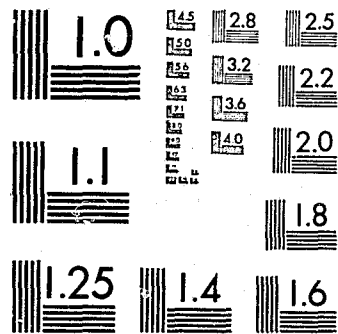


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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF:

AGE AND THE CHANGING CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR OF ORDINARY  
PROPERTY OFFENDERS

by

NCJRS

MAR 28 1983

ACQUISITIONS

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Most sociological research on criminal careers has focused on their initial stages. We know little about their later stages, and the pathways out of crime (Frazier, 1976; Luckenbill and Best, 1981). This is unfortunate for scholars and policy makers alike, because evidence suggests that most serious youthful miscreants eventually alter or terminate their criminal behavior (Cline, 1980).

The concept of career refers to common experiences among individuals who have encountered, grappled with, and resolved similar problems. Careers have two related, though analytically distinct, sides -- the objective and the subjective (Stebbins, 1970). The objective career is open to public view, and includes changes in life style and official position. The subjective career is less visible. It includes changes in identity, self-concept, and the framework employed to judge oneself and others. Changes in both the objective and subjective careers often occur together. Thus, to understand careers adequately, not only must we examine each of the two sides, but also how they fit together.

Career contingencies are significant occurrences, common to members of a social category, which produce movement along, or transformations of, career lines (Goffman, 1961:133). Just as we can speak of objective and subjective careers, so too can we distinguish between objective and subjective career contingencies. The former are "objective facts of social structure" while the latter designates "changes in the perspectives, motivations, and desires" of individuals (Becker, 1963:24).

#### LITERATURE

For years, social scientists have known of the inverse relationship among adults between age and the probability of arrest (Glueck and Glueck, 1937; Hirschi and Gottfredson, in press; Moberg, 1953; Rowe and Tittle, 1977; Sellin, 1958). When referring to former offenders, this relationship has been known, albeit imprecisely, as the maturation effect.

Bull (1972), Irwin (1970), and Meisenhelder (1975; 1977) have investigated some aspects of the process of exiting from crime. Bull examined the merits of Kierkegaard's philosophy of the stages of personal and spiritual growth in the human life cycle. He interviewed 15 ex-convicts and found that, as they aged, feelings of despair motivated them to modify their lives and so reduce their criminal behavior. The modifications represented a shift, in Kierkegaard's terms, for an aesthetic to an ethical stage of life.

Irwin interviewed 15 ex-convicts who had remained out of prison for many years. Those who had modified or terminated their criminal involvement did so for several reasons: (1) fear of further imprisonment; (2) "exhaustion from years of a desperate criminal life and a deprived prison life" (1970:196); (3) a reduction in sexual and financial expectations; (4) "an adequate and satisfying relationship with a woman" (1970:203); and (5) involvement in "extravocational, extradomestic activities" such as sports or hobbies (1970:203).

Meisenhelder interviewed 20 incarcerated nonprofessional property offenders about earlier periods of their lives when they

temporarily had terminated their criminal behavior. Their motivation to discontinue crime was (1) "fear of 'doing more time' in prison" (1977:322), and (2) a "subjective wish to lead a more normal life" (1977:324). Successful exit from crime resulted from (1) establishment of a "meaningful bond to the conventional social order" (1977:325), and (2) symbolic certification by a noncriminal other that the offender had changed and was to be considered essentially noncriminal" (1977:329).<sup>1</sup>

#### METHODS

This research report is based on three sources of data: (1) tape-recorded interviews with 36 men who previously were convicted and incarcerated for ordinary property crimes; (2) their correctional and arrest records; and (3) a systematic examination of autobiographies of comparable offenders -- insofar as they include descriptions of the later phases of the authors' criminal careers.

I selected subjects on the basis of availability and this limits the generalizability of the findings. However, I intentionally included men who presented a diversity of patterns in the later phases of their criminal careers. In the later stages of data collection I also employed a theoretical sampling strategy (Glaser, 1978; Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

I conducted interviews in 1980-81 in four regions of the U.S.: the majority in Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, the rest in northern Ohio and eastern Tennessee. Initially, I constructed a pool of potential subjects by listing the names of men who were

released from any federal penal institution to the above two cities from 1955 to 1960.<sup>2</sup> Using available records (primarily telephone directories and driver license rolls), I located a number of these men and interviewed 22 of them. I used referrals from ex-convicts and U. S. probation officers to identify individuals with theoretically interesting characteristics, such as those who apparently had been free of criminal involvement for several years, only to relapse. In this way I selected and interviewed another 22 men. The last release from confinement for these 44 men occurred from four months to 28 years earlier. To ensure sufficient variation on the principal "dependent variable" (characteristics of the later criminal career), I also interviewed six men incarcerated in federal penal institutions. Finally, I secured correctional records and a current FBI "rap sheet" for all but four men.

