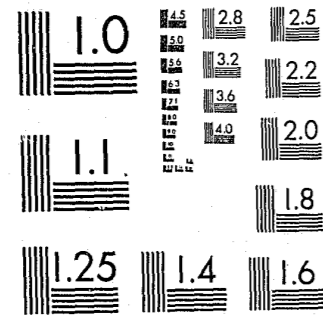


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Federal Probation

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Federal Probation

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This Issue in Brief

An Organization Development Experience in Probation: "Old Dogs" Can Learn New Tricks!—The Maricopa County Adult Probation Department, Phoenix, Arizona, contracted with Training Associates to provide management and organization development training from March 1978 through February 1979. This article by Gary Graham and Herbert R. Sigurdson discusses problems within the organization which initiated this venture; OD theory is summarized; baseline data is presented; and the OD method used in the project is elaborated upon. Followup change-oriented data is presented at 7- and 12-month intervals.

Dealing With the Violent Criminal: What To Do and Say.—Criminal justice workers are often asked to give advice about how to handle an assault or a mugging attempt by a criminal. William B. Howard argues that the most immediately effective strategy is psychological resistance, and that presenting oneself in a non-critical, nonthreatening fashion will greatly reduce the likelihood of violence.

General Overview of Capital Punishment as a Legal Sanction.—In spite of United Nations efforts, capital punishment as an official or unofficial penalty deliberately imposed is becoming more frequent in far too many countries, asserts Professor Manuel López-Rey. There are two main forms of it: judicial death penalty which may be imposed by a subservient judiciary and non-judicial death penalty which may be decided and executed by military, police, and ideological services and organizations. The author concludes that at the end of the 20th century crime and penal sanctions are more and more determined by political regimes.

The Ex-Offender and the "Monster" Myth.—A number of authorities have asserted that prisons invariably have a deleterious effect on all who are incarcerated. Using data collected as part of an extensive ongoing study of 1,345 consecutive admissions to the Federal Correctional Institution in Tallahassee, Florida, this study examined this assertion empirically through inmate interviews, comparison of personality tests administered on entering and leaving prison, and post-release recidivism data. Authors Edwin I. Megargee and Barbara Cadow conclude that the popular impression that all inmates emerge from all prisons significantly more disturbed,

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All phases of preventive and correctional activities in delinquency and crime come within the fields of interest of FEDERAL PROBATION. The Quarterly wishes to share with its readers all constructively worthwhile points of view and welcomes the contributions of those engaged in the study of juvenile and adult offenders. Federal, state, and local organizations, institutions, and agencies—both public and private—are invited to submit any significant experience and findings related to the prevention and control of delinquency and crime.

Manuscripts (in duplicate), editorial matters, books, and communications should be addressed to FEDERAL PROBATION, Administrative Office of the United States Courts, Washington, D.C. 20544.

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FEDERAL PROBATION QUARTERLY

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bitter and inclined toward criminal behavior is false.

The Criminal Personality or Lombroso Revisited.—This article contends that a relatively recent book, *The Criminal Personality*, is not genuine research, but merely the unsupported views of a psychiatrist (who died several years ago) and a clinical psychologist. O.J. Keller attacks the basic concept of this work, calls attention to numerous contradictions, and criticizes the research as failing to meet the most elementary standards.

The Salient Factor Score: A Nontechnical Overview.—The "Salient Factor Score," a predictive device used by the U.S. Parole Commission as an aid in assessing a parole applicant's likelihood of recidivism, is described by Commission researchers, Peter B. Hoffman and Sheldon Adelberg. The relationship found between the predictive score and favorable/unfavorable outcome is shown for two large random samples of released Federal prisoners, totaling 4,646 cases. Use of the "Salient Factor Score" as part of the system of decision guidelines established by the Parole Commission and the relationship of the guideline system to the exercise of discretion in decisionmaking are then discussed.

Health and High Density Confinement in Jails and Prisons.—High density confinement in correctional institutions has been the focus of much attention during the past decade, according to Bailus Walker, Jr., and Theodore J. Gordon. This concern has prompted several agencies and organizations to revise old standards or develop new criteria for minimizing the noxious influence of high-density confinement on jail and prison inmates. The application of these criteria and standards has raised at least one fundamental

question: Upon what bases are the standards established? Although there are many possible bases for the establishment of population-density criteria, the extrapolation of available data generated by epidemiological evaluations and medical observations suggests rational bases for controlling population density in jails and prisons.

The Private Sector in Corrections: Contracting Probation Services from Community Organizations.—After examination of current practices regarding delivery of correctional services, via purchase-of-services contracts with private sector agencies, an attempt was made to assess one of the Nation's largest private probation programs—Florida's Salvation Army Misdemeanor Probation Program (SAMP). Following analysis of SAMP's fee-financing, structure and clientele, a preliminary assessment of the program's revocation rate (6.3 percent) and cost-effectiveness was undertaken. Author Charles A. Lindquist states that while further evaluation is needed, it was tentatively concluded that several aspects of the program were effective.

Social Work and Criminal Justice: New Dimensions in Practice.—One to one counseling of offenders has been devalued partly on the basis of effectiveness studies and partly on the basis of counseling methods which assumed that the primary goal of treatment was the modification of the offender's personality. This article by Gloria Cunningham questions both the effectiveness of effectiveness studies and the need to define "treatment" in such narrow terms. The role of the probation officer is re-examined in the light of evolving views of social work intervention which validate the importance of the broader range of helping services typical of probation supervision.

All the articles appearing in this magazine are regarded as appropriate expressions of ideas worthy of thought but their publication is not to be taken as an endorsement by the editors or the federal probation office of the views set forth. The editors may or may not agree with the articles appearing in the magazine, but believe them in any case to be deserving of consideration.

72195

The Ex-Offender and the "Monster" Myth*

BY EDWIN I. MEGARGEE, PH.D., AND BARBARA CADOW
Florida State University, Tallahassee

IN A NATIONALLY syndicated newspaper column dispassionately headlined "Prisons produce monsters," Sidney J. Harris recently asserted, "Most offenders get worse in prison, and the longer they are locked up, the worse they get . . . They learn more about crime in prison . . . They are more bitter, more resentful, more vengeful, more vicious when they get out than when they went in . . . Lengthy punishment . . . turns out monsters where we sent in men!" (Harris, 1978).

Harris is not alone in his viewpoint or in his use of strong language. Karl Menninger, referring to prisons as ". . . infernal machines for grinding up a minority of easily caught offenders . . ." stated, "I suspect that all the crimes committed by all the jailed criminals do not equal in total social damage that of the crimes committed against them" (1968, pp. 28 & 89). Ramsey Clark, who as Attorney General of the United States was responsible for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, wrote, "Jails and prisons in the United States today are more often than not manufacturers of crime" (1970, p. 213). R.L. Goldfarb (1974, p. 20), describing prisons as "self-defeating concrete," has concluded, ". . . our prison system does not work."

