ASSAULTIVE AND TROUBLESOME BEHAVIOR AMONG ADOLESCENT HOMOSEXUAL PRISON INMATES

by

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Abstract

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Adviser: Professor David Twain

A 20-variable instrument for predicting physically assaultive and troublesome prison behavior was constructed and tested. Because the behavior to be predicted had been occurring four times more frequently among the adolescent homosexual inmates at the Rikers Island prisons in New York City than among other inmates at the prisons, 51 of the adolescent homosexuals served as the study's Ss. Assuming 1) that an early history of mistreatment by parents or other significant authority figures strongly determines the strength, or precariousness, of a person's sense of autonomy, and 2) that one will behave in a physically destructive way in direct proportion to the precariousness of his sense of autonomy, it was hypothesized that the Ss' individual histories of mistreatment would help predict their physically assaultive and troublesome behavior. Therefore predictors reflecting the Ss' histories of mistreatment, plus other predictors of physically destructive behavior, were selected. Two criteria, each standing for the Ss' assaultive and troublesome behavior during the 3 months following the scoring of the predictors, were used: 1) summary judgments of the behavior, made by the Ss' regularly attending correction officer; 2) the Ss' rule

infractions, as formally reported by any correction officer during the 3 months.

The best predictor-correlates of the first criterion (the summary judgment) were 1) the judgment made by the interviewer immediately after his scoring of the other predictors, and 2) maternal rejection. For the second criterion (the rule infraction reports), the best predictor by far was the judgment made by an officer who observed the Ss' behavior for the first week of the 3-month observation period. A short and a long stepwise multiple linear regression formula were computed for each of the two criteria, and for a third criterion composed of the sums of the criterion scores obtained on the basic two. The three longer formulas yielded respectable multiple r^2's with the criteria.

The two clinical predictors, the interviewer's judgment and the judgment by the officer who observed the Ss for one week, outperformed the other 18 predictors. To test this finding further, the regression equations were recomputed, leaving out the two clinical predictors. Their exclusion markedly decreased the multiple r^2's of the longer formulas, thereby substantiating the sizable and exclusive predictive contribution made by the clinical variables.

Finally, the results revealed a sharp diversity, unanticipated in the study's design, between the two basic criteria themselves. The first criterion, the regular officer's summary judgment, consistently correlated best with the more uniquely personal and psychodynamically relevant predictors whereas the second criterion, infraction reports, correlated best with the more strictly physical and situationally relevant variables. Moreover, the two criteria's respective 9 and 6-member

regression formulas included just one member common to both, age.

This implied diversity between a personal and a physical kind of destructive behavior carries far-reaching practical consequences. One bears on the work and training of prison officers. The personal kind of destructiveness that the officers face -- insults, griping, clinging dependence, manipulativeness -- seems to test their patience and morale much more severely than does the more expected physical kind that they record in their rule infraction reports. Consequently the officers should be trained to deal professionally with the personal kind of destructiveness, as well as with the physical. The training would heighten their professional stature, improve officer-inmate relations, and bolster the specifically correctional function of prison systems.

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THE PROBLEM

Attica is no longer front-page news. But prison administrators everywhere still face daily the problem of individual inmates who direct troublesome and assaultive behavior against their surroundings, other inmates, prison personnel and themselves. This destructive behavior is generally viewed in physical terms, as undesirable physical actions to be contained and reduced. An instrument for predicting such actions can serve as a step toward their prevention, and thus as a potential benefit to the inmates and staff of entire prison systems. The development of an instrument of this kind was the aim of the present study.

A. High Frequency of Physical Destructiveness

Subjects for the present study of destructive behavior were taken from the sentenced adolescent homosexual population of New York City's Rikers Island prisons. These 16 to 21-year-old inmates are segregated from other Rikers Island inmates, and constitute an atypical group of homosexuals. About half are overtly feminine, in dress, sexual orientation, and identification, both inside and outside prison life. The other half is made up of two kinds of masculine homosexuals: "jailhouse homosexuals" who declare themselves as homosexuals when admitted to prison, and then pretend the feminine homosexuals are women in order to obtain sexual gratification while incarcerated; and truly homosexual men, both inside and outside prison life, who tend to take the masculine role in their relationships. Though the three groupings describe

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general behavior patterns, the behavior shifts readily. Several of the more feminine inmates, for instance, appear in women's clothing, and behave as women, one day, and then in men's the next -- often to the consternation of other inmates.

The present study has focused on the homosexual inmates not because of their age or unusual sexual orientation, but because they behave in a troublesome and assaultive fashion much more frequently than do other inmate groups at Rikers Island. In the planning of the study, the inmates' destructive behavior was viewed in terms of common prison rule infractions, and thus, as stated above, in primarily physical terms. The more common forms of troublesomeness, for example, were found to be tampering with cell door mechanisms, self-mutilation (usually superficial cuts on the arms or wrists to compel attention), possession or smuggling of contraband, destroying institutional equipment, burning mattresses, and stealing others' belongings. In the present study, then, these kinds of physical behavior are referred to as "troublesome." "Assault" was found to consist chiefly in fights between inmates, with home-made knives, clubs, chairs, or mop-wringers being used at times. In rare instances, an assault is aimed at a prison officer.

The high frequency of troublesome and assaultive behavior among the adolescent homosexual inmates is reflected most clearly in the records of prison rule infractions. The infractions, like the behaviors themselves, range from the breaking of cleaning equipment to fighting with another inmate or attacking an officer. During an average 3-month period in 1972, the prison's 167 sentenced adults (another subpopulation in the adolescent homosexuals' prison, inclu-

ding 76 adult homosexuals) were reported for just 41 such infractions, whereas the 54 sentenced adolescent homosexuals received 57 reports. The latter group's per capita infraction rate is thus more than four times as high as the former's. And the difference becomes far greater when the adolescent homosexuals' infractions are compared with those of the full adult population.

A large difference in assaultive infraction rates also holds between the sentenced adolescent homosexuals and the detained, non-homosexual adolescent population at Rikers Island. In the course of an average 3-month period only 8% of the non-homosexual group commit assaultive infractions whereas 32% of the sentenced adolescent homosexuals do. During May, June and July of 1972, 18 of the 54 sentenced adolescent homosexuals were convicted for assaultive infractions (15 for fighting, 1 for "punching up an Assistant Deputy Warden," and 1 for "attempted assault on officers' station"). Consequently, with the exception of a small group of adolescent homosexuals who are awaiting trial, at least four times as much troublesome and assaultive behavior takes place among the sentenced adolescent homosexual population as among any other group on Rikers Island. It was for this reason that these inmates were chosen as the study's Ss.

B. Reasons for the Frequency

The behavior of any New York City prison population is affected by four conditions. Almost all New York City prisoners are: 1) Black or Hispanic; 2) low in levels of education, economic power, and family organization; 3) long involved in crime and in dealing with the criminal justice system; 4) currently incarcerated. Thus the population

upon which any New York City prison-inmate study is based is already narrowly defined, differing from other populations mostly in the degree to which it has experienced social, developmental, and current-situational privations. In the present study two further conditions are added to the four shared by most other New York City inmates: adolescence and homosexuality. And as has been seen, the addition of both these conditions increases the troublesomeness and assaultiveness four times as much as does the addition of just one or other condition to the four shared by all the inmates. We shall suggest six reasons why homosexuality might increase the rate of destructiveness, two why adolescence might, and then offer one explanation for the fourfold increase when both conditions are present.

1. One reason for the high frequency of physical destructiveness among the adolescent homosexual inmates could be their clear separation from the general inmate population. Although the separation is usually voluntary, it signifies that the inmates are segregated as "homosexuals" within prison society in addition to being segregated as "criminals" within society as a whole. The double segregation could contribute to resentment and hostility, and to behavior reflecting these feelings.

2. Another possible reason for the frequent destructiveness lies in the way the staff relate to the homosexual inmates. It would not be surprising, for instance, if prison officers would write infraction reports on homosexuals more often than on other inmates, observed behavior being similar. The reasons for the discrimination could range from an impulsive reaction against imagined sexual indulgence to the easier fulfillment of a desire to intimidate. In order both to counter such discrimination and to better manage a difficult problem, the offi-

cers have been encouraged to show an added flexibility and understanding when assigned to the adolescent homosexual area. Even such encouragement, however, could affect the way the inmates behave: with staff prepared for and expecting special or bizarre behavior from them, the interpersonally responsive inmates are bound to live up to the expectation in some way.

3. About half the inmates in the homosexual area display a clearly feminine sexual identity. This is manifested in their homemade cosmetics, feminine clothing, in the pairing-off of the "bulls" with the "fems," and in the way non-homosexuals seek excuses to pay visits to the "Homo Quad." The feminine homosexuals thus constitute a provocative group within the prison. In addition to the usual tensions of prison life, then, the inmates in the homosexual area experience the competition, expectations, jealousies, confrontations, and humiliations that arise from mercurial sexual relationships developing and dissolving in close proximity to one another. An officer who managed the homosexuals' area for a year and a half recounted one incident as typical of the inmates' unique conflicts:

> One homo has a (straight) friend on the kitchen gang. Friend bring #1 a sandwich. #2 notices, and shouts, "Hey, what's with <u>you</u>, Miss 'Thing', getting a extra sandwich, special treatment. . . !" #2 continues shouting, slapping begins, and the fight breaks out in full force.

4. A fourth possible reason for the frequency, suggested by A. Smith (1973, personal communication), lies in the paradoxical intimacy that aggressive behavior entails. American culture froms on displays of intimacy between men. Consequently, within an all-male environment like a prison, such displays would be most acceptable among those who already view themselves as related to one another in a male-female

fashion. As a result, aggression as intimate -- aggression when serving as a starkly self-revelatory communication from one man to another -- becomes more acceptable within the homosexual area than elsewhere in the prison.

5. Because of their status as homosexual, and thus as "deviant" in the eyes of many people, these inmates have undoubtedly suffered or expected to suffer more abuse at the hands of society at large than have other inmates. This seems especially true of those whose more obvious feminine identification has given rise to tensions and recriminations from close family members. Consequently, as with any oppressed group, the homosexuals may have acquired a more hostile view of other persons than have the other inmates. This view may function projectively for them, out of a need to resolve a cognitive dissonance they experience about their sexual identity (Kendrick and Clarke, 1967). Or it may consist in a simple reaction against whatever injustices they have been made to suffer.

6. Sixth and finally, the inmates' homosexuality and their physically destructive behavior could spring from common intrafamilial developmental difficulties. For instance, it has been demonstrated that an explicitly rejecting and hostile father constitutes one of the surest predisposing factors for both homosexuality and aggressive acting-out (Bieber, 1962; Bandura and Walters, 1959). And it could be expected that a narcissistic mother who cultivates a mirror-image of herself within her son would at the same time be cultivating a rage in the son, against herself and others, for thwarting his development in this way. Because of such common etiological elements, an inmate group identified as homosexual might by that label alone be expected to be

more irrascible, troublesome, and assaultive than a group of non-homosexual inmates.

7. Adolescence is the second distinctive characteristic of the inmates under study. As adolescents, they may be doing whatever they can to "get away from and differentiate /themselves/ from all that has to do with /their/ old status /of childhood/," (Osterrieth and A. Freud, 1968). Troublesome behavior, for the adolescent, can represent both the desire for this differentiation and the differentiation itself. Self-restraint and control, on the other hand, can be seen as the prolongation of a childish submission to adult prescriptions.

8. A second reason for the frequency of adolescent acting-out is similar to the first, but lies more in the non-adult than in the non-child status of the adolescent. Gruen and Hertzman (1972) distinguish between "distorted derivatives of the struggle for autonomy" and the genuine struggle itself. They cite struggles for consensus, for recognized achievement, and for power over others as distorted derivatives of the individual's nuclear struggle for an autonomous existence. But, viewed developmentally, these substitute struggles constitute relatively refined or "adult" substitutes. The adolescent in his struggle has only the less refined distortions of the autonomy struggle at his disposal, like acting out physically against his environment. Hence, possibly under the rubric of the power struggle, the adolescent's drive for a free selfhood takes the form of a rough-edged destructiveness whereby, crudely but dramatically, he differentiates himself from surroundings that he sees as threats to his development and freedom.

C. The Study's Central Hypothesis

Most of the eight reasons proposed for destructive behavior represent the current and largely external situation shared by all the study's Ss. A combination of reasons 5, 6, and 8, on the other hand, provides a rationale for destructive behavior upon which one adolescent homosexual S can be predictively differentiated from another. It is assumed that the Ss' differing experiences of neglect and abuse result in more than differing outlooks on others; when the Ss have internalized the attitudes behind the neglect and abuse, their diverse histories result in differing outlooks on themselves as well. On S will see himself as relatively strong, "together", and autonomous. Another will view himself as weak, easily threatened, fragile. The assumption, then, is that a S's history greatly determines the strength, or precariousness, of his sense of autonomy. With the further assumption that a S will behave in a physically troublesome and assaultive way in direct proportion to the precariousness of his sense of autonomy, it is hypothesized that personal histories of neglect and abuse will correlate positively with physically troublesome and assaultive behavior. The intervening variable, precariousness of autonomy, thus serves as the logical bond between the individual historical data used in the study's predictions and the troublesome and assaultive behavior being predicted.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

With precariousness of autonomy considered the central and most differentiating reason for destructive behavior, primary emphasis has been placed on intrafamilial predictive variables appropriate to such precariousness. A secondary emphasis has been placed on already established correlates of aggression in adolescents. By correlating combined scores on these and other predictive variables with scores obtained on criteria of troublesomeness and assault, formulas containing the most powerful of the predictors have been computed. In addition to the intrafamilial and adolescent emphases, hypothesized accuracy of prediction and brevity of administration have determined the predictors that were included in the screening instrument.

A. The Screening Instrument

Twenty predictors of troublesome and assaultive behavior were chosen. The predictors fall into three distinguishable groups: 1) Ss' responses to life-history questions; 2) clinical assessments of overt behavior; 3) projective test scores. The use of these three kinds of predictors has been advocated separately by Rosensweig (1950) and Gottfredson (1967). Rosensweig recommends the combined use of "subjective" (life-history), "objective" (clinical), and "projective" predictors, while Gottfredson recommends combining "life-history" measures with what he calls "personality" (clinical and projective) measures for the best possible predictive efficiency. Three criteria of the predicted troublesomeness and assault have been used: 1) an

evaluation of the Ss' behavior over a 3-month period, made by the regular officer in their housing area; 2) the Ss' prison rule-infraction records during the same 3 months; and 3) a composite of the Ss' scores on Criteria 1 and 2. The criteria and the predictors have been scored according to a common scale of overt behavior.

1. The Scale

The scale consists in four levels of overt behavioral restraint:

__ overrestrained	(3)	Hi restraint
__ restrained (i.e., normal behavior)	(2)	↕
__ troublesome	(1)	
__ assaultive	(0)	Lo restraint

The reason for preferring restraint over assaultiveness as the scale's binding concept lies in the findings of Megargee (1966; 1971). Megargee challenged the belief that only habitually undercontrolled individuals engage in extremely assaultive behavior. He proposed that overcontrolled individuals too are often responsible for extremely assaultive actions.