My findings apply primarily to ordinary property offenders. Although I actually interviewed 50 men, only 36 of them were considered ordinary offenders.<sup>3</sup> As I use it here, ordinary has a dual meaning. It refers to the types of offenses for which the men were convicted during their criminal careers -- primarily robbery, burglary and theft. Also, it means that they, unlike more criminal sophisticated offenders, realized limited financial returns from their crimes (Shover, 1983). I categorized the men on the basis of (1) their own accounts of the crimes they committed, and (2) their official records, especially descriptions of previous criminal offenses. Official records were not available for four men, and they were incomplete in

several other cases. However, available information showed that few of the 36 subjects ever gained more than a few hundred dollars from any of their crimes. Several of the 14 remaining men consistently committed crimes which yielded thousands of dollars each.

As adults, the 36 men had an average of 3.1 felony convictions each and had spent 11.1 years in prison. Their mean age was 51.2 years; the youngest was 39 and the oldest was 72. Nearly two-thirds (63.9 percent) were black.

When interviewed, 20 men were employed, either full- or part-time, six were dependent on welfare, disability payments, or family and friends for support, and four said crime was their primary means of financial support.<sup>4</sup>

Significantly, the four men who were still involved in crime confined their offenses to those such as petty theft, shoplifting, gambling, and selling marijuana. Grand theft was the most serious offense they reported, in contrast to the burglaries and robberies of their youth. Four other men engaged in occasional, non-violent property crime, under the pressures of financial need. These age-related reductions in the incidence and seriousness of the subjects' criminality are consistent with existing research (Cline, 1980; Petersilia, 1980).

I use aging as the major explanatory variable. I do so, however, only for the sake of brevity and convenience. The biological process of aging is not the focus of attention; rather it is the socially constructed and negotiated changes in perspectives which accompany aging. This report describes these

changes and their impact. There is substantial variability in the ages at which the men experienced the contingencies I describe. For some of the men, the contingencies occurred in their late 20s, while one was in his 60s when they occurred. As his parole officer noted in a report: "[He is] a long-time crook, finally settling down (at age 64, no less)."

Changes in the subjects' criminal behavior generally were influenced by two types of experiential contingencies: orientational and interpersonal. The former are subjective changes in definitions of oneself and significant events or patterns of events in one's life. The latter is an objective change in one's social relationships or networks. Subjects' reports included descriptions of four orientational contingencies: (1) a new perspective on the self; (2) a growing awareness of time; (3) changes in aspirations and goals; and (4) a growing sense of tiredness, and one interpersonal contingency. The latter often was achieved by developing either (1) ties to another person, or (2) ties to a job.

#### ORIENTATIONAL CONTINGENCIES

##### 1) A New Perspective on the Self

During their late 30s to early 40s, most of the men began to take stock of their lives and accomplishments. In the process, most confronted for the first time the realization that (1) their criminality had been an unproductive enterprise, and (2) this situation was unlikely to change. In short, they realized that ordinary property crime was a dead end. They developed a

critical, detached perspective toward an earlier portion of their lives and the personal identity which they believed it exemplified. Just as many aging non-offenders develop a wistful, detached perspective toward their youth, the aging men gradually viewed their youthful self as "foolish," or "dumb." They decided that their earlier identity and behavior were of limited value for constructing the future. This new perspective served as a watershed in their lives.

A 54 year-old man said he learned how to serve time when he was young.

I can handle it, if I have to serve time. But now I know how stupid I have been. And for me now to do something as stupid as I have done, and go back to serving time, it would drive me crazy.

Q: Why would it drive you crazy?

A: Because now I, like I told you, I see these things. I see myself, and see how my path has been so wrong when I thought I was bein' smart, or thought that I was bein' hep, or thought that I was this or that. And it's a dream.

As this suggests, the aging process of most ordinary property offenders includes a redefinition of their youthful criminal identity as self-defeating, or even dangerous.

