of behaviors including those which may have been of more concern to youth and of less concern to the institutions themselves. Although the time frame of one month was chosen for reasons of reliability and accuracy, we cannot claim that it is long enough to serve as a representation of usual practices, particularly when organizations are compared at different points in time. The effects of the institutional policies and procedures were, in many cases, not separable from the effects of differential selection of clientele. And structural features of the institutions, such as size and auspices, were often confounded with their patterns of managing youth and securing compliance. Our interest in understanding misconduct in a large number of different institutions resulted in a heavy reliance on survey methods, and entailed some sacrifices in terms of the depth of understanding about the meaning of misconduct to youth and staff.

Future research on institutional misconduct should be designed to rectify some of these problems. Longitudinal analyses of a greater variety of types of misconduct in programs purposely selected to maximize the variance in both institutional and inmate characteristics should be undertaken. A combination of methods including surveys, interviews, examination of official documents and records, and

intensive participant observation would, of course, be preferable. In the analysis of data, efforts should be made to more systematically explore the variations in misconduct in the same institutions over time, and to determine the extent to which they are a function of fluctuating characteristics of the programs themselves, or differences in the composition of their clientele.

It is somewhat disconcerting to realize that this research has answered very few of our questions with any finality but it is somewhat heartening to find that the questions are still interesting and significant. Moreover, the results have alerted us to some other issues, which require further research.

For the most part our examination of institutional misconduct focused on the behaviors reported by the youth themselves, although we did have data on the behaviors known to staff. We noted that staff were aware of only a portion of the delinquency that occurred. It seems important, therefore, to begin to explore whether or not there are systematic biases in the kinds of behaviors and the kinds of youth detected by staff, and what impact differential processing of misconduct may have on the institutional careers of inmates. Attention must also be paid to the characteristics of staff and programs which may affect their ability or inclination to thwart the misbehavior of youth. The consequences of staff preoccupation with or disinterest in the behavior of youth should be explored particularly with reference to in-

tensification or reduction of misconduct.

Other institutional correlates of misconduct should be considered, including the degree of stability or chaos in the institutional environment, the degree of centralization or autonomy in the individual units, the pressures impinging on the organization from the outside environment, and the resources available for control and treatment. Many of these dimensions may fluctuate within the same organization over time, resulting in what Sinclair called "bad patches." He suggested that most institutions are prone to what might be called mood swings, due to situational events, such as a change in the warden or illness of certain staff, and that during these bad patches, the failure rates were higher (Sinclair, 1971).

Contextual characteristics of these programs, such as the degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity in the characteristics of their clientele must not be neglected for they have a profound effect on the development of illegitimate opportunity structures within institutions and thus to the extent to which misconduct is induced or perpetuated.

Value-added models, such as the one Smelser developed to account for collective movements, are probably somewhat premature considering the state of our knowledge but they do alert us to the fact that in understanding misconduct we have concentrated only on underlying strain, but have neglected precipitating events which are much more unpredictable and uncontrollable. In Smelser's theory of social movements,

the value-added model began with the concept of strain and then a series of conditions are specified, each one of which further narrows the range of possible outcomes, until the only possible outcome is collective behavior (Smelser, 1963). In research on misconduct which is more intensive, than our present analysis, it would be possible to specify in greater detail the precipitating events, as well as the underlying strains, and a much greater proportion of the variance would no doubt be explained. In comparative analyses of a large number of organizations, this would be difficult if not impossible, at this stage.

In this analysis, we have been puzzled by the fact that the official goals and technologies reflected in the reports of youth about their program experiences, explained such a small amount of the variance in institutional misconduct. Misconduct was endemic in all of the institutions, regardless of their avowed purposes, management strategies, or structural characteristics. All of these institutions, regardless of legitimate goals and stated intentions, contained large proportions of youth who felt that they were ineffective and inhumane.

Perhaps the problem is that we have been asking the wrong questions, Perrow has suggested in a provocative essay, because we believe that organizations are rational instruments of announced goals. He argues that goals are one of the least important constraints on organizational behavior and that rather than asking why nothing works, we should ask

why anything works (Perrow, 1978). We might then begin to focus on aspects of these institutions that we have ignored in our preoccupation with their failures. Rather than condemming all institutions because they are unable to prevent recidivism and control all serious misconduct, we would try to understand what strategies have been at least somewhat successful.