To test his hypothesis Megargee first made the assumption that amount of aggression is proportional to simple instigation to aggression. He then predicted that extremely assaultive Ss as a group would prove more controlled than would a group of moderately assaultive Ss. The reason for the greater control among the extremely assaultive group, he argued, would be the presence of overcontrolled individuals among them. The moderately assaultive group, according to his assumption, could not include any overcontrolled individuals since an overcontrolled person, in order for his high inhibition to be overcome, would have to be insti-

gated to act out in an extremely, rather than moderately, assaultive fashion. Of the 28 tests made of the hypothesis that the extremely assaultive group would be more controlled, 22 resulted in the predicted direction, with 14 receiving statistical support of p values ranging from .003 to .08. These results support Megargee's rejection of the notion that all violent individuals are undercontrolled, and serves to validate a subcategory of overcontrolled violent individuals. The argument for the new category finds further support in studies by Molof (1967) and Blackburn (1968a; 1968b; 1969).

Against the backdrop of Megargee's findings, a scale of evident assaultiveness would be deceptive at its "lo" end: "lo assaultiveness," on such a scale, could refer in some instances to a smoldering toward an extremely high assaultiveness. "Overrestrained," on the other hand, contains the warning signal "over," and thus reflects the present scale's explicit allowance for the possibility of a high assaultiveness at its hi-retraint end. Though the members of the two extreme categories will differ radically in their everyday restraint styles, the signal "over" indicates that there may be some in the hi-restraint group who are in fact just as dangerous as members of the assaultive, or lo-restraint, group proper.

Granted the above, why use "restraint" rather than Megargee's term, "control"? "Restraint" was chosen simply to avoid an ambiguity present in "control." A well-aimed knife thrust or karate chop entails a high degree of control, in the sense of an active guidance. Thus "control" can be understood either as this active, guiding quality or as a more intrapersonal restraining quality. In order to obviate the ambiguity, the term "physical restraint," or simply "restraint," is used in the

present study. Thus the scale reflects a hi-to-lo degree of intrapersonal restraint of physically troublesome and assaultive propensities.

The use of "restraint" implies nothing about a given individual's unseen expenditure of effort in "holding himself back" through teeth gritting, counting to ten, and so on. Rather the restraint variable lies close to the surface, and is instantly translatable into the behavioral terms of the criteria: number and seriousness of prison rule-infractions, and degree-of-restraint ratings made by a prison officer familiar with the Ss. The intervening variable that does function in the study, degree of autonomy, has served merely as a guide in the selection of predictors to be used.

On a theoretical and common sense level, the restrained and assaultive categories, and, with Megargee's help, the overrestrained category can all be accepted as falling onto an at least ordinally related restraint scale. The troublesome category, however, constitutes a problematic band in the scale. This category serves to embrace both the negativistic attention-seeking individuals and individuals who are physically self-assertive, disruptive, and raucous without being dangerously assaultive. The active kind of troublesome behavior can be included between restrained and assaultive behavior without much question.

But the more passive troublesomeness presents a greater problem. On the one hand negativism is clearly less destructive than is assaultive behavior. To this extent it ranks higher on the restraint spectrum than the latter. But to understand negativistic behavior as also less restrained than "restrained" behavior requires some further analysis.

The inmate who refuses to leave his cell might be exercising

extraordinary restraint, in the teeth-gritting sense, and in this sense rank at the top of the restraint scale. This would be the case if it were efforts at restraint that were being scored. But because it is simply the physically expressive manifestations of restraint that are at issue, such an action is scored "troublesome," or "less restrained than 'restrained'." Refusing to move -- even when done in place of an overt act of violence -- constitutes a physically interpersonal expression, a forceful non-verbal statement to someone. Thus the negativistic statement of immobility is more restrained than would be a punch in an officer's nose; but it is also less restrained, in the physically expressive sense just described than would be a verbal statement by the inmate that he feels he is being improperly treated.

Developmental support for placing negativism on the same scale with more clearly active kinds of behavior is provided in the findings of Goodenough (1931). In studying 2000 instances of anger in children up to two years of age, Goodenough found that relatively undirected outbursts like kicking, screaming, and holding of the breath were very common during both the years. A second, better-aimed and more restrained, kind of anger, however, became markedly more common during the second year (when it constituted 60% of the angry responses) than during the first (just 15%). These anger responses consisted in sulking, whining, and pouting. Goodenough's conclusion was that the very young child learns by his second year to direct his reactions against frustration more accurately at the source of the frustration.

Her findings also show, however, that as the child moves developmentally from less to more direction in his responses, he is also moving from less to more restraint, or "control" in both senses, over

the overt expression of his anger. The negativistic sulking, whining, and pouting are clearly more restrained as reactions than are kicking, screaming, and the quasi-suicidal holding of the breath. Hence the physical restraint scale receives developmental, or maturational, support from the findings of Goodenough. Using her perspective, we might say that the troublesome inmate, whether he be negativistic or more directly active, acts more maturely than the assaultive one.

In order to concretize the above discussion of the problematic band of the restraint spectrum, infraction reports written about two of the study's Ss will be considered. The first report points up the vigorous aggression inherent in passive-aggressive and intropunitive behavior, and thus underscores the continuity between negativistic troublesome behaviors and the more directly assaultive or dangerous ones. The official report states:

> On the morning of _____, Inmate /Code #1-105/ refused to lock out of cell during the 9:00 A.M. lock-out. Inmate 1-105 has requested institutional segregation and threatens to cut up /lit.: lacerate his wrists/ if his wishes are not complied with.

The second report refers to a more active kind of troublesomeness, but, like the above, also underscores a continuity between troublesome and more directly assaultive behavior. Here inmate #1-102 was reported for "threatening an officer (with the stick of a scrub brush), insubordination, and destroying city property /the scrub brush/." In neither incident does an inmate inflict physical injury on another person. Yet both constitute powerful, physically expressed statements against others.

2. The Criteria

The first criterion consists in a correction officer's judgment

about the Ss' behavior. After having worked in close contact with the Ss for 3 months, the officer scored each of them on the degree-of-restraint scale. This scoring occurred 3 months after the Ss had been scored on 20 predictor variables based on the same scale. The officer's judgments thus served as the criterion against which the accuracy of the predictors was measured.

Three facets of the first criterion should be noted. First, its claim to validity lies in the chosen officer's familiarity with the Ss. Working closely with the Ss on an everyday basis throughout the 3 months, the officer became more familiar with their behavior than any other staff member at the prison. In the presence of the present writer, moreover, he showed a clear concern for the inmates' welfare and a respect for their ideas and feelings. Secondly, the officer was instructed to evaluate the inmates more from the standpoint of "the average officer" who might be filling his position than from his own specific way of viewing and dealing with their behavior. He understood the objective bent of this instruction. Finally, in order to measure the reliability of officers' evaluations in general, 72 sentenced adolescent homosexual inmates familiar to two other officers were rated by them as either "troublesome" or "restrained." Time constraints prevented presenting these officers with the full four-category scale for their ratings. Their ratings were correlated, and an r of .472, significant at the .0001 level of probability, was obtained. Inasmuch as the two officers agreed on approximately 3 of every 4 judgments, limited but definite support for the objectivity of officers' judgments was provided. (In spite of the non-subjective nature of officers' judgments, however, their judgments retain a very personal, albeit objective,

dimension. As the results of the present study show, the regular officer's judgments seem to have been based on a different, more personally trying, kind of behavior than are the routine infraction reports. See below, Cahpters III and IV.)

The second criterion consists in the records of the Ss' rule infractions during the same 3-month period. Inmates who received reports for injurious or seriously threatening actions during the 3 months were scored "0" (assaultive, or dangerous). Those who committed infractions that did not injure others, including self-mutilation (usually superficial cuts on the arm), were scored "1" (troublesome). And those who received no infraction reports whatsoever were scored "2" (restrained). There was no way to include the fourth level of restraint (overrestrained) strictly on the basis of the infraction reports.

A third score, the sum of the first two criterion scores, constitutes the third criterion. The summing makes it possible to register in one score the restraint, troublesomeness, or assaultiveness registered in both of a S's other criterion scores. Inasmuch as both of the first criterion scores are represented in Criterion 3, then, this criterion serves as a check against highly idiosyncratic relationships that may hold between specific Ss and one or the other of the first two criteria.

3. The Predictors

Each of the 20 predictors will be considered in order, and they will be grouped according to Rosensweig's three recommended kinds. To gain an overview of all the predictors, the full interview form used in scoring the Ss will be presented first. Each of the predictive items is marked with a Roman numeral (I-XX). The restraint levels (3, 2, 1,

QUESTIONNAIRE

DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF YOUR LIFE, ESPECIALLY WHEN 3, 4, 5, or 6, BUT ALSO TILL YOU WERE 12 OR SO:

Which of your parents cared for you -- seemed to like you -- the most? __ mother __ father

Do you care for _ more too? __ yes __ no

How much good feeling do you have for m.? __a lot __some __v.little } I & for f.? __a lot =2 __some =1 __v.little=0 } II

a)Did your m. pay quite a bit of attention to you, or did she tend to ignore or neglect you (i.e., did you often get the feeling that she would just as soon not have you around)? __ attention = 1 __ rejection = 0 } III

b)And your f., did he pay attention to you, or did he ignore, neglect, & reject you? __ attention = 1 __ rejection = 0 } IV

a)Was your m. the one who usually punished you? __ yes __ no

b)Did she give you beatings, for punishment or for other reasons? __ yes __ no

c)How much? __ lots of beatings = 0 __ some = 1 __ (almost) none = 2 } V

And your f., did he beat you? __ yes __ no How much? __lots of beatings = 0 __some = 1 __(almost) none = 2 } VI

a)Did your parents agree on how they should treat you? __ yes __ no

b)(If yes) Did they generally agree on other things too? __ yes __ no

c)How much did they disagree, argue, or fight about things in general? __ a lot = 0 __ some = 1 __ v.little = 2 } VII

How much did they -- especially your mother -- expect of you by way of things like doing chores around the house, doing well in school, keeping your room clean, and so on? __ a lot = 2 __ some = 1 __ v. little = 0 } VIII

How old are you? ____ 18 and over = 0 17 and under = 1 } IX

How old were you the first time you had to go to a detention home, youth house, or jail of any kind? ____ X (positively correlated)

Ever been addicted to drugs? __ yes = 1 / __ no = 0 } XI

a)Ever try to hurt yourself, or have serious thoughts of suicide? __yes __no

b)Expect to try hurting yourself? __yes __no c)or others? __yes __no } XIII in coming months

for a and b: 2 "yes" = 0 / 1 yes & 1 no = 1 / 2 "no" = 2 } XII

Assaultiveness of criminal record:
__non-assaultive (no personally threatening or injurious crimes) =3
__threatening (1 threatening crime) =2
__assaultive (1 assault or 2-3 threats) =1
__v.assaultive (2 or more assaults) =0
} XIV

Infraction record (from previous 3 months): __ no infractions = 2 / __ troublesome = 1 / __ assaultive = 0 } XV

Interviewer's assessment: __ overrestrained = 3 / __ restrained = 2 / __ troublesome = 1 / __ assaultive = 0 } XVI

Officer's preliminary evaluation, after 1 week: __ overrestrained = 3 / __ restrained = 2 / __ troublesome = 1 / __ assaultive = 0 } XVII

Hand Test. AOR score: _____ XVIII (negatively correlated)
AGG score: _____ XIX (" ")
Assault-Proness score: _____ XX (" ")

and 0) that responses to the 20 predictor questions are intended to reflect are listed alongside the responses. The non-predictive questions included in the interview were suggested by a veteran prison interviewer, and were included to camoflague and soften the impact of the 20 predictive questions proper.

a. Subjective (Life-History) Predictors (##I-XV)

As will be clear when they are considered separately, the first eight of the fifteen life-history predictors rest on an environmentalist, or social-learning, outlook on the roots of troublesome and assaultive behavior. This perspective finds support in the physiological studies of Scott, who contrasts the inner causes of hunger with the external beginnings of aggression: "The chain of /physiological/ causation /of aggression/ in every case eventually traces back to the outside" and "there is no need for fighting, either aggressive or defensive, apart from what happens in the external environment" (1958, p.62). In order to translate Scott's "outside" or "external environment" into more specifically human terms, the criminological theory of Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) can be cited. This theory states that there exists a subculture of violence whose members conform to a definite, positive value system according to which violent behavior is viewed as "tolerable, expected, or required" (p.263). Granting the existence of some such subculture, what precisely is it that causes some individuals to become identified personally with its value system (thereby, incidentally, perpetuating the subculture's existence), and others not to? In an effort to answer this question, we shall restrict the scope of Scott's "outside" a second time, and focus, in light of our theoretical direction

from Chapter I, on the individual's early intrafamilial experiences, and particularly on those that have been found to be influential in the development of violence-prone personalities. A study by Bandura and Walters (1959) has served as the guide in specifying just such early intrafamilial experiences, with support for the choices coming from a study by McCord, McCord, and Howard (1961).

The study of Bandura and Walters is grounded in a theory of dependency and identification between the child and his parents, a theory already developed in earlier studies by Sears et al. (1953) and by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957). In a nutshell, the theory states that a disruption of the child's experience of dependency on his parents will obstruct the growth of a healthy identification with them, and thereby prevent the implanting of internal controls of aggression. On examination, this theory's behavioral manifestations do not differ from those of the theory of precariousness of autonomy discussed in Chapter I. Both a healthy identification with an adult and a healthy sense of autonomy embody a vigorous independence. For the immediate explanatory purposes of the present work, then, the two theories dovetail in a common rationale for the predicted behavior: a thwarted independence (whether viewed as a precarious autonomy or as a faulty identification with an adult) leading to physically destructive behavior.

In their respective explanations of the grounds of the thwarted independence the theories do differ. Bandura and Walters focus specifically on the frustration of childhood dependency needs as grounds for failures in identification, whereas the theory of precariousness of autonomy points more broadly toward a socio-cultural emphasis on conformity and compliance and the overall denial of individual growth that

this emphasis entails, and thus toward a more general abuse of the individual. But the difference between the narrower and broader explanations of the curtailment of individual independence does not set the theories in opposition to one another; rather, Bandura and Walter's concept of frustrated dependency needs fits squarely within the broader concept of the abused individual. Thus frustrating a child's dependency needs can be seen as one form of thwarting his growth toward autonomy. Empirical findings of Bandura and Walters, then, have been used in the present study to determine the content of the first eight of the fifteen life-history predictors.