Although Meunier and Schwartz (1973), describing the New York State Department of Corrections, ventured the opinion that correctional rehabilitation in that state could not be judged a failure because it had never been tried, Martinson maintained, "*With few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism*" (1974, p. 25, italics in the original) and Maier (1976, p. 130f) concluded, "Corrections do not correct, reformatories do not reform. No matter what kind of program we institute, recidivism remains high."

* The research was supported in part by U.S. Public Service Grants MH 18468, MH 13202, and MH 29911 (National Institute of Mental Health Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency), in part by LEAA Grant 75-AS-33-4401, and in part by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. All statements and opinions expressed are those of the investigators and should not be construed as representing official policies, opinions, or attitudes of the Public Health Service, LEAA, or the Bureau of Prisons.

As psychologists, the present investigators are skeptical whenever anyone asserts that any form of human experience has universally detrimental or beneficial results. Whether it be love, motherhood, education, or self-awareness on the positive side, or poverty, debilitating illness, or war on the negative, we feel it is almost axiomatic that not all individuals who experience a particular condition are affected in the same way. For many social scientists, however, imprisonment appears to be an exception to this general rule, a condition that cannot possibly benefit anyone and harms virtually everyone who experiences it.

Except for anecdotal accounts, such as those cited by Menninger (1968), there is little empirical evidence on the effects of imprisonment. Recidivism rates are the most frequently cited measure, but all-too-often recidivism has been calculated by counting the number of people in correctional institutions who have had previous convictions or incarcerations. Such a procedure inevitably exaggerates the amount of recidivism, since the failures accumulate behind the walls while the successes, if any, do not remain in the institution to be counted. Longitudinal studies typically show that, contrary to popular belief, approximately two-thirds of those who leave prison never return (Glaser, 1964).

Recidivism, however defined, is, of course, an imperfect measure of the effects of incarceration. Not only is it subject to all the vagaries of the criminal justice system's inability to apprehend, convict, or incarcerate every person who engages in criminal behavior, but it also depends on many situational factors that are not influenced by prison authorities' efforts at rehabilitation. Skills and attitudes learned in prison certainly influence a released offender's propensity to engage in further criminal acts, but so do the availability of employment, family support systems and community resources. Indeed, interactionist theory maintains the latter factors are even more important than personality patterns. For this reason, to test Harris' assertion that offenders are more depraved upon leaving prison than when they entered, empirical comparisons of personality functioning and attitudes before and after

incarceration are also required. In addition, it seems reasonable that some light could be shed on the subject by simply asking those who know best—incarcerated felons about to be released—to evaluate the effects of imprisonment.

Rationale

The purpose of the present studies was to evaluate the effects associated with imprisonment on a cohort of youthful offenders who were admitted to the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) at Tallahassee, Florida, during a 2-year period. The first study reports the result of structured interviews with offenders about to be released. The second compares the personality test scores for inmates upon entry and upon release. The third study reports the subsequent rates of rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration for the cohort.

The data for these investigations were drawn from a larger longitudinal study being conducted by the first author at the Federal Correctional Institution, Tallahassee, Florida, a medium security institution which, when these data were collected, had a resident population of approximately 550 male youthful offenders, most of whom were from the Southeastern United States. For a 2-year period from November 3, 1970, until November 2, 1972, all incoming prisoners became members of the research cohort; 64 percent of the 1,345 men admitted were white, 35 percent were black and 1 percent were American Indians. Their ages ranged from 18 to 29 with a mean of 22.5. Their mean Beta IQ was 101, and the highest grade level attained averaged 9.9.

The vast majority had been convicted of crimes against property, 39 percent for interstate transportation of stolen property or contraband, 16 percent for various types of larceny, 13 percent for fraud or misrepresentation, 13 percent for violation of Federal liquor or drug statutes, 10 percent for possession of contraband such as illegal firearms or counterfeit money, 4 percent for violation of the Selective Service Act, 3 percent for crimes against persons, and 1 percent for other miscellaneous offenses.

In the first 2 weeks after admission, the newly arrived inmates were administered an extensive battery of ability, achievement, interest and personality tests, including the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the California Psychological Inventory (CPI), as part of the routine admissions procedure. Later they were interviewed and evaluated by FCI psychol-

ogists and their case histories, as reported in the presentence investigation reports, were coded and rated.

During their incarceration the men had various work assignments, including on-the-job training, vocational education and Federal Prison Industries. Most participated in educational programs aimed at acquiring the G.E.D. or college credits. A variety of group counseling and therapy programs were available, including specialized drug and alcohol treatment programs. Individual psychotherapy with the six staff psychologists could also be arranged in selected cases. Throughout their incarceration the subjects were regularly rated on various scales of behavior, attitudes, and adjustment by custodial personnel, teachers, and work supervisors, and a record was maintained of incident reports, illnesses, educational progress and the like.

Until data collection ceased in June 1974, all those men scheduled to be paroled or released from the FCI, as well as many who were being transferred to other Federal institutions to complete their sentences, were asked to participate in a confidential structured prerelease interview with a member of the research project staff. A second battery of personality tests including the MMPI and CPI was also administered at this time. Study One is based on the portion of the structured interview in which the men were asked to evaluate their correctional experience and its effects. Study Two compares their intake and exit personality test scores and their global test profiles.

In July 1976, 2 years after data collection at the institution ended, the fingerprint arrest records of the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) were searched for all the men in the cohort who had been released from custody. Of the 1,345 men in the original cohort, 1,148 were identified in which NCIC records contained sufficient information to allow a determination of recidivism to be made; 1,011 satisfied our requirement of having been released to the community no less than 18 months earlier. Study Three reports their subsequent recidivism.

To test the effects of imprisonment according to strict principles of experimental design, it would have been necessary to compare this research cohort with an equivalent control group that was evaluated and observed at similar intervals without being incarcerated. Convicted criminals placed on probation would have been

the most logical group, but even if this could have been arranged, selective bias would have inevitably confounded any comparisons since Federal judges were not about to sentence convicted felons to prison or probation on a random basis to satisfy the requirements of an experimental design.

Using each man as his own control is less satisfactory since aging and incarceration are inevitably confounded in any "before and after" comparison. Similarly, the effects of rehabilitation efforts cannot be isolated from the effects of imprisonment per se. Nevertheless, an own-control design should permit a rough estimate of overall improvement or deterioration. If it is true, as Harris (1978) concluded, that a prison inevitably, "... turns out monsters where we sent in men," such an effect should be evident in personal interviews, the general deterioration of tested personality functioning, and in high rates of rearrest, reconviction, and reincarceration.