The study of inmate adaptations to confinement needs to be redirected from an almost exclusive focus on the motivations and strains underlying different responses to a greater concern with more dynamic aspects of the experience, including day-to-day crises, changes in organizational characteristics over time, and the degree of fit between the individual and the institution. Perhaps then we can begin to understand the meaning of different adaptive patterns for the individuals involved, as well as the institutions.

# APPENDIX A

# APPENDIX A

## CONTRACT AGREEMENT

TO: ______________________________
Name of Administrator

______________________________
Title of Unit

______________________________
Address of Unit

FROM: Rosemary C. Sarri and Robert D. Vinter
Project Co-directors

RE: Approval of Terms for Participation in Research

The National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections is engaged in a national study of correctional programs for youth. It is supported by a grant from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA, of the United States Department of Justice, and by the University of Michigan. The research is being conducted from the University of Michigan under our supervision and responsibility.

Our research protocol requires that we inform you fully about all aspects of the research and then obtain your approval for participation by yourself, your staff, and the youth in this agency. In all cases, however, participation by any or all persons is entirely voluntary.

The information that we wish to obtain will permit us to make comparisons within and between programs. We hope through the use of this knowledge that greater effectiveness in juvenile corrections can be achieved. Information is being requested from staff and youth, as well as about the agency and its operation. All the information will be handled confidentially.

Each agency will receive summary reports so that each will be able to make comparisons with the results obtained about similar services in other localities and states. Supervising state juvenile officials will receive these or similar reports for particular state agencies under their direct jurisdiction. Confidentiality with regard to all individuals will, of course, be preserved in any such report. You will receive feedback information of the findings from our research in your unit,

but this information also will be confidential with respect to the identity of particular staff or youth.

In accordance with standards of the University of Michigan Human Subjects Review Committee, our field staff have been carefully trained and are instructed to discuss safeguards for human subjects. Each of the instruments to be administered contains an explicit statement about confidentiality, voluntarism for individual participation, and the purposes of this research.

We hereby request your approval for the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections as represented by ____________ to complete field research activities in your agency (subject to specific contingencies, which you may deem appropriate and which you have attached to this statement).

If you approve your agency's participation, please sign both copies of this approval form. We will also sign both and will return one copy to you for your file. Your signature also indicates that our staff have informed you about the procedures to be used in this research. Any qualifications or contingencies that you may wish to establish should be attached in writing.

Signature ________________________

Date ____________ Administrator ________________________

APPENDIX A-CONTINUED

Introductory Statements Before Administration of Questionnaire

Here is a suggested standard introductory statement covering the four necessary topics: 1) Introduction of Self; 2) Explanation of Project; 3) Explanation of Voluntary Participation in Study; 4) Assurance of Confidentiality. This does not need to be memorized but it should provide a frame of reference for your own phrasing. Regardless of the exact words chosen by individual administrators, the substance of this introduction should be the same for all administrators and in all programs. This introduction should not be too long so as to avoid premature boredom and irrelevant questions, but should definitely cover the necessary items (as mentioned above).

"Our names are ______________________________________.
We are part of a research project called the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections, which has its office in Ann Arbor, Michigan. We are studying programs and places for young people who have had problems - for example, with the law, in school, or with their families. We are studying all kinds of programs such as institutions, halfway houses, day treatment centers, probation programs, etc. We want to find out which kinds of programs help young people and which do not.

We cannot go to every program in the country, so by a scientific method we have selected 16 states and certain programs within those states. This is one of those programs. At each program we will be asking the youth to fill out questionnaires, asking staff to fill out a different questionnaire, and spending some time at the place to see what it is like. After we have collected all our information and analyzed it, we will be able to make recommendations about what is helpful and what is not.

It is important that you are willing to answer the questionnaire and that you answer the questions honestly. Only you can tell us what it is <u>really</u> like to be in the program. The most important information will not come from someone outside the program telling us all about it or from our reading pamphlets and books about it, but will come from you, the people who are really in the program. This is your chance to tell it like it is. We will also be around for awhile to rap with you about the program here and anything else that comes up.

We realize that some of our questions are very personal and that you may not want others here to see your answers. Therefore, we promise and guarantee to you that <u>no one else</u>

here will see any of your answers. Only our research staff will see them. This means that no staff members here, no judge, no police official, none of your family members will ever see your answers. So you can feel free to answer all questions honestly and know they will be kept confidential.

If for any reason you do not want to answer the questionnaire you are free to leave and will not be in any trouble with staff or anyone else. Also, if there are any particular questions you do not want to answer you are free to skip those. We do hope, though, that you will be willing to help us gain this important information.