Predictors I & II: S's felt good feeling, or warmth, toward mother (I) & father (II): ___ a lot ___ some ___ v. little

Several of the variables Bandura and Walters used to substantiate the dependency need's relationship to adolescent aggression resemble Predictor II: 1) in "Extent boy seeks help from father" the aggressive group used in their study differed significantly ($p<.001$) from the control group; 2) likewise in "Total dependency on father" ($p<.001$); 3) "Resistance to father's help" ($p<.001$); and 4) "Total dependency anxiety" ($p<.001$). The discrimination from which Predictor II was taken directly, however, pertains more immediately to identification than to dependency, and thus to the exact locus for the hypothesized internalization of controls. This discriminator, "Warmth felt toward father," ($p<.001$), seems both to best epitomize all the highly significant dependency and identification discriminators cited above and to keep Predictor II open to include abusive paternal influences other than those pertaining specifically to the dependency relationship. Bandura

and Walters' reason for singling out the S's relationship with his father is explained in a summary statement:

> The data from the aggressive boys' interviews provided further evidence that in the majority of cases a severe break had occurred in the father-son relationship. There appeared, in fact, in most families to be a consistent and pervasive disruption of the emotional ties between father and son which was more clearly perceived as such, and presumably more keenly felt, by the boy than was the disruption of the relationship with the mother. While the two groups of boys differed little in the amount of warmth they showed for their mothers, the aggressive boys showed very much less warmth for their fathers than did their controls. Evidence has already been provided that the aggressive boys were also more hostile to their fathers than to their mothers, and less ready to relate to them in a dependent manner (p.278).

The present study's Ss, however, have already been segregated on the basis of their homosexuality, and thus, effectively, on the basis of identifying more closely as a group with their mothers than with their fathers (Bieber, 1962). Consequently it has been hypothesized that within this group the discriminating function of Predictor II, "Warmth felt toward father," would be frustrated. It was felt that the discrimination that this predictor would normally accomplish had already been effected through the Ss' segregation as homosexuals. Predictors IV and VI (paternal rejection and brutality, respectively) entail the same possible non-independence from the already established characteristic of homosexuality. Consequently, in tandem with each of the three father-related predictors, the maternal influence was separately included (Predictors I, III, & V) in the expectation that sources of aggression less contaminated with sources of homosexuality would be uncovered. The aggression literature gave special reason for hope on Predictors III and V. Predictor I was included as an extrapolation from Predictors III and V, and because of the uniquely homosexual

character of the population being studied. Viewed positively, the problem of the probable non-independence of the sample from Predictors II, IV, & VI sets into sharp relief the way homosexuality and a proneness for physically destructive behavior (and other problematic life-patterns) can all spring from a common developmental source, here, in the father-son relationship.

Predictors III & IV: Mother's and father's rejection:
__ attention = 1
__ rejection = 0

In their interviews with their Ss' parents, Bandura and Walters found that the father's and the mother's rejection each yielded highly significant ($p < .001$) discriminations between their two groups. In the interviews with the boys the discrimination was not quite so sharp. Nonetheless, the extent to which the boys felt rejected by their fathers and mothers significantly discriminated the aggressive Ss from the controls, with the t values yielding p's of $< .01$ and $< .02$ respectively. Moreover, in their study of familial correlates of aggression McCord et al. found that parental rejection significantly (also $p < .001$) discriminated their aggressive group from their assertive and nonaggressive groups.

Predictors V & VI: Beatings given by mother and father:
__ lots of beatings = 0
__ some = 1
__ (almost) none = 2

In his discussion of the etiology of violent crime, Sheppard (1971) cites six studies that find brutal treatment at the hands of one's parents to be strongly related to assaultive behavior (Bach-Y-Rita et al., 1971; Duncan and Duncan, 1971; Duncan et al., 1967; MacDonald, 1963; Peterson, Pittman, and O'Neal, 1962; Palmer, 1970). Though the Sheppard studies did not distinguish between mothers and fathers, McCord et al.

found physically punitive mothers to be significantly ($p<.025$) more frequent among aggressive than among non-aggressive boys, and the fathers' method of discipline to be not significantly different. Bandura and Walters found something of the reverse: the aggressive boys' fathers used significantly more ($p<.02$) physical punishment than did the non-aggressives', while the difference between the mothers showed a significance level of only $p<.10$. Bandura and Walters' hypotheses had grown out of the research carried out by Whiting (1954) and the empirical studies at the Harvard Laboratory of Human Development that supported Whiting's findings (Allinsmith and Greening, 1955; Faigin, 1952; Hollenberg, 1954; Heinicke, 1953; Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957). Because of the wealth of research supporting a correlation between physical punishment and subsequent aggressive behavior, and because the research singles out neither parent as the more relevant influence, each parent's "beating" score has been included as a distinct predictor.

Predictor VII: Amount of disagreement, arguing, or fighting between the parents: __ a lot =0 __ some =1 __ (almost)none=2

Whereas Predictors I-VI and VIII reflect the composition of the S's family in terms of the parent-child relationships, the present predictor reflects that composition by focusing exclusively on the relationship between the parents themselves. Bandura and Walters explain the inter-parental relationship's relevance to aggression again in terms of identification. Imitation of, and identification with, a role model is facilitated when the model is given prestige by being held in evident esteem by his partner. Thus an affectional, rather than discordant, relationship between the models should facilitate the identification re-

quired for the implanting of internal controls. Translating this logic into the broader theory of the present study, the child views the esteem held by one partner for another as generalizable to himself, and thus as relevant to his own worth. Such indirect signals of his value may be as essential to his growing autonomy as are the more direct ones.

In spite of what they found to be "defensive and guarded" responses on the part of the parents of their aggressive Ss, Bandura and Walters found that the variables, "Wife's warmth for husband" and "Husband's warmth for wife" both discriminated significantly ($p < .01$) between the two groups; "Wife's hostility toward husband" and "Husband's hostility toward wife" also discriminated significantly, but not so sharply ($p < .05$ and $< .02$ respectively). The data of McCord et al. support the above findings: they found that their nonaggressive Ss came significantly ($p < .005$) less often from families in which there was intense interparental conflict and in which one parent held the other in low esteem than did their aggressive and assertive Ss; furthermore, their aggressive Ss came significantly ($p < .05$) more often from homes in which the parents were not demonstratively affectionate toward one another.

Predictor VIII:	Extent to which parents, especially mother, communicated expectations of achievement & conformity to the child:	__ a lot	= 2
		__ some	= 1
		__ v.little	= 0

This predictor, including much of its actual wording on the questionnaire, arises directly from the findings of McCord et al. and of Bandura and Walters. McCord et al. found that the parents of their nonaggressive Ss were significantly ($p < .005$) more likely to place high demands on their sons for polite and responsible behavior than were the parents of the aggressive and assertive Ss. Bandura and Walters divided

this issue two ways. First, while analysing their interviews with the Ss' parents, they examined "responsibility" demands (e.g., household chores) separately from "achievement" demands (e.g., doing well in school). Though the former demands failed to discriminate between the two groups, the latter did significantly ($p < .001$). Secondly, in analysing their interviews with the sons, they separated the fathers' responsibility demands from those of the mothers. Here both variables discriminated significantly ($p < .01$ and $< .001$ respectively). This lower probability of error for the mothers' responsibility demands is reflected in the questionnaire's emphasis on the mother's expectations.

Finally, it might be argued that parental expectations for conventionally acceptable behavior constitute forces on the side of compliance rather than on the side of autonomy. "Expectations," however, has another dimension: the parent who expects little or nothing of a child tells the child, in effect, that he is, can be, and will be little or nothing. The role of this second, autonomy-nourishing, aspect of expectations is reflected especially in Bandura and Walters' parents' achievement as opposed to responsibility demands. It was the achievement demands, the demands that lie closer to the child's distinctive life and activity, that discriminated between the aggressive and non-aggressive Ss.

* * *

Unlike Predictors I-VIII, Predictors IX-XV lack a common theoretical perspective. Whereas Predictors I-VIII stem from a specific perspective that views early intrafamilial experiences as highly relevant to later troublesome and assaultive behavior, the last seven of the life-history predictors are drawn from diverse criminological, sociological,

and psychological perspectives. Predictor IX, for instance, arises simply from age and type-of-crime totals presented in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report.

Predictor IX: __ 18 and over = 0
__ 17 and under = 1

After cautioning his readers that only 30% of reported crimes result in arrests and that the record-keeping procedures on even this 30% are "faulty and inadequate," Wolfgang (1967) goes on to contrast youthful criminals' non-assaultive crime rates with their assaultive rates: whereas two-thirds of all automobile thefts and one-half of all burglaries and robberies are committed by persons under 18, the same under-18 group accounts for just 8% of all criminal homicides and 18% of all forcible rapes and aggravated assaults. The extent to which the age discriminator has contributed to the prediction of aggressive behavior in the present work has probably hinged on continuities between extra and intra-prison behavior and between Wolfgang's general youthful population of 1967 and the special youthful population of 1972 studied in the present work.

Predictor X: Age at first confinement: _____ (positively correlated with degree of restraint)

This variable represents an attempt to use a general criminological principle as an aid in predicting specifically assaultive behavior. The principle states, "The younger a prisoner was when first arrested, the more likely he is to return to prison" (Luger, 1967). The conceptual bridge from this statistically substantiated principle of recidivism to one of assaultive propensities lies in viewing a more habitual

pattern of criminal activity as evidence for a less restrained pattern of general behavior. Stated in more black-and-white terms, the recidivist possesses more troublesome and assaultive propensities than the non-recidivist (see Bricklin et al., 1962). Thus this simple numerical item has aimed, by the indirect route of recidivism, to obtain a graduated reading of the Ss' physically destructive inclinations.

Predictor XI: Hard drug addiction (ever): __ yes = 1
__ no = 0

The hypothesis behind this predictor is simple. Granting that all the Ss (sentenced adolescent homosexuals) are in prison for having taken some action against society, it seems reasonable to suspect that those who have taken such actions in order to support a drug habit are less inclined constitutionally to take action against society than are those who have never depended on drugs. The drug-free offender, in effect, constitutes the more naturally "offensive" person.

Predictor XII: Gestures, or serious thoughts, of suicide:
__ past & future = 0
__ past or future = 1
__ neither = 2

This predictor serves a double purpose. On the assumption that one's propensity to inflict bodily injury on oneself functions more as representative of a general destructive propensity than as a restraint dynamic, this predictor aims simply to register this representative injurious propensity. As part of the overall questionnaire strategy, moreover, Predictor XII serves to lay the groundwork for Predictor XIII. A context of concern about "inflicting bodily harm" can be readily established when the body in question is the S's own. The expansion of the concern to include the bodies of others (Predictor XIII) can then

be presented as a natural expansion of the concern.

Predictor XIII: S's own anticipations regarding his assaultiveness: __ positive = 0 __ negative = 1

This predictor speaks for itself. Set in the context of Predictor XII, it aims unthreateningly to obtain a reading of the S's view of himself as a potentially assaultive individual.

Predictor XIV: Assaultiveness of criminal record:
__ non-assaultive = 3
__ 1 threatening crime = 2
__ 2-3 threatening crimes or 1 assault = 1
__ 2 or more assaults = 0

This predictor aims to measure the S's long-range, habitual posture toward the physical well-being of others. "Assaultive," in some contexts, carries the broader meaning of the threatened, as well as actual, bodily harm of another. Armed robbery and other crimes entailing threats of immediate bodily injury will thus be scored as "threatening" on the scale with assault.

The predictive value of this discriminator depends on a continuity between the S's extra-prison and intra-prison behavior. There are strong reasons to question such a continuity. For one thing, the rigid prison regime suppresses many inclinations. What might constitute mere personal friction outside the prison, for instance, showing a police officer disrespect, can get "written up" inside, and can result in days of lost privileges or even loss of parole time. As one Deputy Warden expressed it, "There is no such thing as a 'small' rule infraction." The impact such a regime exercises on prison inmates differentially would have to be assessed if a precise picture of the relative continuity between extra and intra-prison behavior were desired. Some

information, nonetheless, is generally better than none. Since it can be assumed that most individuals who rob, rape, or assault others while outside prison will reproduce these patterns to some extent while inside and that the criminal record provides some reflection of the outside behavior, the present predictor has been included.

Predictor XV: Prison rule infractions: __ no infractions = 2
__ troublesome = 1
__ assaultive = 0

The principle underlying this item states that past behavior serves as an excellent indicator of how someone will act in future encounters with the same situation. With instruments for predicting assaultive behavior at as unrefined a stage of development as they are, this past behavior principle takes on an added importance in the present study.

Most of the Ss used in the present study had been at the institution for three months prior to the interview. Hence it was possible to control, across Ss, for time spent in prison by citing as predictors only infractions committed during the three-month period, a control that would be impossible if the interview were to be conducted at the inmate's time of admission to the institution.

b. Objective (Clinical) Predictors (##XVI & XVII)

Predictor XVI: Interviewer's assessment: __ overrestrained = 3
__ restrained = 2
__ troublesome = 1
__ assaultive = 0

The full interview, which lasted between 15 and 20 minutes, was followed by a clinical prediction about the S's behavior. The judgment was based on the S's observable behavior during the interview.

This behavior included his physically apparent attitude toward the interviewer and toward others, the gestures and affect that accompanied his responses to the questionnaire and projective test, and the feelings he evoked within the interviewer. Excluded from this assessment were records of criminal or prison behavior, hearsay about the inmate, and even the acting-out score obtained on the projective test. Some bias resulting from the interviewer's knowledge of the S's content answers undoubtedly found its way into Predictor XVI scores; but the interviewer's focus was restricted to the S's observable interpersonal behavior as much as possible.

Predictor XVII: Officer's evaluation: (after one week)
__ overrestrained = 3
__ restrained = 2
__ troublesome = 1
__ assaultive = 0

Like Predictor XVI, this predictor reflects a relatively unseasoned look at the Ss' behavior. The practical reason for including this predictor was to see whether, and to what extent, a prison officer might help in the screening of inmates, according to restrained vs destructive behavior. Given the right officer, and based as his judgment would be on a variety of inmate behaviors over time, it was felt that this predictor could prove to be a valuable indicator of future behavior. The value of such a judgment is suggested in the often-voiced caution (O'Leary, 1969; Toch, 1969; Megargee, 1966; Hallek and Rappeport, 1969; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967) that a single interview or projective test cannot replace a well-organized information collecting procedure for inmate assessment. In the present study, where many of the Ss have already been at the institution for several months, an officer working

in the Ss' area for the first time served as the evaluator.

c. Projective Predictors (#XVIII-XX)

Predictors XVIII-XX:	The Acting-Out Ratio, the Aggression score, & the Assault-Proneness score of The Hand Test.	(each to correlate negatively with restraint level)

In contrast to other projective instruments for detecting troublesome or assaultive propensities, The Hand Test possesses three characteristics that have influenced its inclusion among the present study's predictors: 1) its predictive potential; 2) its brevity and ease of administration; 3) its success in detecting a lack of specifically physical restraint. The second and third criteria militated against the use of the Rorschach, for example. Besides being a lengthy and sophisticated projective device, the Rorschach has seldom been proved to detect physically destructive propensities. Kane (1955) and Sjostedt (1955) did separately discover that prisoners with records of overtly assaultive behavior scored significantly higher on the DeVos hostile content scale (1952), which is based on Rorschach responses, than did prisoners with non-assaultive records. But most Rorschach studies focus on the kinds of hostility and aggression that are more socially adaptive than is assault. Studies on the white space response, for instance, argue the merits of understanding S either as negativism (Rorschach, 1942) or as a concern to achieve active self-mastery (Fonda, 1960), with physical aggression remaining on the discussion's periphery.