STUDY ONE: INMATES' EVALUATION

In this age of consumerism, millions of dollars are spent annually in market research evaluating consumers' opinions of virtually every aspect of any product imaginable, from the hardness of floorwax to the softness of toilet tissue. Although voluminous data have been collected on the relative brightness of teeth, hair, glassware and sheets, we have no systematic consumer evaluations of the effects of imprisonment, despite the fact that taxpayers spend over four billion annually on corrections. Although this is only a fraction of what is spent on tobacco, liquor, or cosmetics, nevertheless, one would suppose that someone would have long since polled the consumers of the correctional product and asked them for their evaluation of its effects. Instead, we have had to rely on the opinions of various "authorities" and the unsolicited "testimonials" volunteered by ex-offenders ranging from George Jackson to Charles Colson. The purpose of the first study was to obtain a somewhat broader and more systematic sample of offenders' opinions regarding the Federal Correctional Institution at Tallahassee.

Method

Sampling

Of the 1,345 men who entered the FCI during the 2-year period while the cohort was being formed, approximately 1,214 participated in the

longitudinal research project. The 131 who were not included were mostly short-timers who would be released within 2 or 3 months, unsentenced prisoners committed by the courts solely for study and observation, and men who were scheduled to be transferred immediately to other institutions.

Many of the inmates who had entered the institution and participated in the intake evaluation procedures were not available for the pre-release phase; these included inmates who were transferred to other institutions or hospitals on short notice, men who were returned to court on writs or appeals, men who were confined in the cell house prior to departure, and, of course, those who escaped. When sufficient notice of an impending release was given by the authorities, every effort was made to interview those returning to the community; those being transferred to other institutions were also evaluated insofar as project resources permitted. Prerelease interviews were obtained from 643 men.

Whereas the intake testing and evaluation was conducted by FCI staff members as a routine part of the prison program, the prerelease interview and testing was voluntary and conducted by research project personnel. Inmates asked to take part in the prerelease interview and testing program were assured that their responses would be kept confidential and not communicated to prison authorities. Most welcomed the opportunity to talk about their prison experiences and make suggestions as to how the institution should have been run. Less than 2 percent of the men asked to participate in the exit interview declined to participate.

Instrument

The structured prerelease interview was devised for the present project by the senior author in collaboration with graduate assistants and with the help of FCI inmates. In the pilot phase, unstructured clinical interviews ranging over a number of topics were held with several inmates. Then the pilot subjects were asked to suggest questions that should be rephrased or deleted and other areas that needed to be covered. In this fashion a structured interview schedule was devised consisting of open-ended questions and followup probes inquiring about each man's reactions to leaving the FCI, his plans for the community, his overall opinions on the FCI, its staff and procedures, followed by his opinions of specific FCI educational, treatment and recreational programs. These queries always included

his opinions of what was best about a specific program and should be retained and what was worst about it and should be changed, as well as his estimate of the program's effects on him personally.

Procedure

The final version of the exit interview was administered within a few days of each inmate's scheduled departure. In the 4 years that data collection continued at the FCI, it became regarded by inmates as akin to a graduation ceremony and many came by the laboratory in the weeks prior to their departure to make sure they would have the opportunity to participate. All interviews were tape recorded and later coded and rated by trained judges.

The present study focused on the answers to the following questions which were scattered through the middle portion of the interview:

(1) Do you think you've changed any since coming here? How?

(2) What made you change?

(3) Do you think prison "rehabilitates" most men?

Later in the interview, each man was asked to describe and evaluate his work assignment and those programs in which he had participated including educational and vocational training, Federal Prison Industries, group therapy or counseling, individual psychotherapy, the religious program and "extracurricular" activities such as Jaycees or Toastmasters. Included in each was some question such as, "What do you think of the industries program?" or "Do you think group therapy will make it easier to stay out?"

Results

When asked if they had changed since coming to the FCI and, if so, how, 540 men (84%) said they had changed for the better, 56 (9%) felt they had not changed, and 47 (7%) indicated they had changed for the worse. Of the 540 men who reported positive changes, 30 percent indicated they had learned things about themselves and others, 50 percent stated they had matured, "developed a better attitude," or became more responsible, and 20 percent reported improved behavioral controls and less impulsivity.

The vast majority of these inmates did not attribute these changes to the institution's treatment or educational programs. When asked, "What made you change?", 22 percent replied that prison had given them time to think, 12

percent said "just being here," 10 percent indicated they had changed themselves, 9 percent said the other inmates were responsible, and 5 percent cited the effects of imprisonment on their families. Less than 10 percent attributed personal change to the influence of staff members or to the education or treatment programs. When asked whether they felt prison "rehabilitates" most men, 78 percent said, "No."

Although most of the inmates interviewed did not credit the prison's programs with producing positive *personal* changes, many inmates did report that these programs had been beneficial. The educational and vocational training program was the most highly regarded, with 88 percent of the 504 men who had participated indicating they felt it would help them stay out of prison. Federal Prison Industries, a profit-making enterprise in which the men had a chance to earn money for their families or the future, was the next most highly regarded program, with 75 percent of the 305 participants evaluating it favorably. The inmates' opinions of the various treatment programs were remarkably similar; 53 to 57 percent of the participants in group therapy and counseling, individual psychotherapy, the religious program, and the "extracurricular activities" programs felt they were beneficial. In contrast to the above, 57 percent felt the jobs to which they had been assigned in the prison would have no value in aiding their community adjustment.

About 13 percent of the men were negative and hostile toward the staff and 5 percent were extremely, probably excessively, favorable. Most fell between these extremes, 31 percent were neutral and 51 percent moderately favorable, indicating, in effect, that, although there were some "losers" on the staff, most were fair and trying to help. Overall, 60 percent of the inmates reported the FCI was a place where one did "easy time" and 20 percent felt it was a place one did "hard time"; the remaining 20 percent fell between these extremes.

Discussion

The FCI is a medium-security prison with tight perimeter security consisting of high double fences topped with barbed wire, and four gun towers. These guns were used on several occasions while the research project was in operation, and the perimeter control was augmented by the addition of rolls of ground control wire between

the fences to thwart a rash of escape attempts, one of which ended in a prisoner being killed. In short, although it was treatment oriented, the FCI was a "real prison."

Within the institution the atmosphere was considerably more relaxed. The men lived in open dormitories surrounding a grassy quadrangle and there was relatively free movement around the institution. Recreational facilities included tennis courts and a miniature golf course in addition to the inevitable weight lifting and basketball courts. Although there were notable exceptions on both sides, the general attitude between staff and inmates could be described as one of reasonable respect and moderate cordiality as long as neither staff member or inmate moved too far beyond his generally-agreed-on roles.

Given this overall atmosphere, the present investigators are inclined to accept the most parsimonious explanation of the interview data, namely that by and large the inmates were truthfully reporting their attitudes and feelings upon leaving the FCI. Certainly every effort was made to encourage frankness. Specially trained student interviewers who were not connected with the FCI in any way were used and the men were assured of confidentiality. The interviews were held in the FSU Research Area which was recognized by all as being separate from regular prison operation. Moreover, they knew that nothing they said could alter the fact that they would be leaving the FCI within the week.