Please do not discuss the questions with anyone else until all have finished. Are there any questions?"

# APPENDIX B

# APPENDIX B

## SELF-REPORTED DELINQUENCY PRIOR TO CURRENT INCARCERATION

TABLE 1. PERCENT OF YOUTH INVOLVED IN PARTICULAR TYPES OF DELINQUENCY PRIOR TO THEIR CURRENT INCARCERATION

| Behavior | Number of Times | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Never | Once or twice | 3-10 times | More than 10 times | |
| Skipped school | 8% | 13% | 15% | 63% | (1263) |
| Stole something | 14 | 22 | 17 | 47 | (1271) |
| Drank alcohol | 15 | 12 | 11 | 62 | (1285) |
| Had sex relations with opposite sex | 19 | 10 | 13 | 58 | (1265) |
| Been suspended from school | 21 | 30 | 25 | 24 | (1270) |
| Used marijuana/ hashish | 29 | 12 | 9 | 50 | (1288) |
| Used other drugs | 36 | 13 | 11 | 40 | (1256) |
| Breaking and entering | 36 | 21 | 17 | 25 | (1294) |
| Ran away from home | 37 | 25 | 19 | 19 | (1262) |
| Damaged someone's property on purpose | 41 | 25 | 14 | 18 | (1270) |
| Hurt someone on purpose | 42 | 27 | 14 | 18 | (1290) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Robbed someone | 48 | 22 | 12 | 18 | (1273) |
| Ran from a correctional program | 56 | 24 | 12 | 9 | (1275) |
| Had sex relations for pay | 86 | 6 | 3 | 4 | (1262) |

TABLE 2. ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS FOR PREVIOUS DELINQUENCY MEASURES

| Item Content | Item-to-Scale Score Correlation |
|---|---|
| **PREVIOUS CRIMES SCALE** | |
| How often have you done each of these things before coming here? | |
| Stole something | .70 |
| Hurt someone on purpose | .71 |
| Damaged someone's property on purpose | .80 |
| Robbed someone | .78 |
| Broke into a place to steal something (B&E) | .79 |
| **PREVIOUS OFFENSES SCALE** | |
| How often have you done each of these things before coming here? | |
| Drank alcoholic beverages | .70 |
| Used marijuana or hashish | .82 |
| Used other drugs | .82 |
| Skipped school | .60 |
| Had sex relations with someone of the opposite sex | .63 |
| **PREVIOUS ABSCONDING SCALE** | |
| How often have you done each of these things before coming here? | |
| Ran away from home | .80 |
| Ran away from a group home, detention center, or training school | .79 |

APPENDIX B CONTINUED

SELF-REPORTED CORRECTIONAL EXPERIENCES

TABLE 1. AVERAGE NUMBER OF CORRECTIONAL EXPERIENCES BY INSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE/MANAGEMENT STYLE

| Correctional Experiences | Compliance/Management Style Custodial (N=482-527) | Utilitarian (N=233-297) | Participatory (N=415-429) | TOTAL (N=1187-1253) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Police Arrests | 10.7 | 7.3 | 7.1 | 8.6 |
| Juvenile Court | 6.1 | 5.0 | 5.8 | 5.7 |
| Juvenile Detention | 5.2 | 3.6 | 4.9 | 4.7 |
| Jail | 4.7 | 2.2 | 2.7 | 3.4 |
| Probation | 2.5 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.0 |
| Group/Foster Home | .9 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 1.2 |
| Training School | 1.8 | 1.6 | 1.8 | 1.7 |

Analysis of Variance F ratios

Police Arrests: F=19.487, 1219 d.f., p=.0000
Juvenile Court: F=1.5180, 1242 d.f., NS
Juvenile Detention: F=3.8233, 1219 d.f., p=.02
Jail: F=17.492, 1235 d.f., p=.0000
Probation: F=15.607, 1252 d.f., p=.0000
Group/Foster Home: F=3.8083, 1186 d.f., p=.02
Training School: F=.0986, 1200 d.f., NS

## APPENDIX B-CONTINUED

TABLE 2. ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS FOR CORRECTIONAL EXPERIENCES MEASURE

CORRECTIONAL EXPERIENCES SCALE

| Item Content | Item-to-Scale Correlation |
|---|---|
| How many times in your life has the following happened to you? | |
| Been arrested by police | .90 |
| Been in juvenile court | .79 |
| Been held in a juvenile detention hall | .77 |
| Been held in jail | .57 |
| Been on probation | .51 |