The second requirement, brevity and ease of administration, prevented the TAT, like the Rorschach, from being included. The TAT has enjoyed a wider success than the Rorschach in detecting physically des-

tructive propensities, however. In his survey of the TAT's use in detecting aggressiveness, Buss (1961) found that the test discriminates between assaultive and non-assaultive samples: when three groups are tested, the results generally group non-assaultive aggressive Ss with the passive Ss, leaving the assaultive aggressive Ss as the only distinctive group. Studies conducted especially by Stone (1956), Jensen (1957), and Kagan (1956) showed that high amounts of aggressive TAT content correlates with assaultive behavior, but does not correlate with assertive, uncooperative (possibly "troublesome") or other more socialized forms of aggression. Hence in spite of Buss's qualified disappointment, it seems the TAT might serve the limited goal of detecting specifically assaultive behavior.

Parts of a test that is even more unwieldy than the Rorschach or TAT, the Holzman Inkblot Technique, were found by Megargee to correlate with assaultiveness in some ways. He found that the HIT's "Barrier" score correlates negatively with ratings of aggressiveness (1965). He also found, in support of his Overcontrolled vs Undercontrolled theory of aggression, that extremely assaultive adolescents give significantly fewer pure C responses on the HIT than do the moderately assaultive ones (1966). Megargee also found the test's movement-color index and its movement score to be helpful positive indicators of assaultiveness. In explaining the failures of the "more obvious" tests of assaultiveness (HIT's Hostility scale and Rosensweig's P-F Study), Megargee (1966), like Wenk et al. (1968) after him, pointed to the obviousness of these instruments' purpose as evoking an added guardedness on the part of the prison inmates tested.

In 1967-8 the research team of Sarbin, Wenk, and Sherwood was

engaged "in an effort ultimately to locate a set of predictive instruments that will permit an early identification of assault-prone individuals" (Wenk et al., 1968). In one study (Wenk et al., 1968) the authors tested the relationship between having an assaultive criminal record and the way binocular rivalry is resolved when two pictures, one violent and the other similar-looking but non-violent, are viewed simultaneously in a stereoscope. Earlier binocular rivalry studies by Toch and Schulte (1961), Shelley and Toch (1962), and Berg and Toch (1964) strongly suggested that the inmates with the assaultive records would resolve the discrepancy by choosing the violent picture more often than would the non-assaultive inmates. In spite of repeating the test a second time with added controls, the results did not come out as expected. There were no significant differences between the two groups, and the results did not even lean in the expected direction. The authors explain the test's failure chiefly in terms of the "cue effect." Prison inmates being tested while in trouble for having been violent might naturally hesitate to report violent scenes, they suggest. Or, as an earlier study on the effect police training has on the perception of violence suggests, the resolution of the rivalry may be determined more by the violence one has simply encountered in life than by a propensity to inflict violence on others (Toch and Schulte, 1961).

Toch (personal communication, 1972) reports that an interaction is functioning in data similar to that of Wenk et al. Those Ss whose assaultiveness is either high or low both outside and inside a penal institution achieve low assaultiveness scores on the stereoscope, whereas those whose assaultiveness is high in one location and low in the other achieve high scores. Toch attributes the low scores for the

doubly high-assaultive Ss to "some suppression effect," an effect probably very similar to the cue effect of Wenk et al. and to Megargee's "obviousness" effect. If Wenk et al. were to repeat their stereoscopic rivalry experiment, building into it the interaction possibility, they might obtain more satisfying results, at least in contrasting the doubly low-assaultive Ss with the singly-assaultive ones.

A second study carried out by the same research team (Sarbin et al., 1968) achieved much more encouraging results. Using their own version of The Hand Test created by Wagner, they compared the responses of twenty assaultive youthful offenders with those of twenty non-assaultive ones. Significant differences were found between the groups.

The Hand Test which they used consists in a series of nine cards, each portraying a hand in a different position, with a tenth card left blank. The S is asked to say what the hand might be doing in each case, and on Card 10 to imagine a hand and to say what it might be doing. One of 15 possible categories is chosen by the scorer as the dominant characteristic of each response. The categories are affection, dependence, communication, exhibition, direction, aggression, acquisition, active, passive, tension, crippled, fear, description, bizarre, and failure to respond. Combinations of category totals lead to different psychodynamic inferences. The Acting-Out Ratio is one such combination, and Wagner refers to it as "one of the most significant Hand Test predictors" (1962). In its original form the AOR was computed by subtracting all the AFF + COM + DEP + FEAR responses from the DIR + AFF responses. After discovering that fear functions ambiguously vis à vis acting-out, Wagner revised the AOR formula to: (DIR + AGG) - (AFF + COM + DEP).

Like several studies before theirs (Bricklin et al., 1962; Wagner and Mevedeff, 1963; Wagner and Hawkins, 1964), Sarbin et al. achieved a significant t value ($p < .05$) discriminating their two groups according to Wagner's original AOR formula; but they used just the 9 pictured cards, allowed just one response to each, and projected the hands onto the wall for group testing. They similarly achieved a significant ($p < .05$) difference when using their own 12 pictures of hands. Presenting all 21 cards together, they achieved a greater discrimination of AOR's ($p < .01$). And when the authors found that their assaultive sample tended to register higher communication totals than the non-assaultive Ss, they constructed their own AOR formula, calling the new score "Assault-Proneness": (AGG + DIR + COM) - (FEAR + AFF + DEP). In their study this new formula served as a more sensitive discriminator, for both the 9-card and the 21-card tests, than did the original AOR formula. Moreover, when the 9-card test was considered by itself, the simple AGG total served as the best discriminator of all between the two groups. The authors do not report having tried Wagner's revised AOR formula.

The Hand Test is a young projective instrument, and, evidently from the above, still very much in the experimental stages of development. Wagner's validation efforts are roundly criticized by Gleser (1965), chiefly for his failure to determine the variance associated with factors like age, education, and sex among his "17 so-called populations." Nonetheless, the test's apparent success in detecting assaultiveness, its brevity (10-15 minutes, including scoring), its simplicity, and its camoflagued relationship to aggression all recommended its further scrutiny as a screening help. Consequently, in the

present study, Predictor XVIII consists in Wagner's revised Acting-Out Ratio, and Predictors XIX and XX in the AGG and Assault-Proneness totals respectively, as scored by Sarbin et al. (1968).

B. Subjects

The 51 sentenced adolescent homosexual inmates discussed earlier served as the study's Ss. In addition to the chief, practical aim of resolving some of the distress surrounding the frequent troublesomeness and assault among these inmates, there were two other reasons for focusing on this unique population for the study: 1) controls were possible; 2) these Ss provided excellent baseline data. First, then, because these inmates were sentenced, greater controls could be exercised in observing their behavior than would have been possible if they were awaiting trial. Discharge dates were available, and thus a minimal observation time could be established in advance, and adhered to. Sentenced inmates, and particularly the sentenced homosexual inmates, are seldom transferred from one area or institution to another; this permitted the observing regular officer to become familiar with their behavior.

Secondly, the high frequency of troublesomeness and assault among the sentenced adolescent homosexual population meant that these inmates were providing excellent baseline data for an initial study of a detection instrument. In the course of a 3-month period, only 8% of the detained, non-homosexual adolescent population were convicted of assaultive infractions, whereas 32% of the sentenced adolescent homosexual population were so convicted. In the three months preceding the present study 18 of the 54 sentenced adolescent homosexuals were convicted of

assaultive infractions, and in the three months preceding that period, 16 were so convicted. In simple decision-theory terms, this much higher assaultive infraction rate makes the creation of a managerially useful assault-detection instrument a much more practicable undertaking. It does so specifically in the area of false positives.

This can be illustrated by supposing that a detection instrument with a 70% accuracy has been devised for the present population of 50 inmates. If the base rate of assault were just 8% of that population (4 individuals), an "Assaultive" classification pool containing 17 individuals (3 correctly identified and 14 incorrectly /i.e., 30% of 46/ -- with no indication of which of the 17 are identified correctly) would result. If the rate were the present 32% however, the same 70% accuracy would yield a pool of 21 "Assaultive" individuals, with 11 correctly and 10 incorrectly identified. From the standpoint of practical classification and management strategies, the latter false positives rate of 48% is clearly preferable to the former of 82%. With 82% false positives, an administrator would be most hesitant even on a preliminary basis to label the pool "Assaultive," whereas some such preliminary classification might be given to the pool with 48% false positives. Whatever management actually decides in such situations, the difference in the rates of false positives is directly attributable to different rates in the baseline data. (See Glaser et al., 1966; Gottfredson, 1967; Meehl and Rosen, 1955; Rosen, 1954.)

C. Procedure

The 51 Ss were brought by a Correction Officer in groups of 4 or 5 to the psychological interviewing area of the Adult Remand Shelter on

Rikers Island. This was the interviewer's first contact of any kind with the Ss. Each S was given a private, individual interview that included the first 13 of the predictors as formulated on the questionnaire. Then The Hand Test was administered. The interviewer's clinical assessment (Predictor XVI) immediately followed The Hand Test, and to prevent interviewer bias, The Hand Test scores and the remaining three predictor scores (XIV, XV, and XVII) were calculated after his assessments were completed.

The interview was introduced in the following way:

> The long-range reason for this interview is rehabilitation. The reason for having the interview now is to get to know something about you individually. The interview will have three parts: some questions about when you were very young; some factual things about your life now; and a short psychological test. If you have any questions, or if there's anything you'd like added between the lines of this form, don't hesitate to stop me at any time.

On Predictors III and IV, the interviewer scored the form in terms of a definite and serious rejection of the S by his parents. On Predictor XI, "addicted" (namely, truly "strung-out" or "hooked") was the key word. And in the forced yes-no choices of Predictors XII and XIII, when the S answered that he didn't know, his score was determined by the general self-concept he seemed to have at the time -- that is, whether or not he saw himself as someone who really might hurt himself or others. Finally, all ten cards of Wagner's Hand Test were administered.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

A. Data Analysis

Briefly the statistical analysis of the data provides three kinds of information: 1) the predictors that correlate best with the three criteria; 2) the formulas, or combinations of predictors, that correlate best with each criterion; 3) the cut-scores that can be used, in conjunction with the computed formulas, to sort a new sample of inmates into "restrained," "troublesome," and "assaultive" categories, and thereby test the present study's findings. The first kind of information was gained by computing the simple, first-order, correlations between each predictor and each criterion. Because of the inevitable overlap in variance-accounted-for between different predictors, the predictive contribution of a given variable that is unique to that variable is not reflected in the simple correlations. Nonetheless, as part of a primarily exploratory study, and in order to see how each of the predictors correlates individually with each of the criteria, the simple correlations are presented and discussed (see part C).

Secondly, two stepwise multiple linear regression equations (in the form $Y' = b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 \ldots b_nX_n + \alpha$) have been computed for each of the three criteria. The PSTAT stepping format was employed. According to this format the predictor with the highest first-order correlation with a given criterion is entered as the equation's first predictive member (X_1). The remaining predictors are then scanned to determine which shows the highest partial correlation -- in conjunction with the first predictor entered -- with the criterion. In step 2 this

second predictor is entered into the equation as the second predictive member (X_2). This stepping procedure continues until none of the unentered predictors shows an F-level of partial correlation with the criterion (again, in conjuction with the entered predictors) that meets or surpasses some chosen level. An F-level of 1.5 or higher was required for entry into each of the three initial equations. This level was chosen in order to maintain a probability of error level of less than .01, and to keep the equation as short as possible. The strict .01 level was chosen to counterbalance the questionable meaning of "significance" within a design involving the stepping format (see part B).

The F-to-enter threshold was then lowered to .5. This permitted the entry of variables that slightly augment the predictive power of the formulas. The lower F-level also serves to identify marginally useful variables for possible use in future studies. Thus a short and long multiple linear regression equation were computed for each of the three criteria. In addition to the combination of predictive variables most relevant to a given criterion, the predictors' raw beta coefficients, the appropriate alpha constant for each equation, and the multiple r, multiple r^2, F, and p values for each equation were determined. These statistics, and the six predictive formulas composed of the relevant predictors, beta weights, and constants, will all be presented and discussed in part D.

Thirdly, each S's relevant predictor scores were entered into the appropriate newly derived multiple linear regression formulas, yielding in each case 51 different Predicted Restraint Level (PRL) scores. Six sets of superimposed frequency polygons were then constructed. Their

parameters were determined by the Ss' PRL scores, on the one hand, and their actual criterion scores, on the other. The PRL and criterion scores were then used to compute cut-scores which, along with the predictive formulas, can be used to categorize a new sample of Ss (see part D).

B. Reasons for the Stepwise Multiple Linear Regression Design

A problem with the present study's statistical design is that it both is and is not predictive. Inasmuch as the initial selection of 20 hypothetically predictive variables constitutes a claim that predictive power "resides" in some form among the 20 variables and inasmuch as the respective predictive powers of specific variables were contrasted with one another theoretically before computing the stepwise regressions (see above, Predictors I-VI, XIV), the study can be seen to be predictive. However, inasmuch as the most salient of the 20 predictors are selected and weighted for entry into the formulas in light of the sample's own criterion scores, some predictive orientation is relinquished.

The chief difficulty with the simultaneously predictive and non-predictive nature of the study lies in not knowing exactly how predictive, and thus how universal or how statistically significant, the computed formulas are. Since the stepping procedure surrenders some of the control for sampling error, statistical significance becomes a pseudo-significance. One solution to this predicament could be to assume that the formulas generated by the stepping procedure lie exactly midway between wholly particular conclusions about a non-representative sample and conclusions that are applicable to the population of adolescent homosexual prisoners universally. But this would be no more than

a sort of "regression assumption" that chooses a mean primarily out of ignorance. There is no way of knowing exactly how much the stepping procedure detracts from the formulas' universal applicability.

In spite of the above shortcoming, the stepwise multiple linear regression design was followed out of a need to answer two questions: 1) to what extent, if any, can members of a limited field of variables be combined to correlate with overtly troublesome and assaultive behavior? and 2) which of the variables, in a preliminary way, combine best to correlate with the behavior? The first question was pursued by narrowing the infinite field of possible predictors to 20, and hypothesizing that some members of the limited field can be combined to correlate rather highly with criteria scores3 months after the scoring of the predictors; the multiple linear regression design was thus chosen in order to be able to test the strength of different predictors in combination with one another. And the need to specify which of the 20 variables combine best as predictors, at least for the present sample, was met by using the stepping format. The stepwise multiple linear regression design arose, therefore, from a need to fill the two informational lacunae. This information, along with the simple correlations, cut-scores, and established viability of the multiple linear regression method itself, is now available for use within what could be a more rigorously predictive study (see below, Chapter IV, Part E).