## 2) A Growing Awareness of Time

While taking stock of their lives, most of the men became acutely aware of time as a diminishing, exhaustible resource. They began constructing plans for how to use the remainder of

their lives. As this new perspective developed, the future became increasingly valuable, and the possibility of spending additional time in prison especially threatening. Not only would another prison sentence subject them to the usual deprivations, but it also would expropriate their few remaining, potentially productive years. They feared losing their last remaining opportunity to accomplish something and to prepare financially for old age. A 45 year-old parolee said he did not want to serve any more time in prison. Asked if he was "afraid of doing time now," he replied:

No, I'm not really afraid of it. I don't know, I just don't want to do it. . . . It's just knocking time out of my life.

Q: Are you trying to say that the years you have left are more precious to you?

A: True. And they're a lot more precious to me than when I was 25 or 30. . . . I guess you get to the point where you think, well, . . . you're getting old, you're getting ready to die and you've never really lived, or something. You don't want to spend it in the joint, treading water.

The men dreaded receiving a long sentence, but believed that because of their previous convictions, any prison terms they received would be lengthy.

Hey, I'm 47, you know. And if I get one of them big numbers [long sentences] now, hey, I'm through bookin', you know. I'm through bookin'. . . . One of them big

numbers, man, would do me in, you know. And I could not stand it.

This growing awareness of time as a limited resource intensified subjects' fears of dying in prison.

### 3) Changes in Aspirations and Goals

Many men no longer felt they wanted or needed to strive for the same level of material fulfillment and recognition which they had sought when younger. As an ex-offender has written:

I've got to a point where things that were important to me twelve, fifteen years ago aren't important now. I used to have a lot of ambitions, like everybody else has -- different business ventures, stuff like that. But today, why, with what I have to buck up against, why, I could be just as happy and just as satisfied with a job that I'm getting by on, where I knew I wasn't going to run into trouble or anything (Martin, 1952:277-78).

Just as important, the men revised their aspirations, assigning higher priority to goals which formerly were less important. Like the middle-aged non-offender, an interest in such things as "contentment" and "peace" became important to them. Referring to his earlier activities, a 56 year-old man said:

I don't want to live that kind of life no more. I want peace. I want joy and harmony. I want to be with my children and my grandchildren. I got a bunch of

grandkids, and I want to be with them. I want to be with my mother. And when she passes on -- I was in prison when my daddy died, I got to come home for five hours in handcuffs to see him -- and when my mother passes on, I want to be there with her.

This man's newly-kindled interest in family members is not unique. Several other men revealed similar sentiments which, they acknowledged, developed only as they approached or attained middle-age.

Many subjects realized that they could achieve their revised aspirations on a modest income, so long as it was consistent and predictable. Those who continued their criminal activities often were content with committing less hazardous offenses, even if this meant accepting smaller economic rewards. Those who turned to legitimate work began to appreciate the advantages of a job with secure benefits such as sick leave and a pension. A 56 year-old man said:

I'm satisfied now, you know. There ain't nobody can get me to do nothin' [commit a crime]. Not now. Not the way I'm goin' now. . . . Every year I go away on vacation. I got three weeks now. Next year I get four weeks. Yeah. So I'm happy, you know, right now.

### 4) A Growing Sense of Tiredness

The men began to see the entire criminal justice system as an apparatus which clumsily but relentlessly engorges offenders and wears them down. They began to experience the prison as an imposing accumulation of aggravations and deprivations. They

grew tired of the problems and consequences of criminal involvement. Asked why he had abandoned crime, a 53 year-old man answered succinctly:

Being tired, you know. Just collapsing, that's all. I'd say age made me weak, made me tired, you know. That's all.

The men gave different reasons why they gradually tired of their former experiences. For example, one said:

Q: Do the main problems of doing time change as you age?

A: They intensify, you know. The rhetoric, the environment itself, you know. I mean, who wants to walk around talkin' about fuckin' somebody all day long, or somebody gettin' fucked in the ass and shit? . . . I mean, this kind of shit, you, when you get older you can't relate to that kind of shit.

Still, for some ex-offenders the specific origins of this emergent perspective often seems obscure and difficult to articulate. One has written:

I really don't know why I went straight. I just decided that after I got out. It wasn't fear of the law, it isn't fear of the penitentiary, 'cause I've sat down and thought it out very seriously, but I just had enough of it, that's all (King, 1972:158).