If the men had, in effect, paraphrased Johnny Cash's song "San Quentin" and said, "FCI's been living hell to me," it is unlikely that any of the authorities who have written so devastatingly of the effects of imprisonment would question the authenticity of these data. Given the fact that their actual responses were more benign, alternative explanations will no doubt be offered.

One such alternative is that most of the respondents were concealing their true feelings and lying to curry favor with the interviewers. While this may have been the case with the 5 percent who effusively praised the staff, we do not feel that this was true for the vast majority. The stated purpose of the interview was to help make the FCI a better place for those who might follow them, and most men seemed to take this task seriously. This was the inmates' chance to be heard, and they were generally frank, pointing out changes they felt should be made and identi-

fying correctional personnel they felt were harsh or unfair.

Cognitive dissonance theory would predict that having unwillingly invested a significant portion of their young lives in serving a prison sentence, these men would have a need to regard this experience as being beneficial rather than wasted. Thus, their responses could have been honest expressions of feelings that were more positive than normal because of their imminent departure.

Some might suggest selective sampling bias or prerelease optimism as factors. After all, those being paroled should be the "cream of the crop," and not representative of the general inmate clientele. Similarly, being about to return home, they may have seen the entire world, including the FCI, through rose-colored glasses. These factors alone cannot account for the findings. Of the 734 inmates interviewed, only 283 (39%) were going directly home on parole; 149 (20%) were being released on expiration of sentence, not having been granted parole, 141 (19%) were being transferred to community treatment centers or halfway houses prior to parole, 75 (10%) were being released or paroled to face detainers from other agencies for other alleged offenses, 61 (8%) were being transferred to other institutions to continue their sentences, and 25 (3%) were interviewed at the end of the project with no release date yet in sight.

Other *post hoc* explanations can no doubt be invented. Nevertheless, the fact remains that when an honest attempt was made to interview all those about to leave the FCI and provide them with an opportunity to evaluate the institution and its effects on them, the inmates' appraisals were considerably less negative than one would expect from those exposed to the "... infernal machines for grinding up . . . offenders" that Menninger described.

STUDY TWO: COMPARISON OF INTAKE AND EXIT PERSONALITY TESTING

Comparison of intake and exit personality test scores offers a more objective and quantitative gauge of the direction and the degree of the personal changes experienced by the FCI subjects than the rather crude self-appraisals elicited by the exit interview. In this study changes, from the beginning to the end of imprisonment at FCI were determined by comparison of mean scores on the 14 MMPI and 18 CPI scales using an own-control design and by blind clinical comparison

of each individual's intake and exit MMPI and CPI profiles.

Method

Sampling

Those men who had participated in the exit interview were asked to return for subsequent sessions in which the MMPI and the CPI as well as other tests would be administered. Understandably, this was a less popular procedure than the interview, and not all those who participated in the interview agreed to take the MMPI or the CPI. The time immediately prior to departure was a hectic one for most inmates so time constraints also made inroads on the exit-testing samples.

To be included in the MMPI phase of the present study, an inmate had to have produced valid MMPI profiles on both intake and on departure. The same basic rule, valid profiles on both intake and departure, held true for the CPI. Validity was determined by the clinical inspection of the overall profile by the first author.

Since this study was aimed at determining the nature and degree of change from beginning to the end of incarceration at the FCI, this study was further limited to men who arrived at the FCI from the courts to begin their present sentences. Those inmates who were transferred to the FCI from other correctional institutions at which they had already served part of their sentences were excluded.

The resulting samples were thus comprised of 449 men (292 whites and 157 blacks) for the MMPI and 368 men (190 whites and 78 blacks) for the CPI phase.

Procedures

The standard group form of the MMPI and CPI were administered as a routine part of the intake testing battery during the first 2 weeks after entry into the institution. Those with reading difficulties were tested on the MMPI (but not the CPI) using a tape recorded list of questions. A Spanish edition of the MMPI was also available for Hispanic subjects.

The prerelease testing was carried out individually by project personnel with inmates who were scheduled to leave the FCI within the next few days. Those men who had completed the exit interview were asked to return for the testing procedures. (The exit tests were thus subject to the same selective biases as the exit interview,

except being inherently duller and more tedious, so somewhat greater motivation was required.) The inmates knew the intake testing would influence their classification and prison program, whereas the exit tests would have no effect whatsoever on their future, so they were probably somewhat freer to respond frankly on the exit than on the intake test battery.

Data Analysis

The first procedure was to compare mean scale changes on intake and departure, using repeated measures analyses of variance. These analyses were done separately by race because earlier research had demonstrated that blacks and whites tend to score differently on several scales (Caldwell, 1959; Costello, et al., 1973; Davis, 1975; Elion and Megargee, 1975; Gynther, 1972; Murphree, et al., 1962; Stanton, 1956).

Next, each inmate's intake and exit MMPI profiles were plotted on the same profile sheet. On a random basis, one was labeled "A," and the other "B." The first investigator compared the two profiles and judged whether (1) A was better than B, (2) B was better than A, or (3) there was no discernible difference. The second investigator then determined which was the intake and which the exit profile. If it turned out that the healthier profile was the exit, improvement was evident. If the better profile was the intake, it was concluded that the inmate had worsened. The same procedure was followed for the CPI.

The second author also rated 5 percent of the profiles from each test as a reliability check, resulting in 91 percent agreement on the MMPI and 90 percent agreement on the CPI.

MMPI

The results of the repeated measures analyses of variance for the white and black subjects MMPIs are presented in table 1. For the whites, a significant increase from intake to exit was found on scale K and significant decreases on scales D, Hy, Pt, and Si. For the blacks, significant increases were found on scales L, K, and Mf and significant decreases on scales D, Pd, and Pt.