C. Simple Correlations

Table 1 presents the predictors' simple correlations with the criteria and the intercorrelations among the criteria themselves. Most of the correlations include overlap between each of the two correlated

TABLE 1

SIMPLE CORRELATIONS OF ALL VARIABLES WITH CRITERIA

N = 51

Variables	Criteria		
	Officer's Judgment	Rule Infractions	Composite Score
1. Good feeling toward mother	.15	.04	.11
2. Good feeling toward father	.04	-.03	-.01
3. Maternal rejection	.35	.07	.23
4. Paternal rejection	.05	-.10	-.05
5. Maternal beatings	.06	-.10	-.05
6. Paternal beatings	-.11	-.03	-.08
7. Interparental discord	.07	-.12	-.06
8. Parental expectations	.15	-.02	.06
9. Age	.11	.26	.25
10. Age at first detention	.19	.11	.18
11. Drug addiction	.13	.19	.21
12. S's suicide expectation	.14	-.03	.05
13. S's assault expectation	-.01	.20	.14
14. Assault in criminal record	.19	.01	.10
15. Infraction record	.12	.18	.20
16. Interviewer's judgment	.38	.20	.35
17. Officer's 1-week judgment	.19	.46	.44
18. AOR score	-.08	.13	.06
19. AGG score	-.13	.08	-.01
20. Assault-Proneness	.03	.12	.11
A. Officer's Judgment		.23	.68
B. Rule Infractions			.87

variables and other predictors listed. Predictor 1, for instance, correlates .68 with Predictor 3 (see Appendix C). This extensive overlap is fully assumed by Predictor 3 when Predictor 3 is entered ahead of Predictor 1 into the formula for the regression on Criterion 1 (see below, part D). The result for Predictor 1, Feelings toward mother, is that its own correlation with the criterion drops from the simple r of .15 in Table 1 to a partial r of -.21 in the regression equation. In spite of the overlap among the variables, however, the simple correlations reveal how each predictor, if taken separately and in isolation from the others, correlates with a given criterion.

The first two criterion columns of Table 1 indicate that Predictors 3 (Maternal rejection), 16 (Interviewer's judgment), and 17 (Officer's 1-week judgment) stand out as the best single predictors of the criteria. In addition to indicating these and other relative degrees of simple correlation, the table reveals a striking and unexpected diversity that holds between the two basic criteria used in the study. Predictors 16 and 3 correlate best with Criterion 1 ($p < .01$ for each) whereas Predictor 17 correlates best with Criterion 2 ($p < .001$). This difference in respective best predictors illuminates the diverse natures of the two criteria: Criterion 1 consists in an officer's judgment made after he has worked closely and personally with the Ss, whereas the infraction reports that make up Criterion 2 reflect relatively brief and impersonal encounters between whatever officer happens to be present when a prison rule is being broken and the inmate breaking the rule. The psychological interviewer's predictions fit the former, more personal, criterion more closely whereas the predictions of the officer with one week's experience with the Ss coincide more closely with the

latter, more brief and more strictly external, measure. The low correlation (.23) between the two criteria themselves underscores this diversity between their respective representations of inmate behavior.

The difference between the criteria's respective correlations with Maternal rejection serves as further confirmation of their diversity. It was hypothesized above that in spite of the greater influence of paternal rejection on aggressive behavior among other samples, maternal rejection would be the more relevant predictor among the present study's homosexual sample. Though maternal rejection has in fact proved to be the more relevant predictor, it is relevant only vis à vis the more personal of the criteria (Criterion 1) and is almost without relevance vis à vis the more strictly external, objective, or physical criterion (Criterion 2).

This seems to mean that maternal rejection affects the way one presents himself to a familiar authority figure, that is, as a "troublesome" individual, while hardly affecting his physical or objective way of acting. The black, homosexual prison inmate who has been rejected by his mother will not commit more infractions than other inmates, but will act as a sort of personal pest toward the person in regular authority over him. A pest, almost by definition, compels attention, and in this instance it seems to be the attention refused the inmate by his mother that he is extorting from the regular officer. Maternal rejection, incidentally, served as a perfect predictor of "troublesome," as scored by the regular officer: 4 of the 51 Ss reported that their mothers preferred to not have them around when they were young, and all 4 were scored "troublesome."

Others predictors whose diverse correlations with the two criteria

should be noted are Interparental discord, Parental expectations, Age, S's suicide expectations, S's assault expectations, and Criminal record. Particularly notable is the way the more personal predictors correlate at consistently higher levels with Crierion 1. This sharp distinction that has come to light between a more personal kind of destructive behavior and a more external, physical kind constitutes a finding that is rich in implications for effective prison management (see below, Chapter IV, part B).

D. The Regression Formulas, Frequency Polygons, and Cut-Scores

1. Criterion 1 (Officer's Judgment)

Regression formulas. With the F-to-enter threshold at 1.5, four predictors were entered into the multiple linear regression equation with Criterion 1. These predictors, and the statistical descriptions of their respective predictive contributions within the equation, are found in the upper half of Table 2. The first of the Predicted Restraint Level formulas found in Table 2 can be spelled out more fully as follows: Predicted Restraint Level = .2463(raw score on Feelings toward mother) + .9806(raw score on Maternal rejection) - .2757(raw score on Feelings toward mother) - .1900(raw score on S's own judgment) - .0556. The multiple r^2 of .2927 indicates the mean proportion of the Ss' distinctive restraint levels that is accounted for by the formula. A look at the multiple r^2's for the next five formulas shows that, of the six formulas, this first accounts for the lowest proportion of individual variance (see Tables 2, 4, and 6).

When the F-to-enter threshold is lowered to .5, eleven predictors are entered into the equation. Two (Age at first detention and Assault-

TABLE 2

REGRESSIONS ON OFFICER'S JUDGMENT (CRITERION 1)

Predictor	Descriptive Data				
	Raw beta (coefficient)	F when entered	Final F	Partial corr. in final step	Simple corr. with criterion
			F-to-enter: 1.5		
Interviewer's judgment (#16)	.2463	8.191	10.011	.4228	.3784
Maternal rejection (#3)	.9806	5.619	8.691	.3986	.3503
Feeling toward mother (#1)	-.2757	2.066	2.852	-.2416	.1522
S's own judgment (#13)	-.1900	1.783	1.783	-.1932	-.0061
Constant: -.0556					
Multiple r: .5410					
F: 4.759 ($p < .003$)					
Multiple r^2: .2927					

$$PRL_1 = .2463(\#16) + .9806(\#3) - .2757(\#1) - .1900(\#13) - .0556$$

			F-to-enter: .5		
Interviewer's judgment (#16)	.2351	8.191	8.486	.4141	.3784
Maternal rejection (#3)	.8355	5.619	5.920	.3552	.3503
Feeling toward mother (#1)	-.2374	2.066	2.088	-.2201	.1522
S's own judgment (#13)	-.1872	1.783	1.597	-.1936	-.0061
Criminal record (#14)	.0773	1.006	1.362	.1793	.1851
Paternal beatings (#6)	-.1102	.847	1.630	-.1955	-.1077
AGG score (#19)	-.0548	1.322	1.513	-.1886	-.1338
Age (#9)	.2344	.501	.978	.1526	.1089
Parental expectations (#8)	.1412	.857	1.811	.2057	.1491
Constant: .0621					
Multiple r: .6144					
F: 2.762 ($p < .013$)					
Multiple r^2: .3775					

$$PRL_2 = .2351(\#16) + .8355(\#3) - .2374(\#1) - .1872(\#13) + .0773(\#14) - .1102(\#6) - .0548(\#19) + .2344(\#9) + .1412(\#8) + .0621$$

Proneness score) are deleted when their F-levels fall below .5 with the entry of new variables. The nine remaining predictors are listed in the lower part of Table 2. Though the pseudo-probability-of-error (see above, part B) increases from .003 to .013 with the inclusion of the added variables, the proportion of variance accounted for the the predictors also increases by .0848.

If Table 2 is considered vertically in light of the indeterminate significance and thus applicability of the formulas represented, it can be seen that the further one moves down the list of predictors, the more compounded becomes the uncertainty about a given variable's general predictive usefulness. For instance the fourth predictor listed, the S's own judgment about his assaultiveness, correlates -.0061 with the criterion. However, it happens that within the present sample this simple correlation contains positive overlap with Predictors 16, 3, and 1 which, when assumed by them in the first three of the regression's steps, allows S's judgment to correlate partially with the criterion at -.1932. This admits the predictor into the equation ahead of Criminal record whose simple correlation is .1851. In view of such compounding of sampling error by the sensitive interdependence of predictors within the equations, it is safe to conclude that the shorter of the two formulas -- in spite of its lower multiple r^2 -- will probably meet with the happier predictive results among the full population of adolescent homosexual prison inmates.

Frequency polygons. Each S's raw scores on Predictors 16, 3, 1, and 13 were entered into the PRL_1 formula, and the scores on Predictors 16, 3, 1, 13, 14, 6, 19, 9, and 8 were entered into the PRL_2 formula, yielding in each case 51 PRL scores. The Ss were then

grouped into superimposed frequency polygons, the shapes of which are determined jointly by the criterion and PRL score frequencies (see Figures 1 and 2). The n of 31 "restrained" Ss was obtained by combining the one S scored as "overrestrained" with the 30 scored as "restrained." 20 Ss were scored as "troublesome" on Criterion 1, and none as "assaultive" or "dangerous." Inspection of Figure 1 shows that a cut-score of about 1.500 for entry into the decision rule, "If S_i's PRL_1 score $\leq$ ___, decide 'troublesome'; if $>$ ___, decide 'restrained'," would produce the maximum number of true decisions. Finally, the frequency polygons should not be considered representative of the formulas' unbiased applicability: the same raw scores used in computing the best possible formulas for predicting respective criterion scores are used a second time to produce the PRL scores presented graphically to indicate the formulas' "predictive" strength.

Cut-scores. A second way to obtain cut-scores for decision rules is to assume that the Ss to be categorized are normally distributed within their respective groups, and then to employ the formula, $X_{Cut} = \bar{\bar{X}}_{..} + \left(\frac{.50 - P_I}{P_I P_{II}}\right) \cdot \left(\frac{\hat{s}^2}{\bar{X}_I - \bar{X}_{II}}\right)$ (Harshbarger, 1971), where $\bar{\bar{X}}_{..}$ = the grand mean for all Ss to be discriminated, $\hat{s}^2$ = the variance for the same Ss, P_I = proportion of Ss in the larger of the discriminated categories, and $\bar{X}_I$ = the mean PRL score for the same larger group of Ss. The disadvantage of using this formula to obtain cut-scores is that it does not respect abnormalities of distribution to the extent that direct inspection of frequency polygons or of PRL scores themselves can. Assuming, however, that second and third samples will resemble a normal distribution more than they will the particular distribution of the sample used to compute the cut-score, cut-scores

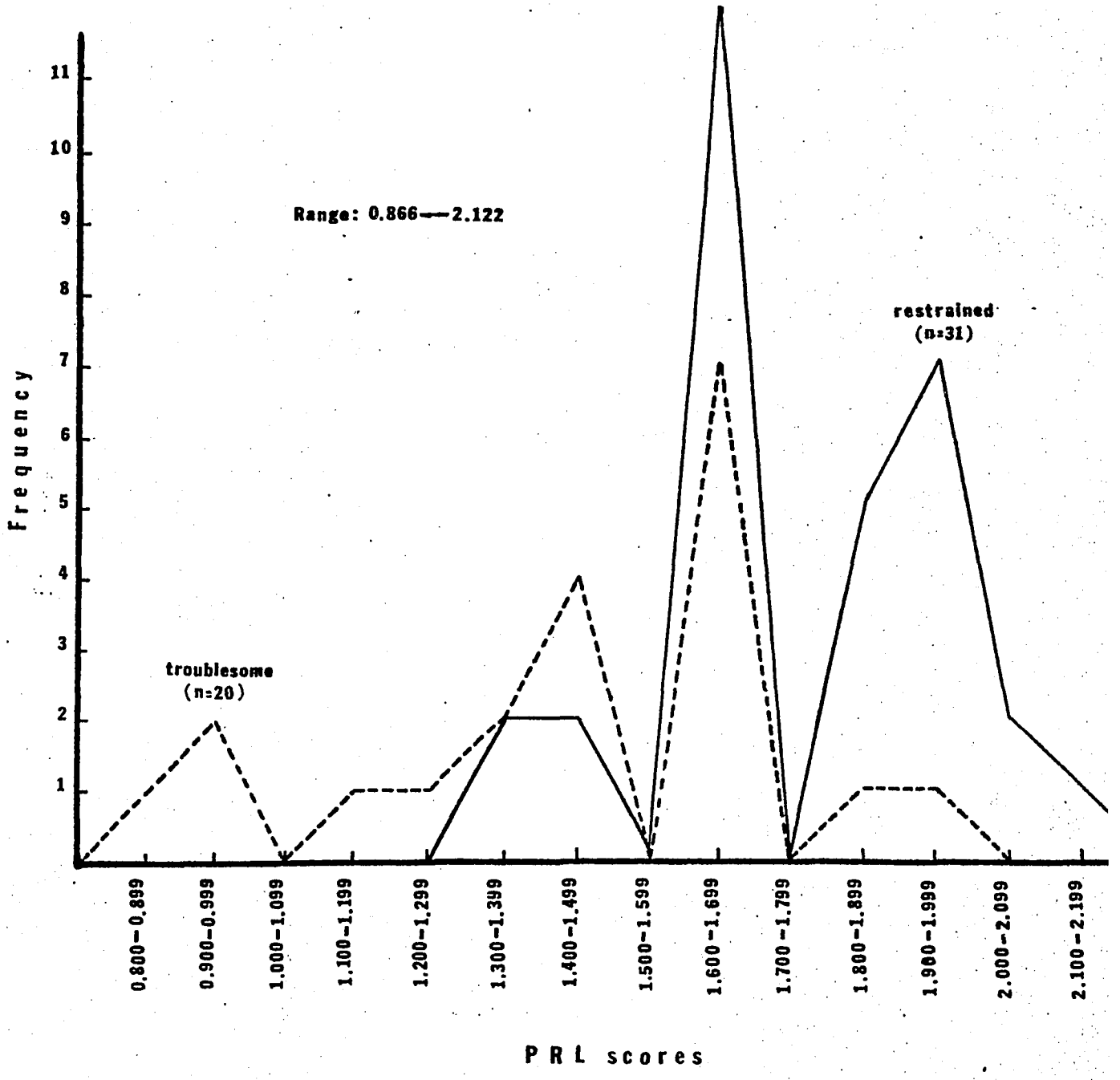

Figure 1: Predicted Restraint Level scores computed from Formula 1 and grouped accord to scores on Criterion 1.