A 53 year-old man explained that he never committed and would never again attempt the "big score," the one highly lucrative crime which would permit him to retire in comfort. Asked why he

had given up this dream of many thieves, he said: "Because I know how the system is. . . . The system is bigger than me."

#### INTERPERSONAL CONTINGENCY

Of the 30 ordinary offenders not in prison, 27 reported experiencing one or more of the four orientational contingencies. Typically, for those men who altered their criminal behavior, these changes produced a disenchantment with the activities and life styles of their youth, and a resultant interest in and a readiness for fundamental change in their lives. A 47 year-old man said that after two terms of imprisonment,

I had already been convinced that I couldn't beat the system anyway, you know. What I was doin' wasn't gettin' nowhere, you know. It was just a dream.

Disenchanted with themselves and their unsuccessful attempts at crime, the aging men wanted to "give something else a try." They frequently developed an interest in supportive and satisfying social relationships; actually building such a relationship represented an interpersonal contingency in their lives. I use this concept to refer to the establishment of a personally meaningful tie to one or more conventional (1) others, such as a woman or (2) lines of activities, such as a job. The social relationships resulting from this interpersonal contingency assumed a special importance for the men. It provided them with commitment or "side bets" which they realized would be jeopardized by involvement in crime -- or at least high-risk crimes (Becker, 1962).

### Ties To Another Person

The establishment of a mutually satisfying relationship with a woman was a common pattern. Of the 30 respondents not in prison, seven mentioned this, either alone or together with other contingencies, as an important factor in the transformation of their career line.<sup>5</sup> Although many subjects maintained involvements with women when younger, they said these were not important influences on their behavior. With age, the meaning of such relationships changed and they assumed more importance.

When I reached the age of 35 it just seemed like my life wanted to change. I needed a change in life, and I was tired of going to jail. And I wanted to change my life and stay out here. And by meeting the woman that I met, it just turned my life completely around. . . . When I met her it just seemed like something in my life had been fulfilled.

Another man, who still engaged occasionally in property crimes, said he had once stopped committing crimes entirely while living with a woman for several years.

I started living with this woman, you know, and my life suddenly changed. . . . I was contented, you know, bein' with her. . . . I cared about her, you know. I wanted to be with her, you know. That was it. . . .

And, hey, I just found enjoyment there.

A 56 year-old man, separated from his wife at the time of the interview, talked about her influence on him during earlier periods of unemployment:

I loved my wife -- I love her still -- and she talked to me a lot. . . . And if it wouldn't been for her, no tellin' where I'd be at, 'cause I'd most likely had a gun in my hand and robbed a bank or something. Or took something from somebody to get some food, you know. . . . She helped me along.

### Ties To A Job

Five of the 30 men indicated that having a satisfying job, either alone or combined with other experiences, was an important influence on their career. Several men acknowledged that they had held potentially satisfying jobs earlier in their lives but had not seen or appreciated them at the time. One man told of securing a job as a youth in the U.S. Government Printing Office, where an older employee wanted to teach him how to mix and use inks.

I said to myself I didn't even want to be there. As much as possible I went into the men's restroom and went to sleep. And I was glad to get out of there when it was time to get off. And I wound up resigning the job.

As the subjects' perspectives changed with age, legitimate employment assumed more importance. For example, a 56 year-old man remembered when, as a younger man, he was interviewed for a job with a beauty and barber supply company:

The guy liked me from the jump. And that's when I hooked up with him. And I went straight a long time without the intentions of going straight. . . . That



was one turning point in the later part of my life.

A 48 year-old man recalled his experiences 17 years earlier:

When I got out [the second time] . . . I sold a suit for ten dollars and I bought [some tools], just the bare necessities of what I needed, and I met a guy who carried me on the job. . . . So, at that time I could make \$160 a week. . . . And so, with this earning power I didn't have -- I didn't have to steal . . . So this was right down my alley.

Successful participation in either a personal relationship or a job provided personal rewards and reinforced a non-criminal identity. For many, development of commitment to someone or some line of action gradually generated a pattern of routine activities -- a daily agenda -- which conflicted with, and left little time for, the daily activities associated with crime.

In addition to ties to another person and a job, two men said that religious experiences and the close social relationships they involved influenced their criminal careers.

#### CONTINGENCIES: TEMPORAL ORDER AND INTERDEPENDENCE

The five contingencies discussed above did not occur in a fixed sequence. They varied in the age at which they occurred and their interdependence.