For both races, the data indicated general improvement. Both whites and blacks were tested as having significantly more ego strength and maturity upon leaving (K), as being less depressed and anxious (D and Pt), and most important, as being significantly less inclined toward antisocial and criminal behavior (Pd). In addition, the whites were tested as being less socially

TABLE 1.—Means and Standard Deviations of MMPI Test Scores Upon Entering and Leaving Prison for Whites and Blacks (T-Scores)

Scale	Whites (N=202)		Blacks (N=157)	
	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit
L	\bar{X} 52.54 SD 8.89	53.28 7.96	54.77 8.58	57.05** 8.94
F	\bar{X} 62.54 SD 16.58	63.97 17.91	70.18 19.66	71.16 20.63
K	\bar{X} 54.56 SD 9.55	56.00** 9.42	53.73 9.09	56.22* 8.98
Hs	\bar{X} 56.14 SD 11.89	55.04 11.02	61.84 12.79	61.41 13.91
D	\bar{X} 61.54 SD 12.23	57.53** 10.45	66.32 11.41	63.72* 11.55
Hy	\bar{X} 59.29 SD 9.07	57.49* 8.88	60.79 9.77	59.73 10.12
Pd	\bar{X} 72.49 SD 10.83	70.36* 9.62	73.07 10.32	71.72* 10.37
Mf	\bar{X} 58.83 SD 10.27	58.19 10.55	58.32 8.96	60.09** 8.38
Pa	\bar{X} 60.49 SD 12.09	59.42 10.82	64.26 14.58	63.36 14.19
Pt	\bar{X} 61.88 SD 12.43	57.96** 10.98	65.49 12.47	62.28* 11.91
Sc	\bar{X} 64.92 SD 17.03	64.27 16.75	73.32 18.23	72.19 19.57
Ma	\bar{X} 65.97 SD 11.20	65.98 10.95	69.49 10.96	69.62 10.29
Si	\bar{X} 51.89 SD 9.48	50.97** 8.31	52.72 7.48	52.45 6.74

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

isolated (Si), less inclined to use neurotic defenses such as repression and somatization (D and HY), and as being somewhat more responsible and mature (Hy and Pd). The blacks tended to be more defensive (L and K) and less oriented toward the traditional masculine stereotype (Mf).

CPI

On the CPI, the whites had significant increases on scales Do, Sy, Sp, Sa, Ie and Py and significant decreases on scales Re, So, Cm, and Fe. The blacks had significant increases on Sp, To, Ai, Ie, and Py and had no significant decreases. The data thus indicated that both racial groups improved in their interpersonal relations and in their ability to relate to others, with the whites showing more improvement in this area than the blacks. Both groups also showed improvement in their intellectual functioning and their ability to achieve and to think for themselves, becoming less rigid and more receptive to new ideas, with the blacks showing more improvement than the whites in this area. In all the areas mentioned thus far, the absolute values of the mean scores indicated that the samples were still somewhat below aver-

TABLE 2.—Means and Standard Deviations of CPI Test Scores Upon Entering and Leaving Prison for Whites and Blacks (T-Scores)

Scale	Whites (N=190)		Blacks (N=78)	
	Entry	Exit	Entry	Exit
Do	\bar{X} 44.99 SD 12.65	46.41* 12.05	44.89 10.05	46.00 9.63
Cs	\bar{X} 45.63 SD 11.98	46.48 10.56	44.07 10.08	45.07 9.28
Sy	\bar{X} 47.72 SD 11.24	48.38* 10.62	47.26 10.03	48.06 10.02
Sp	\bar{X} 50.89 SD 11.38	53.63** 11.08	46.15 10.85	48.18* 9.29
Sa	\bar{X} 52.31 SD 10.24	53.94** 10.15	52.31 10.14	52.36 9.30
Wb	\bar{X} 42.56 SD 16.57	41.74 17.23	32.83 18.84	35.84 17.32
Re	\bar{X} 35.08 SD 13.16	33.27** 11.69	32.54 11.13	32.81 9.93
So	\bar{X} 35.46 SD 11.50	35.09* 10.17	37.22 10.17	38.17 9.40
Sc	\bar{X} 48.41 SD 11.23	48.10 10.37	47.11 10.15	48.59 9.73
To	\bar{X} 41.35 SD 13.51	42.51 12.44	33.15 10.94	37.07* 10.90
Gi	\bar{X} 49.94 SD 11.49	49.70 10.86	50.94 9.66	52.27 10.10
Cm	\bar{X} 45.19 SD 16.65	38.31** 20.45	33.86 21.74	31.51 22.29
Ac	\bar{X} 42.41 SD 13.63	43.03 12.82	41.13 12.09	42.86 11.99
Ai	\bar{X} 46.75 SD 12.06	48.52 12.24	41.23 10.28	43.93* 10.94
Ie	\bar{X} 40.31 SD 15.04	41.94* 14.75	33.21 12.28	36.89* 13.16
Py	\bar{X} 49.80 SD 9.95	52.89** 9.04	47.59 9.92	49.63* 8.54
Fx	\bar{X} 50.93 SD 11.25	51.83 11.79	46.89 12.08	49.67 12.26
Fe	\bar{X} 49.71 SD 9.42	48.57* 8.86	55.34 8.21	54.36 8.53

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

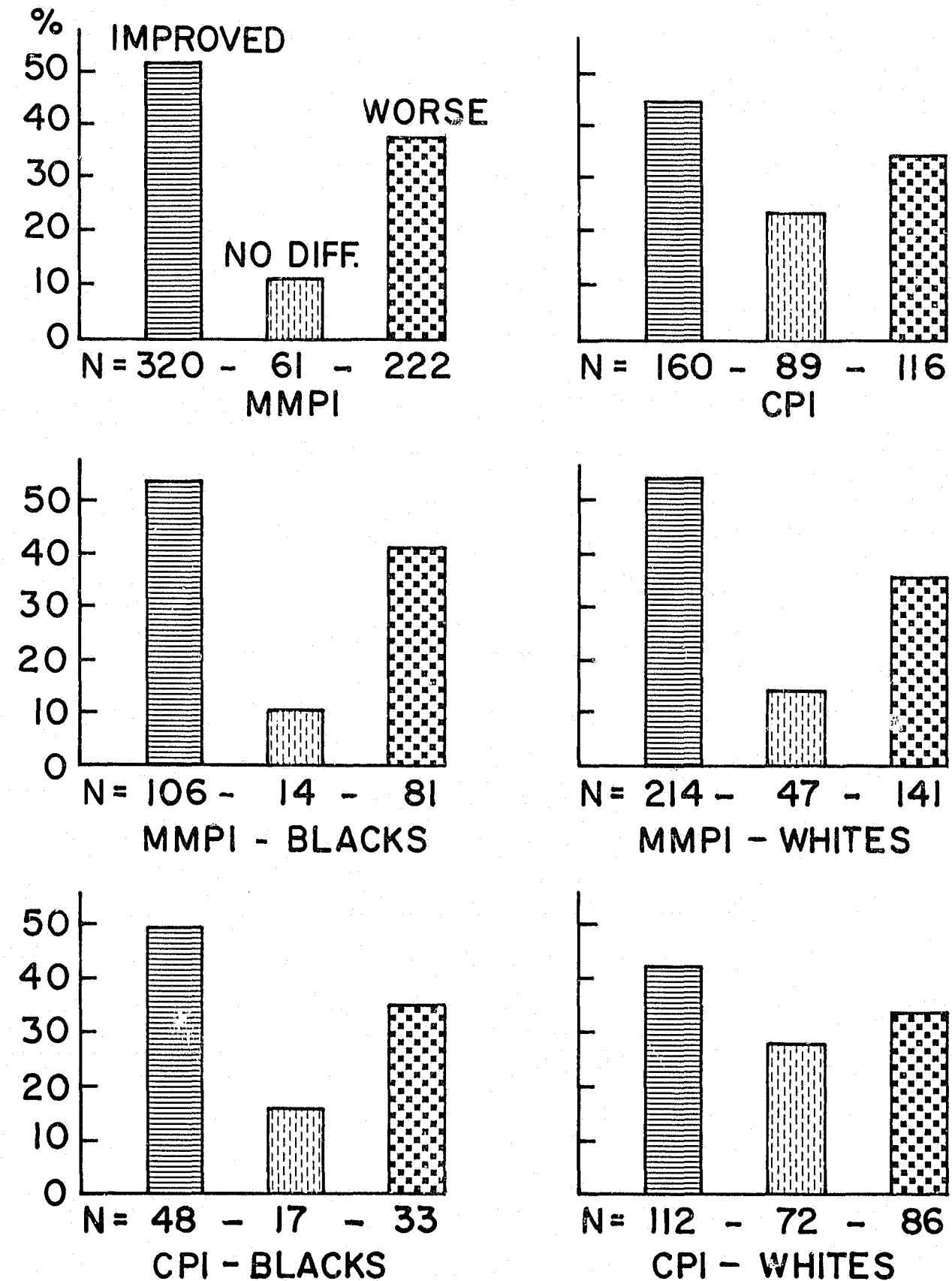
age at the end of their imprisonment, but not as much so as they had been at the outset.