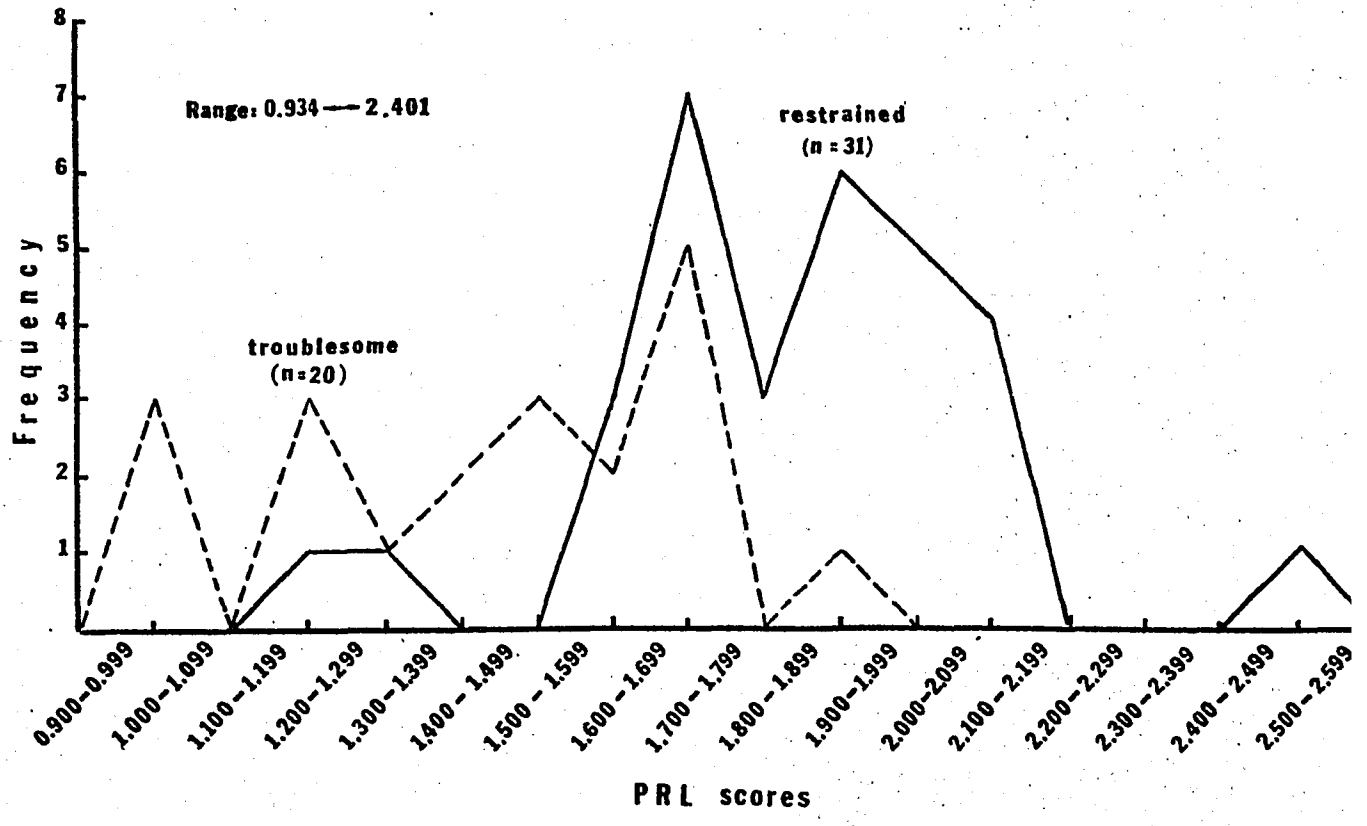

Fig. 2 Predicted Restraint Level scores computed from Formula 2 and grouped according to scores on Criterion 1.

TABLE 3

DECISIONS BASED ON CRITERION 1 PRL FORMULAS AND CUT-SCORES VERSUS CHANCE DECISIONS

Correctness of Decisions	Decisions		Total
	Troublesome	Restrained	
PRL_1 (Cut: 1.510)			
True	11	27	38
False	4	9	13
% True	73%	75%	75%
PRL_2 (Cut: 1.509)			
True	13	29	42
False	2	7	9
% True	87%	81%	82%
Chance Allocation of Ss (according to criterion frequencies)			
True	8	19	27
False	12	12	24
% True	30%	61%	53%
Chance Allocation of Ss (for maximum possible true decisions)			
True	0	31	31
False	0	20	20
% True	0%	61%	61%

obtained from the above formula will prove more widely applicable than those obtained from direct inspection of the data. The cut-scores computed for use with formulas 1 and 2, and the true and false decisions that result from using these scores to categorize the present study's Ss' PRL_1 and PRL_2 scores, are presented in Table 3.

As earlier with the PRL scores' distribution, the proportion of true decisions in Table 3 is inflated: the same PRL scores used to compute the cut-scores are here categorized by the cut-scores. The present results thus contain three levels of bias. They can be summarized as follows: indeterminately biased formulas (1) are used to compute PRL scores from the same raw predictor scores used in deriving the formulas (2); finally cut-scores are used to control decisions about the same PRL scores used to compute the cut-scores (3). Refined versions of the present study's formulas and cut-scores should be used to generate and categorize the PRL scores of new samples. The impressive, though biased, decision results of Table 3 (and Tables 5 and 7) suggest that such refinements are well worth examining.

2. Criterion 2 (Rule Infractions)

With F-to-enter maintained at 1.5, five predictors are entered into the equation with Criterion 2. These predictors and other appropriate aspects of the first regression on Criterion 2 are described in Table 4. As Table 4 also indicates, lowering the F-to-enter threshold to .5 allows just one more predictor to enter the equation. Barely excluded are Interviewer's judgment (F=.482) and Paternal beatings (F=.441). The overall F ratio is affected slightly by the addition of the new predictor, and the amount of variance accounted for is increased

TABLE 4

REGRESSIONS ON RULE INFRACTION SCORES (CRITERION 2)

Predictor	Descriptive Data				
	Raw beta (coefficient)	F when entered	Final F	Partial corr. in final step	Simple corr. with criterion
			F-to-enter: 1.5		
Officer's 1-week judgment (#17)	.8391	3.037	14.608	.4950	.4584
Paternal rejection (#4)	-.2930	3.600	1.592	-.1848	-.0992
AOR score (#18)	.0474	1.766	2.795	.2418	.1278
Age (#9)	.6057	2.239	3.426	.2660	.2594
Infraction record (#15)	.1976	2.659	2.659	.2362	.1845
Constant: -.0595					
Multiple r: .6020					
F: 5.115 ($p < .001$)					
Multiple r^2: .3624					
PRL_3 = .8391(#17) - .2930(#4) + .0474(#18) + .6057(#9) + .1976(#15) - .0595					
			F-to-enter: .5		
Officer's 1-week judgment (#17)	.8223	13.037	14.059	.4921	.4584
Paternal rejection (#4)	-.2562	3.600	1.203	-.1631	-.0992
AOR score (#18)	.0464	1.766	2.685	.2398	.1278
Age (#9)	.6142	2.239	3.544	.2730	.2594
Infraction record (#15)	.1835	2.659	2.285	.2222	.2594
S's own judgment (#13)	.2189	1.300	1.300	.1694	.1969
Constant: -.2158					
Multiple r: .6170					
F: 4.508 ($p < .001$)					
Multiple r^2: .3807					
PRL_4 = .8223(#17) - .2562(#4) + .0464(#18) + .6142(#9) + .1835(#15) + .2189(#13) - .2158					

by less than 2%.

A comparison of Table 4 with Table 2 reconfirms the sharp diversity between the two basic criteria used in the study. In the critical upper part of the tables, none of the predictors entered into the formula for PRL_1 is admitted to the formula for PRL_3, and vice versa. Furthermore, when the lower parts of the tables are compared, only one variable, Age, is seen to gain entry with the same sign value into both formulas. S's own judgment is entered with a negative partial correlation and weight into formulas 1 and 2 whereas in formula 4 its value is positive. Thus 13 of the 20 predictors are used in the first four formulas, and of the 13 only one, Age, contributes similarly to the prediction of both criteria in question.

The diverse predictive functions of S's own judgment can be explained as follows. In predicting overt rule infractions, the variable functions in a straightforward way, yielding a .1969 simple correlation and .1694 partial correlation with the criterion. In predicting the more personal "troublesome" judgment of Criterion 1, however, the variable functions ambiguously: the inmate who sees himself as "assaultive" understands this term more in the overt, Criterion 2, sense than in the sense of Criterion 1, and thus a near zero simple correlation (-.0061) is registered. That is, the regular officer may or may not find such inmates to be troublesome in the personal sense. Indeed, the inmates judged troublesome by the regular officer probably consume more staff time and energy than do those whose troublesomeness is more overt and strictly physical. Warden Morris Oslyn of Rikers Island (personal communication) found, for example, that a group of the more "aggressive" inmates proved more successful in a prison rehabilitation program than

did the more "passive" ones. And paranoia, when viewed in a paradoxically positive light, can be seen as the congealing of what might otherwise be a troublesomely boundary-less self, a self that by being no self becomes a clinging burden to others.

Criminal record (Predictor 14) might be the anomaly. It could be asked why this predictor does not line up with those that predict the overt criterion the way Infraction record does. It correlates .1851 with Officer's Judgment and just .0094 with Rule Infractions. In light of what is said above about staff energy, rehabilitation probabilities, and burdensome clinging, however, a case could be made for the more positive relationship between the assaultiveness of the Ss' criminal records and their troublesomeness to their regular officer. By shifting from a phallic conception of assaultive criminal behavior to a more primitively oral framework, the habitually assaultive criminal could be viewed more as feeding -- desperately, hungrily, and in a primarily passive fashion -- off the resources about him, than as acting creatively or decisively out of some inner fullness that he possesses. This change in focus would both respect the findings of the present study and challenge popular assumptions that invest robbers, killers, kidnappers, and even rapists with an active and mysteriously exciting resourcefulness.

Figures 3 and 4 present the frequency polygons generated by the PRL_3 and PRL_4 scores respectively, grouped according to scores obtained on Criterion 2. Both figures show some overlap between the extreme categories, assaultive and restrained. But the greatest amount of overlap occurs between the sprawling troublesome category and each extreme. The advantage of this distribution of overlap lies in the

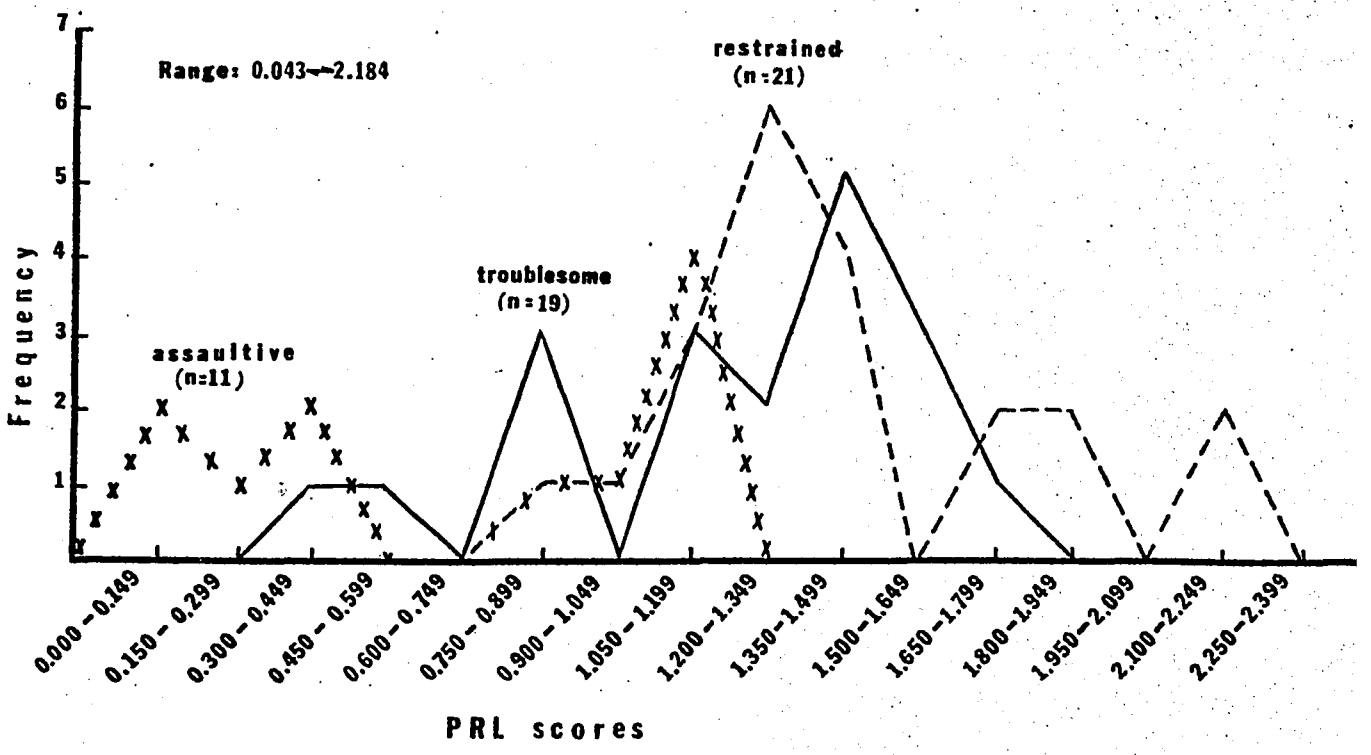

Fig. 3 Predicted Restraint Level scores computed from Formula 3 and grouped according to scores on Criterion 2.

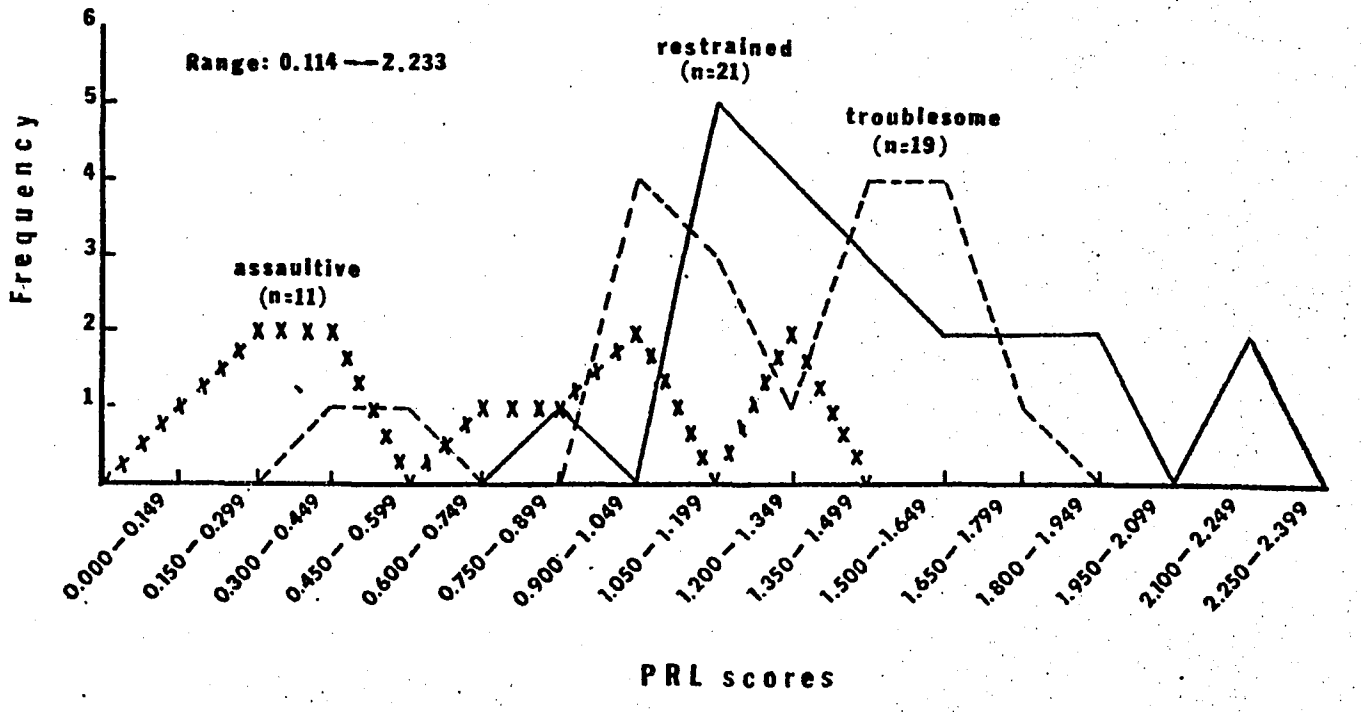

Figure 4: Predicted Restraint Level scores computed from Formula 4 and grouped according to scores on Criterion 2.

effect of false decisions: with most overlap entailing the middle category, relatively few of the false decisions will place actual assaultive Ss in the restrained category, or vice versa; the effective cost of erroneous decisions is thus greatly reduced. Because several options are open in Figure 3 for choosing the best cut-scores visually, the scores of 0.500 and 1.700 can be chosen, thereby expanding the central category and reducing error costs. These cut-scores would yield only true and "near hit" erroneous decisions, and thus prevent all two-categories-away errors from occurring. The shapes in Figure 4, on the other hand, do not permit the same arbitrary kind of expansion of the central category; indeed, if the cut-scores were to be obtained from the PRL_4 polygons visually, only a sliver of the graph, from 0.850 to 1.070, could be labeled troublesome, and thus several distant errors would occur.