1) In some cases, the precise point of occurrence of the separate orientational contingencies could not be easily isolated. Rather, one or more occurred simultaneously. A 55 year-old man reported:

I think I had been up [at the state reformatory]. I just said to myself, "Well, shit, this isn't getting me nowhere." . . . So I come out and I did get a good job . . . and they treated me good, and they trusted me, you know. . . . And I figured, well, these people are good enough to trust me, I'm good enough to play it straight with them. . . . Then I got married and that more or less helped too.

Q: How so?

A: Well, I married a good woman, I guess.

2) While the orientational and interpersonal contingencies operated both independently and jointly, each produced modifications in the nature, or reductions in the frequency, of criminal behavior.<sup>6</sup> In several cases, the two types of contingencies interacted with or followed one another as part of a dynamic process, with one type preceding and increasing the probability of occurrence for the other(s). Imposition of a rigid temporal and causal order on this process would violate its dynamic nature and, given our present state of knowledge, would be arbitrary and premature.

3) Although the orientational contingencies typically set the stage for the interpersonal one, occasionally the latter occurred independently. It then produced a set of subjective career contingencies which strengthened the man's sense of commitment and his resolve to avoid crime -- or at least high risk crime. Meisenhelder (1977) refers to these secondary subjective contingencies as the "pull of normality." They were of

some importance in my subjects' retrospective accounts, especially the feeling of relief over no longer having to fear the police. Several men spontaneously mentioned this as one of the advantages of the "square" life.

I can go to bed, hey man, I don't have to worry about [the police] kickin' my door down, you know, comin' and gettin' me. Because I'm not doin' nothin'. And man, I can remember one time, every time I see the police, hey man, I know they was comin' to my house. And sometimes I wasn't wrong. . . . But I don't worry about that now.

4) While any combination of the five contingencies usually led to changes in criminal behavior, the nature of these changes varied. In general, the most abrupt and complete changes seemed to result when all five contingencies occurred.

Various combinations of the foregoing contingencies modified the subjects' calculus of ordinary property crime, that is, the deliberative process which precedes involvement in criminal behavior. How did the aging men change their calculus? First, they began to see ordinary property crime as a poor risk. Not only was there little chance of reaping a large reward, but they believed there was a good chance they would receive a long prison sentence if convicted.

Second, those who experienced the interpersonal contingency were increasingly reluctant to risk losing their new-found social ties. They began to include factors which had previously been absent from their deliberations over potential criminal

activities. A 45 year-old former addict said:

If I go out there and commit a crime -- now, I got to think about this: Hey, man, I ain't got to get away. See what I'm sayin'? I have -- man, it would be just my luck that I would get busted. Now I done fucked up everything I done tried to work hard for, man, you know, to get my little family together.

In sum, the perceived risks became greater; the perceived odds narrowed; and the offenders decided to avoid the confrontative, high-visibility crimes they had engaged in when younger. One man said he could no longer imagine committing an armed robbery because "I would be so nervous, and my hand would be shakin' so bad."

When the men did commit crimes, they planned them more carefully than they had in their youth. And they often endeavored to minimize the frequency of their criminal acts. As one man said: "It's what they call 'exposure time,' you know. You don't want to get 'exposed' too much." This does not mean that they ceased entirely thinking about crime, only that they developed an extended and modified set of rationales for self restraint.

#### NEGATIVE CASES

Clearly, not all cases fit the pattern I have described. The most troubling and perplexing cases were men who, despite their failure at crime and the fact that they experienced one or more of the orientational contingencies, reacted alternately with resignation or desperation to the belief that it was "too late"

for them to accomplish anything in life. The years they had spent in prison made it difficult for them to achieve some objectives. For example, a 50 year-old man said:

I wants to have a good life, you know, but certain things will always be out of my reach because it's been so long, you know. I've been incarcerated so long.

While most of the men revised their aspirations and grudgingly accepted this fact, others did not. Animated in part by a sense of "nothing to lose," some sustained a pattern of petty hustles or long-term drunkenness.<sup>7</sup> Searching for a magic solution of their problems, others resorted to desperate, high risk crimes, with apparent disregard for the potential consequences (Camp, 1968; Parker, 1963). For example, after several years of freedom, a divorced 56 year-old man experienced severe strains in his family relationships. Making little effort to conceal his identity, he robbed a bank. Apprehended several hours later, he insisted on pleading guilty at arraignment. He told the judge that his only friends were police and correctional officials, and that prison was the only place in which he felt accepted and comfortable. He was pleased when he received a 20-year sentence.