APPENDIX B-CONTINUED

TABLE 1. ZERO ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX OF IMPORTATION VARIABLES

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Present age | 1.0 | .09* | -.00 | -.07* | .04 | .06 | .13** | .38** | .15** | -.08* | .04 | .18** |
| Sex (female) | | 1.00 | .02 | .03 | -.11** | .04 | -.32** | .04 | .13** | -.01 | -.30** | -.18** |
| White | | | 1.00 | - | - | - | .05 | .14** | .16** | -.08* | -.09* | -.06 |
| Black | | | | 1.00 | - | - | -.16** | -.29** | -.32** | .06 | -.01 | -.10** |
| Other | | | | | 1.00 | - | .05 | .05 | .05 | .07 | .11** | .07 |
| Mixed | | | | | | 1.00 | .08* | .09* | .10** | -.02 | .04 | .15** |
| Crimes | | | | | | | 1.00 | .47** | .27** | -.07 | .32** | .36** |
| Offenses | | | | | | | | 1.00 | .35** | -.14** | .13** | .28** |
| Abscondings | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | -.06 | .01 | .32** |
| Class | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | .03 | -.02 |
| Commitment offense | | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 | .14** |
| Correctional Experiences | | | | | | | | | | | | 1.00 |

* p=.05
** p=.01

# APPENDIX C

# APPENDIX C

## ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS FOR SCALES USED TO TEST THE DEPRIVATION MODEL

### PERCEIVED ISOLATION

| Item Content | Item-to-Scale Score Correlation |
|---|---|
| I can be in touch with my friends enough (True) (False) | .84 |
| I can be in touch with my family enough (True) (False) | .83 |

### PERCEIVED LACK OF AUTONOMY AND PRIVACY

| Item Content | Item-to-Scale Score Correlation |
|---|---|
| I can wear both my hair and clothes the way I want (True) (False) | .72 |
| I can have enough of my own things here (True) (False) | .72 |
| I can be alone when I want (True) (False) | .67 |

### RULES AND PUNISHMENTS

| Item Content | Item-to-Scale Score Correlation |
|---|---|
| Most of the staff here really don't care what happens to us: they're just doing a job (Strongly disagree) (Disagree and mildly disagree) (Agree and mildly agree) (Strongly agree) | .70 |
| The staff here often punish you for things you don't do (Strongly disagree) (Disagree and mildly disagree) (Agree and mildly agree) (Strongly agree) | .66 |
| If you tell too much about yourself to staff here, the information will probably be used against you (Strongly disagree) (Disagree and mildly disagree) Agree and mildly agree) (Strongly agree) | .68 |

APPENDIX C-CONTINUED

| | |
|---|---|
| How much do staff here try to punish youth (Not at all) (Not very much) (Some) (A lot) | .67 |
| There are too many rules here (True) (False) | .65 |
| The punishments here are too hard (True) (False) | .69 |

STAFF HELPFULNESS

| | |
|---|---|
| The staff here prepare you to stay out of trouble after you leave (Strongly agree) (Agree and mildly agree) (Disagree and Mildly disagree) (Strongly disagree) | .61 |
| Most of the staff are clear about what they expect of me (Strongly agree) (Agree and mildly agree) (Disagree and mildly disagree) (Strongly disagree) | .55 |
| How much do the staff here try to: | |
| Keep youth satisfied and content (A lot) (Some) (Not very Much) (Not at all) | .71 |
| Have close relationships with you (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .64 |
| Set good examples for your behavior (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .72 |
| Help youth of different races and ethnic groups learn to live together in mutual respect (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .68 |
| Train youth so they can get good jobs (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .66 |

APPENDIX C-CONTINUED

| | |
|---|---|
| Stop youth from making trouble in the community (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .68 |
| Get youth into community activities (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .63 |
| Teach respect for others' property (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .65 |
| Help youth with school (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .63 |
| Help youth understand why they get into trouble (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .67 |
| Help youth to get along better with their families (A lot) (Some) (Not very much) (Not at all) | .68 |