Use of the cut-score formula produces the decision results presented in Table 5. Though visual cutting of both sets of PRL scores would have produced more true decisions in both instances than do the formulated cut-scores, the latter scores produce exclusively near hit kinds of errors in both cases. As is clear from the contrasting results of chance decision-making in Table 5, and from Table 8 (below, p.68), use of the PRL formulas and cut-scores serves both to yield a greater proportion of true decisions than chance, and to guide false decisions consistently into categories closer to their true categories. This latter sorting by the predictive instrument makes up for the decrease in proportion of true PRL_3 and PRL_4 decisions, when compared with the PRL_1 and PRL_2 results: with the added category, there are more kinds of sorting accomplished by the instrument.

TABLE 5

DECISIONS BASED ON CRITERION 2 PRL FORMULAS AND CUT-SCORES

VERSUS CHANCE DECISIONS

Correctness of Decisions	Decisions			Total
	Assaultive	Troublesome	Restrained	
PRL_3 (Cuts: 0.783; 1.278)				
True	5	7	14	26
False	2_T 0_R	6_A 7_R	0_A 10_T	25
% True	71%	35%	58%	51%
PRL_4 (Cuts: 0.784; 1.284)				
True	6	7	13	26
False	2_T 0_R	5_A 8_R	0_A 10_T	25
% True	75%	35%	57%	51%
Chance Allotment				
True	2	7	9	18
False	4_T 5_R	5_A 7_R	4_A 8_T	33
% True	18%	37%	43%	35%

3. Criterion 3 (Sum of Criteria 1 and 2)

Criterion 3 scores were obtained by adding the Ss' scores on Criterion 1 (2 or 1) to their scores on Criterion 2 (2, 1, or 0). At the 1.5 F-to-enter level, five predictors were entered into the equation with this composite criterion (see Table 6). Four of the five predictors, Officer's 1-week judgment, Age, Infraction record, and AOR score, are also found in the shorter of the Rule Infractions formulas (Table 4), whereas just one, Interviewer's judgment, is found in the shorter of the Officer's Judgment formulas (Table 2). Though Age is found in the longer Officer's Judgment formula, and though Maternal rejection and Paternal beatings, both predictors of Officer's Judgment, gain entry into the longer equation with Criterion 3, it is clear that the predictors of Rule Infractions predominate in the formulas computed to predict Criterion 3. This is due both to the greater role played by the more varied Rule Infractions scores in determining the size of Criterion 3's composite scores and to the greater control exercised by the first predictor entered into the equation, Officer's 1-week judgment, over the entry of subsequent variables.

The AOR score's predictive function with the composite criterion is doubly surprising, as it is also in its regression on the Rule Infractions scores. In each instance, after having shown a relatively low simple correlation with its criterion (.0557 and .1278 respectively), the AOR score entered the equation with markedly higher partial correlations (.2131 and .1903 respectively). More unexpected than this, however, is the predictor's value. AOR score correlated positively with the two criteria, and thus represents a positive correlate of restraint levels. This result contradicts the hypothesized inverse relationship

TABLE 6

REGRESSIONS ON SUM OF CRITERIA 1 AND 2 (CRITERION 3)

Predictor	Descriptive Data				
	Raw beta (coefficient)	F when entered	Final F	Partial corr. in final step	Simple corr. with criterion
			F-to-enter: 1.5		
Officer's 1-week judgment (#17)	.7652	11.898	6.944	.3656	.4420
Interviewer's judgment (#16)	.3183	3.307	4.801	.3105	.3458
Age (#9)	1.0199	3.419	5.663	.3343	.2501
Infraction record (#15)	.2791	2.869	3.089	.2535	.1989
AOR score (#18)	.0554	2.140	2.140	.2131	.0557
Constant: .5139					
Multiple r: .6020					
F: 5.273 ($p < .001$)					
Multiple r^2: .3695					
PRL_5 = .7652(#17) + .3183(#16) + 1.0199(#9) + .2791(#15) + .0554(#18) + .5139					
			F-to-enter: .5		
Officer's 1-week judgment (#17)	.8099	11.898	6.635	.3732	.4420
Interviewer's judgment (#16)	.3478	3.307	4.901	.3268	.3458
Age (#9)	.8244	3.419	3.247	.2709	.2501
Infraction record (#15)	.2537	2.869	2.419	.2360	.1989
AOR score (#18)	.0405	2.140	1.054	.1583	.0557
Maternal rejection (#3)	.4809	1.459	.974	.1523	.2348
Paternal beatings (#6)	-.2057	.699	1.437	-.1840	-.0782
Paternal rejection (#4)	-.3090	.920	.900	-.1465	-.0505
Maternal beatings (#5)	-.1345	.522	.522	-.1121	-.0475
Constant: .4376					
Multiple r: .6479					
F: 3.295 ($p < .004$)					
Multiple r^2: .4197					
PRL_6 = .8099(#17) + .3478(#16) + .8244(#9) + .2537(#15) + .0405(#18) + .4809(#3) - .2057(#6) - .3090(#4) - .1345(#5) + .4376					

between the Acting-Out Ratio and restraint, and consequently puts the value of including The Hand Test's AOR score among the present predictors into serious doubt (see below, Chapter IV).

Reasons for Paternal beatings' and Paternal rejection's negative correlations with the criterion could lie in the near total lack of paternal influence of any kind among the study's Ss: within this framework, paternal rejection implies a presence, at least, on the father's part. Beatings add an element of active paternal intervention, and possibly concern, in the life of the S. A reason for the unexpected inverse relationship between Maternal beatings and the criterion could lie in the homosexual nature of the Ss. The feminine identity taken on by many of the Ss often entails a near symbiotic relationship between themselves and their mother, grandmother, or other mother surrogate. Maternal beatings, among this sample, could stand as an antidote to the symbiosis, and thus spell the possibility for some autonomous selfhood in the son. Maternal rejection, on the other hand, seems to serve as too strong an antidote (see above, part C).

Figures 5 and 6 depict the distribution of PRL_5 and PRL_6 scores within the four categories of Criterion 3 scores. As in Figures 3 and 4, it is clear that most of the overlap can be assumed by a sprawling central category, and that error costs can thereby be kept at a minimum. When the PRL formulas and formulated cut-scores perform the sorting, the predicted outcomes, as contrasted with chance outcomes, occur as presented on Table 7. Again, as with the PRL_3 and PRL_4 decisions, the formulas and cut-scores far outperform chance, both in the proportion of true decisions and in the extent, or distance, of decision

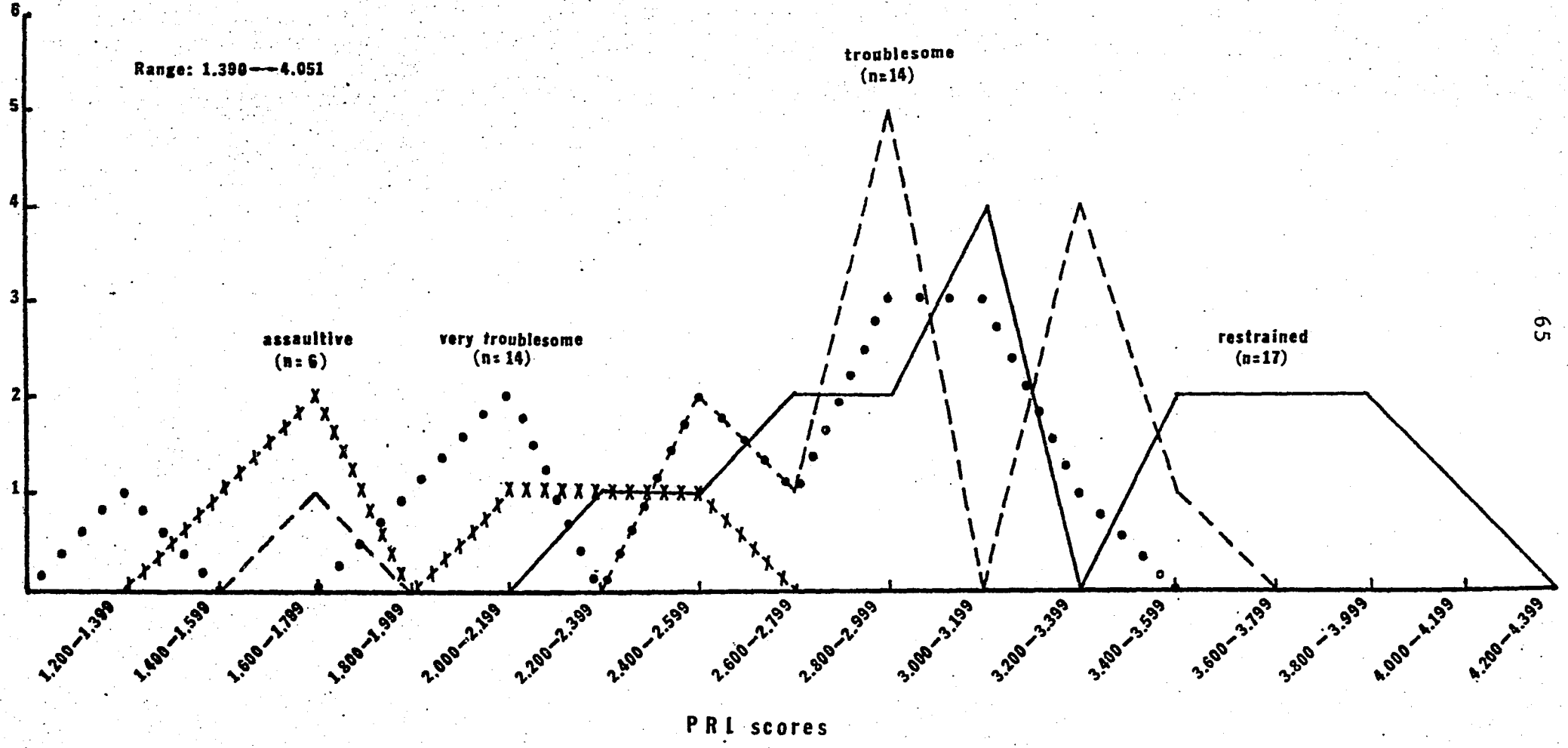

Figure 5. Predicted Restraint Level scores computed from Formula 5 and grouped according to scores on Criterion 3.

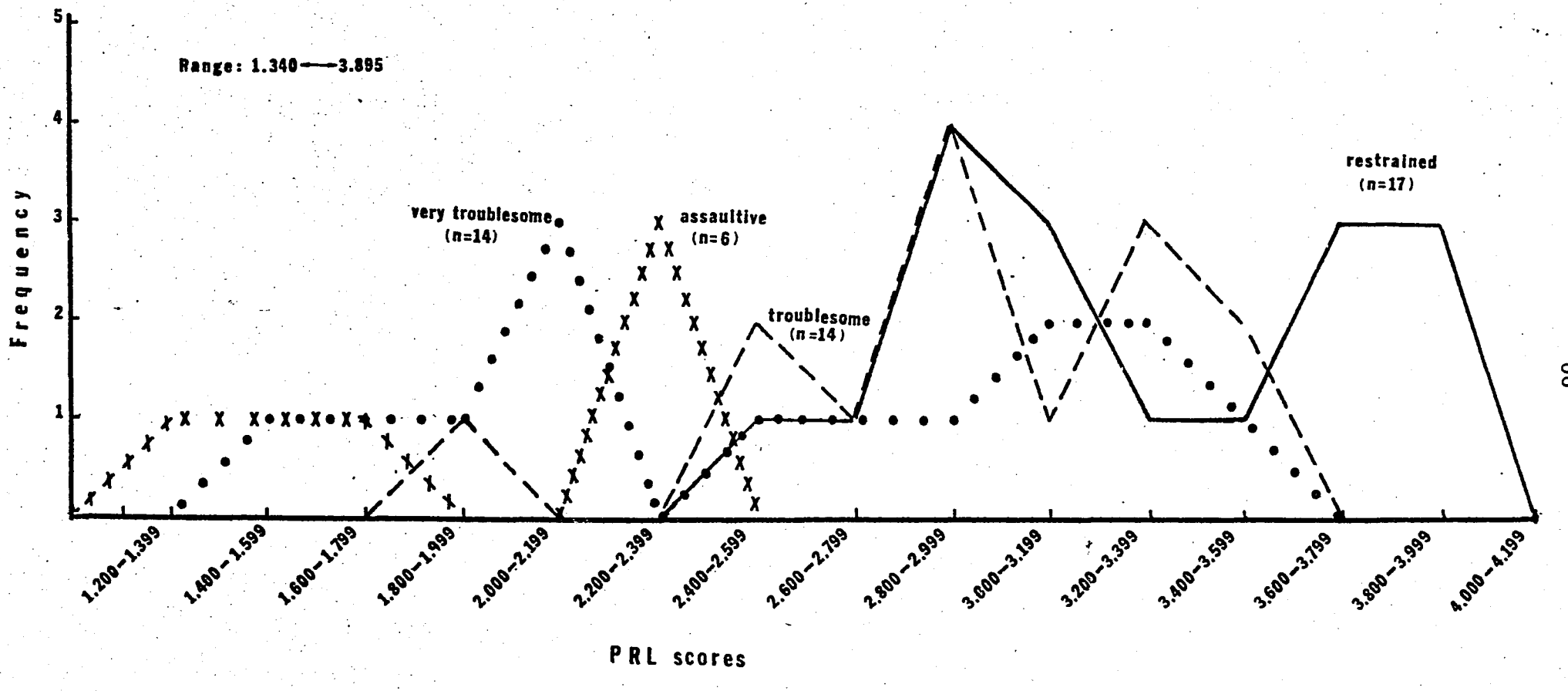

Fig. 6 Predicted Restraint Level scores computed from Formula 6 and grouped according to scores on Criterion 3.