The primary difference between the white and the black samples was that the whites had significant decreases in the scales reflecting internalization of and conformity to conventional values and mores (Re, So and Cm), whereas the blacks did not change significantly in these areas. These latter changes provide some support for the notion that imprisonment had a criminogenic influence on the whites but not the blacks.

Profile comparisons

In actual clinical useage, the MMPI and CPI are interpreted as a whole. Only by seeing the

FIGURE 1.—Tested Personality Changes Over the Course of Imprisonment



total configuration of all the scales can the clinician assess overall personality functioning and make behavioral predictions. For this reason each subject's intake and exit MMPI and CPI were compared by a clinical psychologist (E.I.M.) who was not informed as to which profile was intake or exit. If the exit profile was judged to be better, the man was classified as "improved"; if it was deemed worse, the man was judged to have deteriorated. In making these judgments, the psychologist kept in mind that the primary purpose of the institution was to foster socially conforming behavior.

The results of the global profile comparisons are presented in figure 1. On the MMPI, 53 percent of the total population had improved, 37 percent had gotten worse and 10 percent showed no discernible change. On the CPI, 43 percent improved, 32 percent got worse, and 24 percent showed no change.

When the results were analyzed separately for blacks and whites, no striking differences were observable. Among the blacks, 53 percent improved on the MMPI, 40 percent got worse and 7 percent did not change, whereas among the whites it was found that 53 percent improved, 35 percent got worse and 12 percent were unchanged. On the CPI, 49 percent of the blacks improved, 34 percent got worse and 17 percent did not change, whereas among the whites 41 percent improved, 32 percent got worse and 27 percent did not change.

Harris (1978) had also maintained that the longer an individual remains confined, the worse he gets. To test this statement, the inmate population was subdivided into three groups on the basis of the time spent at the FCI: short (3-9 months), average (9-15 months) and long (more than 15 months), and the scale by scale analyses and profile comparisons were repeated. No consistent patterns or trends associated with different lengths of incarceration were found in this population.

Discussion

Given the fact that over four billion dollars are spent annually on corrections, the evidence for its effectiveness as a treatment technique is hardly overwhelming. Although statistically significant improvement was evident on a number of MMPI and CPI scales, the absolute amount of change was generally relatively small and the mean exit scores were still poorer than the norms

for the general population. With only 53 percent of the men improving on the functions assessed by the MMPI and 43 percent on those measured by the CPI, prison can hardly be viewed as a panacea.

On the other hand, there was no evidence of the overwhelmingly negative effects that one would expect from the statements quoted at the outset of this article. Although it would appear from these objective data that the men were being unduly optimistic in the exit interview, in which 84 percent reported that they had changed for the better, nevertheless there was more improvement than deterioration evident in both sets of analyses. Moreover, the amount of deterioration observed was no greater in degree than the amount of improvement; that is, the mean changes for the worse observed on a few personality test scales were no greater in magnitude than the changes for the better observed in the majority of the scales.

In short, there was no evidence that the men who entered emerged as "monsters." Like most other types of human experience, some men apparently improve while incarcerated, others get worse, and still others are not measurably changed by the experience. Given the fact that rehabilitation is rapidly taking a back seat to punishment and incapacitation as correctional objectives, it is reassuring that improvement was nevertheless the most common outcome observed.

STUDY THREE: RECIDIVISM

Whatever the inmate-consumers think of prison, whatever their measured personality change, recidivism remains the fundamental criterion of correctional success for most professionals and virtually all laymen. When Martinson (1974) and Maier (1976) concluded that rehabilitation does not work, they were using recidivism as their criterion.

It is popularly believed that over two-thirds of those imprisoned become recidivists. A pamphlet recently issued by the Louisiana Coalition on Jails and Prisons (Ref. Note 1) stated that 70 to 80 percent of ex-convicts go back to prison, and Harris (1978) asserted, "Prisons breed crime, as dirt breeds disease . . . Lengthy punishment does not deter, but only postpones, the criminal act."

Methodological problems make it difficult to compute recidivism rates accurately. As already noted, the common method of counting the num-

ber of inmates in a correctional institution who have served previous terms of confinement greatly overestimates the rate of recidivism, since the failures accumulate behind bars, receiving ever-increasing sentences until they get a life term as a habitual criminal, while the successes disappear from prison population (Blumstein and Larson, 1971).

The only accurate way to determine recidivism is through longitudinal studies (Glaser, 1973), but these, too, have their drawbacks. Most followup studies are based on parolees, whose progress is routinely observed and evaluated by their parole officers. This procedure probably underestimates recidivism since it is based on a select sample; the subsequent offenses of those who were released on expiration of sentence without making parole (and are, therefore, not supervised or evaluated routinely) are rarely calculated.

Studies limited to a particular state or jurisdiction can also underestimate recidivism. Those who commit offenses in another area may be erroneously regarded as successes.

Recidivism research is also plagued by definitional problems. Should an ex-offender who is returned to prison for a technical parole violation be regarded as a recidivist? What about an individual who is arrested but not convicted of further offenses? Should a former inmate who commits a serious offense immediately after his release be regarded in the same light as a former prisoner who is arrested for a minor offense a number of years after he was incarcerated?

The present study attempted to deal with these problems by using an entire cohort whether they had been released on parole or expiration of sentence, by using national fingerprint arrest data from the files of the National Crime Information Center, which attempts to record all arrests, convictions, incarcerations and releases from institutions throughout the United States, and by using several different operational definitions of recidivism.