# APPENDIX D

## ITEM TO SCALE CORRELATIONS FOR SCALES USED TO TEST THE CONTROL MODEL

### OFFICIAL POLICIES OF PHYSICAL CONTROL

| Item Content | Item-to-Scale Score Correlation |
|---|---|
| There were locked gates of fences | .59 |
| There were bars on the windows | .67 |
| There was a centrally coordinated security system | .44 |
| There was a special facility used to place disciplinary cases | .66 |
| Supervisors or juveniles could observe the toilet facilities | .72 |
| Supervisors or juveniles could observe the showers | .72 |
| Youth could not control the lights in their bedrooms | .62 |
| Youth had no control over whether their windows were open or closed | .16 |

### OFFICIAL POLICIES REGARDING INTERNAL MOVEMENT AND AUTONOMY

| Item Content | Item-to-Scale Score Correlation |
|---|---|
| Youth could not move about the living unit freely | .16 |
| Seating in the dining room was assigned | .90 |
| Youth could not come and go individually to meals and other activities | .63 |
| Youth could not talk freely during mealtime | .65 |
| Youth could not go into the kitchen to fix snackes | .26 |
| There was a hair code | .24 |

APPENDIX D-CONTINUED

| | |
|---|---|
| There was a dress code | .27 |
| Television was censored | .01 |
| Smoking was restricted or prohibited | .64 |
| Youth could not keep cigarettes or tobacco in their rooms | .76 |
| Church attendance was mandatory | .55 |

OFFICIAL POLICIES REGARDING CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE

| | |
|---|---|
| Incoming mail was censored | .63 |
| Outgoing mail was censored | .63 |
| Correspondence with certain individuals was prohibited | .83 |
| There were restrictions on the frequency of correspondence | .71 |
| Visits from certain individuals were prohibited | .61 |
| Telephone calls to certain individuals were prohibited | .80 |
| There were restrictions on the frequency of phone calls | .80 |
| Parents could visit less than once a week | .35 |
| Friends could visit less than once a week | .04 |
| Youth could not go off grounds when parents visited | .63 |

YOUTH PERCEPTIONS OF SURVEILLANCE AND CONTROL

| | |
|---|---|
| If you want to talk to a lawyer, will the staff here help you (Almost always to sometimes) (Don't know) (Seldom-Never) | .56 |

APPENDIX D-CONTINUED

| | |
|---|---|
| Can you use the phone to call a lawyer (Yes) (Don't know) (No) | .50 |
| Does the staff open the mail you get here (Yes) (Don't know) (No) | .71 |
| Does the staff read the letters you send (Yes) (Don't know) (No) | .67 |
| How often are your things searched here (Never) (Ever) | .64 |
| How often are you searched here (Never) (Ever) | .55 |

SERIOUS PUNISHMENTS FOR USE OF DRUGS

When a youth uses illegal drugs here, a staff member usually:

| | |
|---|---|
| Keeps him here longer | .68 |
| Separates hom from others | .62 |
| Takes away points or privileges | .65 |
| Transfers youth to another place | .47 |

SERIOUS PUNISHMENTS FOR ABSCONDING

When a youth runs away from here and is brought back within two weeks, a staff member usually:

| | |
|---|---|
| Keeps him here longer | .62 |
| Separates him from others | .62 |
| Takes away points or privileges | .62 |
| Transfers youth to another place | .51 |

APPENDIX D-CONTINUED

SERIOUS PUNISHMENTS FOR STEALING

| When a youth steals something from another youth here, a staff member usually: | |
|---|---|
| Keeps him here longer | .64 |
| Separates him from others | .67 |
| Takes away points or privileges | .60 |
| Transfers youth to another place | .50 |

SERIOUS PUNISHMENTS FOR HITTING STAFF

| When a youth hits a staff member here, the staff member usually: | |
|---|---|
| Keeps him here longer | .69 |
| Separates him from others | .61 |
| Takes away points or privileges | .64 |
| Transfers youth to another place | .47 |

SERIOUS PUNISHMENTS FOR FIGHTING

| When a youth starts a fight with another youth here, the staff member usually: | |
|---|---|
| Keeps him here longer | .61 |
| Separates him from others | .62 |
| Takes away points or privileges | .62 |
| Transfers youth to another place | .51 |

LOW PEER CONTROL

| I tell on other youth when they have done something wrong (Agree) (Disagree) | .69 |
|---|---|

APPENDIX D-CONTINUED

| | |
|---|---|
| Suppose a youth you knew fairly well was planning to run away or leave the program | |
| Would you try to talk the youth out of doing it (Yes) (No) | .66 |
| Would you tell staff here about it (Yes) (No) | .84 |
| Would you tell staff if no one else knew you told (Yes) (No) | .78 |

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