Four men not in prison spontaneously mentioned the care older persons receive in nursing homes and similar establishments. Arguing that convicts are treated better than nursing home residents, they said they would opt to spend their final years in prison if they had to choose.

If I got to a point where it's either go to an old

folks' home or an old soldiers' home -- [I'd] figure, hell, if I robbed a bank . . . if I got away I'd get enough money to last me the rest of my life. If I got caught I'd go to prison and they'd give me better treatment there. . . . They got the best doctors there, and they got the best medical care . . . What would a fella have to lose, even if he went in and pretended to hold up . . . if he had nothing to lose on the outside? . . . You got somebody [in prison] checkin' on you all the time. And in an old soldiers' home, if you call a nurse, you're lucky to get anybody.<sup>8</sup>

While viewing the prison as a tolerable residence in old age was rare among those I interviewed, an imprisoned 62 year-old said:

In a way, I'm looking forward to getting out, and another way it don't much matter to me. . . . I know everybody here. . . . I do almost like I want. I go to early chow. [Earlier today] I went down to the law library and used their copying machine. I can do fairly well what I want to do without anybody bugging me about it 'cause all the officials know me.

#### CONCLUSIONS

My findings are illuminated by and supportive of Glaser's (1980) theory of differential expectation. Focusing on the interpretive process which precedes decisions to forego or to engage in criminal acts, the theory asserts that a person refrains from or commits crime because of the expected

consequences. Obviously, it assumes that individuals, based on personal experiences, may alter their expectations of potential outcomes of criminal behavior. I have shown that there are distinct, age-related changes in the expectations of likely criminal success held by ordinary property offenders. Insights and propositions based on this theory can be developed at both the individual and aggregate levels of analysis. In either case, empirical testing and theoretical reformulation would be enhanced substantially by an improved understanding of typical changes over the life cycle in the calculus of alternative types of criminal behavior.

With two exceptions, my findings are compatible with those of both Irwin (1970) and Meisenhelder (1977). Contrary to Irwin, my analysis did not find 'extravocational' and 'extradomestic activities' especially important in the eventual termination of criminality. Similarly, unlike Meisenhelder I did not find that "certification" was a necessary or even an important component of the process of exiting from crime.

My study clearly shows age-related social psychological changes in the subjects' later criminal careers. On the one hand, some of these changes result from their unique experiences at the hands of the criminal justice apparatus. After one man described some age-related changes he experienced, I suggested these might be similar to those experienced by non-offenders as well. He replied: "Similar, yeah, yeah. Really. But I would say doing time has [affected me] too, because I didn't want to go back to the penitentiary." On the other hand, some other

contingencies described here, such as changes in aspirations and goals, are not unique to men who have been involved in crime. Rather, they seem common to the broader, socially comparable segment of the non-criminal population (Kuhlen, 1968; Neugarten, 1968). Scholars and policy makers who sometimes are tempted to view offenders as a different species of human beings should take special note of this fact.

More importantly, my findings challenge the argument, used by proponents of the death penalty, mandatory and determinate sentences, and similar repressive crime-control measures that such "reforms" are justified by the existence of intractable offenders. The findings clearly show that even offenders who committed serious crimes while young are capable of, and do, change as they get older.

FOOTNOTES

1. I reasoned that these men would be old enough to justify discussing the later stages of their criminal careers.

2. Researchers have produced a larger body of work on the process of "natural recovery" from heroin addiction (Brill, 1972; Jorquez, 1980; Waldorf, 1983; Waldorf and Biernacki, 1979; 1981; Winick, 1962).

3. I excluded from the sample offenders whose crimes consisted mainly of forgery, interpersonal violence, or white-collar crimes. I also excluded professional, successful thieves and hustlers (five respondents) and offenders who were only briefly involved in crime (nine respondents). Typically, offenders of the latter type -- "square johns" and "lower-class men" (Irwin, 1970) -- identify only minimally with other offenders. Most of them never consider using crime as a means of livelihood.

4. These reports are substantiated by examination of the subjects' rap sheets.

5. In one case, a long-term homosexual relationship produced similar effects.

6. In a sense, the latter provide negative incentives to change, while the former provide positive incentives.

7. Others commit suicide (King, 1972).

8. Responding to a question, the man subsequently stipulated that his comments applied only to "federal joints." It had been 20 years since his last state confinement and, he acknowledged, "I don't know much about these state places."

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