Method

Sampling

Through the efforts of the Research Division of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the fingerprint arrest records of the National Crime Information

¹ The investigators gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the research staff at the Federal Bureau of Prisons, especially John Wash, Jerry Prather, and Howard Kitchener, who obtained the NCIC data, of Wade Whitman who coded the records, and Walt Terrie who did the computer runs for this study.

Center (NCIC) were assessed in July 1976 for all 1,345 men who had entered the FCI during the 2-year period from November 3, 1970, through November 2, 1972.¹ A total of 1,008 cases were identified which met the following criteria:

- (1) were identified in the NCIC files
- (2) had sufficient data so that a release date and determination of recidivism could be recorded
- (3) had been released from custody no later than January 1, 1975, thereby allowing at least 18 months of potential exposure to the community.

This research sample included men who had been transferred to other institutions or halfway houses prior to their release from custody as well as men who had served additional state time after completion of their Federal prison sentence, provided they met the above criteria. Thus, unlike the data from Studies One and Two, the present study is not limited to the effectiveness of the FCI but instead is concerned with the overall rate of recidivism of Federal prisoners who spent at least part of their sentence at the Tallahassee FCI.

The mean time served by the 1,008 men in Study Three was 14 months with a standard deviation of 9 months. The mean followup time for these men ranged from 18 to 67 months with a mean of 43 months and a standard deviation of 11 months. Since the literature indicates that 83 percent of the individuals who are going to recidivate do so within 2 years of release, this followup period should have been sufficient to identify the vast majority of the recidivists in the sample (Frank, 1970).

Procedure

Over a dozen different operational definitions of recidivism of varying degrees of complexity were used in the larger study from which the present data were drawn (Ref. Note 2). The three most intuitively obvious measures were selected for the present study, Number of Arrests (NA), Number of Convictions (NC) and Number of Reincarcerations (NINC). The Number of Arrests was defined as the total number of recorded arrests for apparently new offenses in the critical period, whether or not these arrests led to prosecution or conviction. (This did not include subjects released to detainers who were arrested for offenses alleged to have occurred prior to the present incarceration.) The Number of Convictions was the total number of recorded convictions on apparently new charges during the period, whether or not the conviction resulted in

imprisonment. This could include both misdemeanors and felonies as evidence of recidivism. The Number of Reincarcerations was defined as the number of notations in the NCIC records showing entry into an institution for any reason and for any length of time subsequent to release to the community.² Thus, this criterion would classify as recidivists men who were returned for technical violations of parole as well as men convicted of new offenses and sentenced to periods of confinement.

In the present study the scores on each of the three variables, NA, NC, and NINC were dichotomized; those with scores of zero (indicating no occurrences of the event since release) were classified as successes and those with scores of one or more were classified as recidivists. This was done separately for each of the three measures.

Results

Arrests

Of the 1,008 subjects, 542 (53.8%) had one or more arrests and were classified as recidivists; 466 (46.2%) had no subsequent arrests and were classified as successes (See figure 2). The number of subsequent arrests ranged from 1 to 16; 233 men (23.1%) had 1 subsequent arrest, 137 men (13.6%) had 2, 74 (7.3%) had 3, 42 (4.2%) had 4, 22 (2.2%) had 5, and 34 (3.4%) had more than 5.

Number of Convictions

The number of convictions after release was substantially lower than the number of arrests; 288 (28.6%) of the men were convicted of new offenses and were classified as recidivists according to this criterion, whereas 720 (71.4%) had no subsequent convictions and were classified as successes (See figure 2). As might be expected with a followup period of this length, the conviction data were heavily skewed; 226 men (22.4%) had 1 conviction, 43 (4.3%) had 2, and only 18 (1.9%) had 3 or more.

Number of Incarcerations

Number of subsequent incarcerations, the most commonly accepted general definition of recidivism, closely paralleled NC; 278 men (27.6%) were subsequently reimprisoned and classified as recidivists according to this definition, whereas 730 men (72.2%) avoided reimprisonment and

² This definition is more inclusive than the one used by Glaser (1964) and a number of other investigators which stipulates that the period of reconfinement must equal or exceed 70 days.

were classified as successes. (See figure 2.) Examining the data for the men who were returned to prison, 239 (23.7%) were reincarcerated once during the followup period, 34 (3.4%) twice and five (0.5%) three times.

Discussion

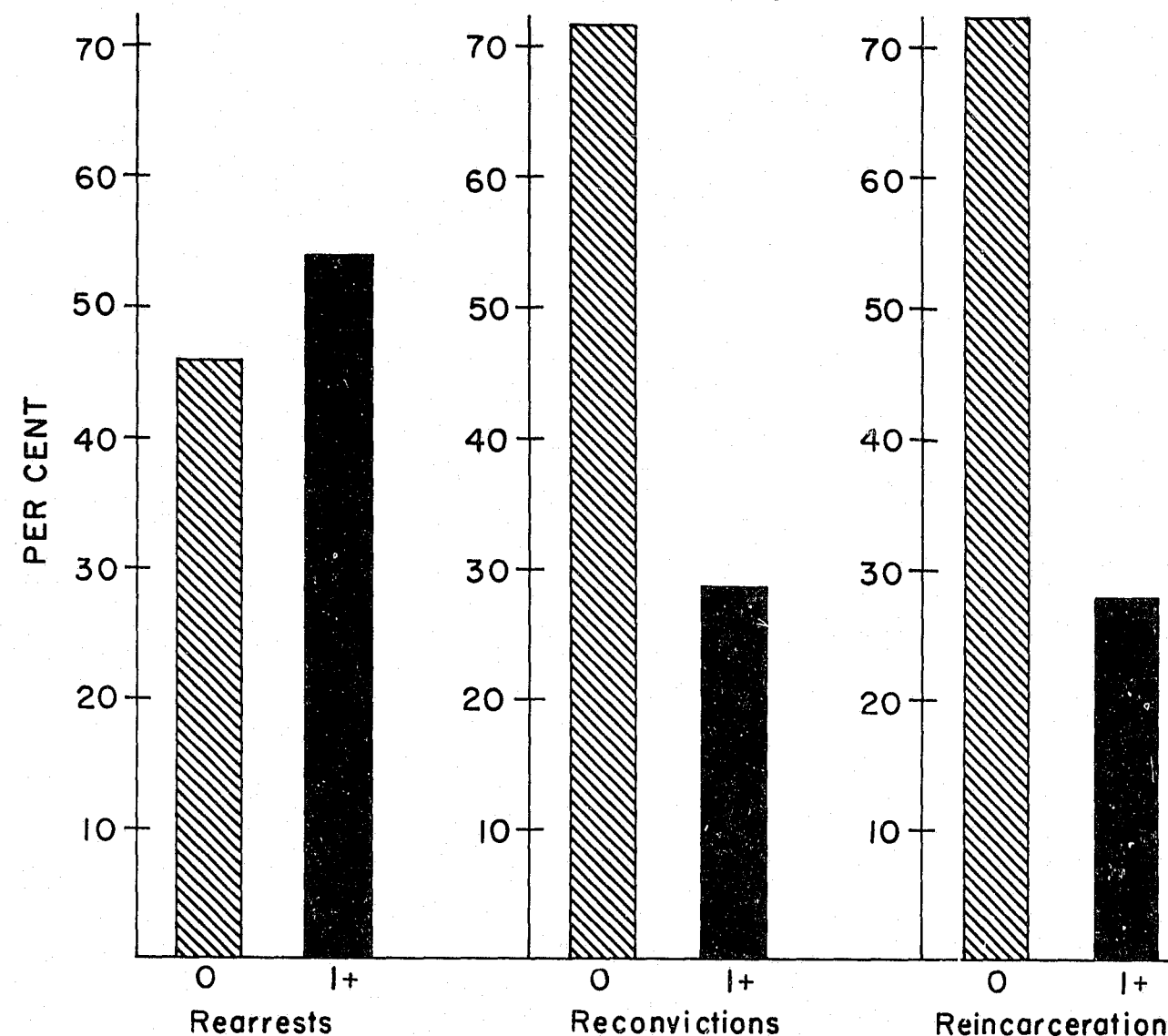
The recidivism data were generally consistent with the results of longitudinal studies reported in the literature, which show about two-thirds of the ex-offenders do not return to prison. A similar proportion (72%) was obtained in the present study even though it included all types of releasees, whereas many of the earlier investigations were limited to parolees.

As might be expected, there was a considerable higher rate of "recidivism" when subsequent arrests were used as the operational definition than there was when subsequent convictions or incarcerations were employed. Nationally, about 64.5 percent of the charges filed by police result in convictions (Gottfredson, Hindelang and Parisi, 1978). In the present sample only 53.2 percent of those arrested were convicted. However, the NCIC records showed that some men who were arrested while on parole were reincarcerated without being prosecuted for the alleged new offense.

Those who are pessimistic about the effects of prison will probably prefer NA as the best indicator of recidivism on the grounds that legal technicalities and parole revocations lowered the conviction rate. Those who are more optimistic will no doubt prefer NC or NINC, arguing that the number of arrests was probably inflated by the tendency of police to accuse ex-offenders of crimes which they did not commit.

Clearly, officially recorded criminal behavior represents only a fraction of the illegal behavior that people engage in, and the three indices used in the present study cannot be taken as absolute indicators of the number of FCI "graduates" who actually engaged in subsequent offenses. However, the authorities who described prisons as "... manufacturers of crime..." (Clark, 1970) were not basing their statements on speculations regarding the subsequent rate of *unrecorded* illegal activity; instead they were asserting that the actual *recorded* rates of recidivism would show that, "Corrections do not correct; reformatories do not reform..." (Maier, 1976). In contrast to this assertion, and to the popular belief (which is generally shared by the FCI

FIGURE 2.—Recidivism Rates Following Imprisonment



staff) that at least two-thirds of the inmates return to prison (Ref. Note 1), the present data showed that over two-thirds of the 1,008 men studied had *not* been returned to prison after being on the street an average of 3½ years. In short, this institution had a considerably greater "success rate" than it and other prisons are given credit for.

Some might wonder whether the FCI was atypical, perhaps drawing upon a select group of first offenders whose prognosis would be generally better than average. This hypothesis is not tenable. In the Federal Prison System, such individuals are typically sent to minimum security institutions rather than a medium security prison such as the FCI. Moreover, the cohort's record

of previous arrests indicates they were hardly virgins with respect to their previous involvement with the criminal justice system: 84 percent had been arrested one or more times before the offense which brought them to the FCI; 51 percent had from one to five prior arrests, 30 percent had six to ten, 13 percent from 11 to 15, 4 percent had 16 to 20, and 4 percent had more than 20 previous arrests. The subsequent decrease in officially recorded criminal activity can be most parsimoniously attributed to a change in their behavior.

Summary and Conclusions

All three studies evaluated the FCI at Tallahassee more favorably than one would suppose

having read the overwhelmingly negative effects attributed to imprisonment in the popular literature and by several noted authorities. When interviewed prior to leaving, 84 percent of the 648 inmates queried reported they had changed for the better. Comparisons of personality test scores and profiles obtained upon entrance and departure showed improvement was much more common than deterioration. A followup study of 1,008 offenders who had been released on the average 3½ years showed that 45 percent had no subsequent arrests, 71 percent had no subsequent convictions and 72 percent had not been returned to prison for any reason.

Do these studies prove that imprisonment is an effective form of treatment for most offenders? Certainly not. The present investigation focused on only one institution, one which many of the inmates consider to be superior to others with which they have had experience. The terms served were relatively short, averaging 14 months and never exceeding 6 years. Further research in other settings with different periods of incarceration and populations is necessary to determine the generality of these findings.

Do these studies, then, demonstrate that this particular prison had a beneficial effect? No. Without proper experimental controls there is no way of knowing whether the inmates' personality test scores and arrest records improved because of or in spite of their incarceration. It is conceivable that without imprisonment more men would have improved in their tested personality functioning and recidivism rates would have been even lower than those found in this investigation.

What these studies do demonstrate is that the popular impression that all inmates emerge from all prisons significantly more disturbed, bitter and inclined toward criminal behavior is false. Undoubtedly, some do, but in this institution at least, the typical inmate left the institution better adjusted than he was when he entered, and the vast majority did not return.

These findings are important for two reasons. First, given static or decreasing appropriations, coupled with increasing costs for food, fuel, staff salaries and the like, there is a great temptation for correctional administrators to balance budgets by reducing treatment programs. As long as the Martinson statement that "nothing works" remains unchallenged, it provides a convenient excuse for reducing allocations for rehabilitative programs.

Second, such inflammatory statements as, "Prisons breed crime as dirt breeds disease. Few leave the cell uncontaminated. Most leave with a greater contempt for law and criminal justice than when they entered" (Harris, 1978) can only make it even more difficult for ex-offenders to reintegrate themselves into the community successfully. What potential employer, having just read in his morning paper that men who enter prison emerge as "monsters," would not think three times instead of just twice before hiring a former offender? Such intemperate labeling of ex-offenders can lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy, actually increasing the likelihood that they will encounter community rejection and, as a result of such rejection, resort to further criminal behavior.

As anticipated, the present studies showed that some men leave prison improved, others unchanged, and still others worse than when they entered. Further research is underway by the present investigators to attempt to identify the characteristics of these three groups of men. If the response to prison can be predicted reliably, if it can be determined who is most likely to benefit and who is most likely to be harmed by the prison experience, such information could be helpful in sentencing convicted criminals.

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