TABLE 7

DECISIONS BASED ON CRITERION 3 PRL FORMULAS AND CUT-SCORES VERSUS CHANCE DECISIONS

Correctness of Decisions	Decisions				Total
	Assaultive	Very Troublesome	Troublesome	Restrained	
PRL_5 (Cuts: 1.903; 2.770; 2.917)					
True	3	5	4	12	24
False	2_{VT} 1_T 0_R	3_A 3_T 3_R	0_A 2_{VT} 2_R	0_A 5_{VT} 6_T	27
% True	50%	36%	50%	52%	47%
PRL_6 (Cuts: 1.704; 2.747; 2.992)					
True	2	6	5	11	24
False	2_{VT} 0_T 0_R	4_A 3_T 2_R	0_A 1_{VT} 4_R	0_A 5_{VT} 6_T	27
% True	50%	40%	50%	50%	47%
Chance Allotment					
True	1	4	4	6	15
False	2_{VT} 1_T 2_R	1_A 4_T 5_R	2_A 4_{VT} 4_R	2_A 4_{VT} 5_T	36
% True	17%	29%	29%	35%	29%

TABLE 8

EXTENT OF DECISION ERROR RELATIVE TO DECISION METHOD USED

(in % of false decisions)

Decision Method	Distance from true category		
	near hits	2 categories away	3 categories away
Criterion 2			
PRL_3 & cut-scores	100%	0%	
PRL_4 & cut-scores	100%	0%	
chance	73%	27%	
Criterion 3			
PRL_5 & cut-scores	67%	33%	0%
PRL_6 & cut-scores	74%	26%	0%
chance	56%	33%	11%

error (see Table 8).

E. A Second Look at the Predictors

As seen above, two clinical predictors, Interviewer's judgment and Officer's 1-week judgment, correlate best with the criteria. To determine the extent of the contribution made by these two predictors, and in order to see whether the controlling strength of the two predictors prevents the entry of otherwise useful predictors into the formulas, the six regression equations were recalculated, leaving out the two clinical predictors. Table 9 shows the effect their absence has on each of the six equations. The two equations for Criterion 3 are most affected by the absence, since both predictors function strongly in these equations.

Because already-entered predictors strongly determine which new predictors gain entry into a regression formula, the exclusion of Predictors 16 and 17 makes way for the entry of new predictors and new combinations of predictors. The predictors entered, with the new entries underscored, are the following: for Criterion 1 at F=1.5, ##3, 10, & 14 and at F=.5, ##4, 19, 6, and 5 are added; for Criterion 2 at F=1.5, ##9, 15, 18, & 13 and at F=.5, ##5, & 1 are added; for Criterion 3 at F=1.5, ##9, 15, & 3 and at F=.5, ##10, 20, & 11 are added. In spite of the new availability of Predictors 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, and 20 to the equations, it is clear from Table 9 that the removal of Predictors 16 and 17 results much more in a loss of overall predictive power than in the uncovering of powerful new predictors. Predictor 10 comes closest to constituting a discovery, and its entry as the second predictor in the Criterion 1 formula (F=1.5) increases the

TABLE 9

CONTRIBUTION OF CLINICAL PREDICTORS, ## 16 AND 17

F-to-enter	Equation status	Equation statistics			
		mult. r	mult. r^2	F	p
		Criterion 1			
1.5	16 & 17 in	.5410	.2927	4.759	.003
	16 & 17 out	.4401	.1937	3.764	.017
	difference	.1009	.0990	.995	
.5	16 & 17 in	.6144	.3755	2.762	.013
	16 & 17 out	.5210	.2714	2.289	.044
	difference	.0934	.1041	.473	
		Criterion 2			
1.5	16 & 17 in	.6020	.3624	5.115	.001
	16 & 17 out	.4275	.1827	2.571	.050
	difference	.1745	.1797	2.544	
.5	16 & 17 in	.6170	.3807	4.508	.001
	16 & 17 out	.4568	.2087	1.934	.096
	difference	.1602	.1720	2.574	
		Criterion 3			
1.5	16 & 17 in	.6020	.3695	5.273	.001
	16 & 17 out	.3990	.1592	2.966	.041
	difference	.2030	.2103	2.307	
.5	16 & 17 in	.6479	.4197	3.295	.004
	16 & 17 out	.4455	.1985	1.816	.117
	difference	.2024	.2212	1.479	

multiple r^2 by just .0414.

* * *

To sum up, the pages of Chapter III describe statistical relationships between 20 predictors and 3 criteria. The best single predictors of the personally trying behavior reflected in the regular officer's judgments (Criterion 1) are Interviewer's judgment and Maternal rejection; the best single predictors of the more external kind of destructive behavior, reflected in infraction reports (Criterion 2), are Officer's 1-week judgment and Age. As Tables 3, 5, 7, and 8 indicate, the formulas that combine these four predictors with others perform much better in assigning Ss to prescribed categories than would random assignment. Nonetheless the formulas, as predictive instruments, require marked refinement before being given regular use within a prison classification or screening procedure. The personally trying behavior as such however, the behavior reflected in the Regular Officer's Judgment, merits immediate administrative attention, a subject that constitutes a major concern of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Viability of Study's Method

The use of the stepwise multiple linear regression method has been explained as a way to gain needed information. The loss in universal applicability of the formulas as a result of the stepping procedure has also been discussed. It is hoped that the stepping procedure will become unnecessary by making it possible eventually for researchers to construct effective multiple linear regression formulas grounded strictly in information derived from prior studies. It is within the dynamic of some such progression of studies that the present work's exploratory bent finds its meaning.

Within this dynamic toward valid prediction, the present study has confirmed two closely related methodological principles cited earlier. First, on the theory that a many-faceted information gathering mechanism is more effective than a single interview or projective test, the judgments of the Ss themselves and of a prison officer, and the criminal and infraction records of the Ss, were all engaged as predictors. As the results have demonstrated, one of these enlargements of the information-gathering mechanism, the officer's judgment, served as the best of the twenty predictors, and the other three obtained relatively high simple correlations with one or the other of the two basic criteria. Thus the study confirms the advisability of enlisting predictive information from diverse sources.

The second principle followed in the study consists in a more defined form of the above principle, namely, that three different kinds

of predictors should be employed. Each of the three types recommended in Chapter II -- clinical, life-history, and projective predictors -- has gained entry into at least one of the regression equations. Thus the more defined form of the "diverse predictors" principle has also been confirmed. Let us briefly consider the predictive role of each of the three types.

1. Clinical predictors

In his compelling challenge to the specifically predictive function of the clinician, Meehl (1959) cites eighteen studies in which clinicians' predictive efficiency was found to be equal or inferior to the efficiency of actuarial data formulated in various strictly statistical ways. In several of the studies cited, Meehl appeals to the relatively poor showing of clinical variables used in regression equations along with "objective," non-clinical, variables. The preeminent role of Predictors 16 and 17 in the present work's formulas constrasts sharply with this part of Meehl's overall challenge. Furthermore, Formulas PRL_5 and PRL_6 lose more than half of their predictive power, in the form of their respective multiple r^2's, when Predictors 16 and 17 are removed from them (see Table 9, p.70). Finally, a difference between multiple r^2's for the strictly clinical as opposed to non-clinical predictors in the formulas PRL_5 and PRL_6 also favors the clinical predictors: the multiple r^2 for the two clinical predictors taken alone is .2472, for each formula, whereas for the non-clinical predictors it is .1592 and .1985 respectively. The present study's clinical predictors have thus proved to be extremely useful.

Clinical predictors should therefore provide major predictive contributions in future studies. A classification study, for instance, could include regular contact between new inmates and a clinician that parallels their contact with the predicting officer, and thereby perhaps improve the interviewer's predictions. An extremely valuable clinical prediction might be gained through discreetly administered peer ratings. These were impossible in the present study, but within a classification setting, a routine questionnaire administered after one or two weeks could include questions about the "pushiness" and the "even-temperedness" of oneself as compared to each of the other inmates in the setting. A distinct sociometric matrix would result from each variable. Finally, the S's own assault expectation, a relatively good clinical predictor of Rule Infractions, might be paralleled by the S's judgment about his troublesomeness, or his "burdensome dependence" on staff energies.

2. Life-history predictors

Reasons why the maternal variables showed a greater predictive pwer than the paternal ones have been touched on briefly above. The mother is the parent who was generally more present to the Ss and who therefore has provided the greater amount of variance to be dealt with, both by the child and the researcher. The low and negative correlations on the paternal rejection and beating scores has been similarly explained as an effect of frequent paternal absence.

The low correlations for Paternal rejection could arise as a joint effect of: 1) active paternal rejection, implying at least a physical presence of the father; and 2) the son's loss of self-confidence

as a result of the rejection. The negative impact of the latter effect is canceled by the positive effect of the father's presence. Similarly the paternal beatings represent not only the violence, anger, and rejection inherent in beatings; they also attest to the father's presence and to an active engagement in the life of the son. For both predictors, then, some canceling of effect could be taking place, but a canceling that is intelligible only in light of the normative paternal absence.

To improve the effectiveness of the paternal predictors, the social context of the father's behavior toward the inmate -- specifically, the meaning the behavior had for the inmate when he was young -- would have to be more clearly determined than has been done in the present work. For reasons of available variance, however, it would be more productive to concentrate first on refining the maternal predictors in this way. To improve the overall contribution of life-history predictors, the MMPI, its shortened form, or other tried questionnaire measures might be added to the instrument -- granted the time, resources, and Ss' reading ability required for their administration are available. (For the somewhat encouraging results of an extensive battery of such tests administered to Louisiana prison inmates with high and low disciplinary report ratings, see Sutker and Moan, 1972.)

3. Projective predictors.

Among the correlations between predictors themselves (see Appendix C), Parental expectations correlates remarkable well with the three projective Hand Test predictors (Predictors 18, 19, and 20). Thus high parental expectations among the present study's Ss serves as

an indicator of frequent projective responses entailing aggression, direction, and particularly communication (the last being included only in Predictor 20, Assault-Proneness, which correlates .48 with Parental expectations). The direction, or order-giving, responses could be traceable to an imitation of high-expectation parents, and the communication responses to the questionnaire's explicit inclusion of school performance as a parental expectation. High parental expectations also point to lower frequencies among the fear, dependence, and affection responses.

Thus high Parental expectations scores, correlating as expected with high restraint levels on Officer's Judgment (Criterion 1), point to relatively fearless, independent, authoritarian, aggressive, and interpersonally active (communicative) individuals. But as mentioned above they point also to persons who come off in all three acting-out formulas of The Hand Test as having high acting-out propensities. Besides underscoring what has already been suggested about the weakness or lack of autonomy that lies behind acting-out, this anomaly raises questions about the validity of The Hand Test's content scoring procedure. When the following three factors are added to the anomaly: 1)the AOR score's positive predictive contribution to high restraint levels in Rule Infractions and the composite criterion; 2) Parental expectations' .32 correlation with restraint levels on past infractions; 3) Assaultiveness of criminal record correlating -.10, -.01, and .02 respectively with the three Hand Test predictors -- it becomes clear that the very Hand Test responses intended as indicators of acting-out propensities (direction, aggression, communication in Assault-Proneness) may be equally indicative of an independence or

fearlessness that makes destructive behavior unnecessary. The .48 correlation between Parental expectations and Assault-Proneness serves as the clearest signal that terms like aggression, direction, and dependence could be more ambiguous *vis à vis* acting-out than descriptive or predictive.

For the future, in addition to exploring projective measures cited in Chapter II, resources permitting, a test that measures the *S*'s sense of his own autonomy might be devised. It could draw on theories of field dependence and independence and of self-esteem, and could model itself after the Rorschach human movement responses and the HIT Barrier score. The full predictive instrument should, in any event, include some useful projective technique. In the present study only the AGG score gained entry into one of the equations with an appropriately negative value.

To sum up, in future studies the apparent excellence of clinical predictors should be fully exploited; the life-history predictors should be focused more sharply to bring out the meaning the historical facts had for the *S* at the time they occurred and other questionnaires might be explored; finally, in view of the disappointing results of The Hand Test, other projective devices -- possibly new measures that focus specifically on the *S*'s sense of autonomy -- should be explored. A simultaneous search for all three kinds of predictors, conforming as it does to the methodological principles discussed above, serves as a systematic way to meet the statistical need for predictors that are independent of one another. Different kinds of predictive information can be expected to be more independent of one ano-

ther than information of the same kind, other factors being equal, since predictors carry peripheral yet predictively effective determinants, or "noise," along with themselves that overlaps solely with predictors of their own kind.

B. Costly Personal Destructiveness

Immaturity, dependence, manipulativeness, insolence, contemptuousness, and other forms of personally trying behavior -- this is hardly the behavior that comes to mind when one thinks of "destructive prison behavior." It is this behavior, however, that the regular officer who supervised the present study's Ss seems to have found most "troublesome." With personally trying behavior wearing away at front-line officers on a daily basis, it is not surprising that they look to desk jobs and other positions beyond the range of such pressures as a refuge for themselves. Somewhat unexpectedly, then, a distinct personal kind of destructive behavior has come to light in the present study in addition to the physically destructive kind anticipated at the outset.

Undoubtedly the personal destructiveness strongly affects administrative concerns like staff morale, job turnover, and the personal life of staff off the job. The problem of the personally destructive behavior could be partially and immediately met by acknowledging it as a major challenge for the correction officer and providing training appropriate for him to deal with it in a professional fashion. For the training to bring about lasting improvements in prison life, it should be rooted in valid principles of human interaction.

The present study's predictors that correlate well with the regular officer's judgment provide some clues about the behavior in question.

A thorough understanding of the effects of maternal or paternal rejection, for example, could prepare a correction officer for the obnoxious behavior he faces. Armed with such understanding, the officer could view rejected inmates as suffering from feelings of rootlessness, and from a passionate hunger to "belong," to be rooted in a personal way. The officer could then see that the inmate, lacking the thoroughgoing acceptance he needs to truly belong, wrests the next best thing he can find from nearby authority figures: attention, of whatever sort. Finally the rejected inmate's whole involvement with the criminal justice system -- his involvement with arresting officers, with judges, with correctional personnel, and with parole officers -- could be seen as one grand appropriation of the needed attention.

If a correction officer views personally trying behavior in the above kind of way, he begins to see the behavior with more objectivity. The objectivity, in turn, makes it possible for him to see the behavior as originating within the inmate's history, rather than as a strictly personal response against himself. The officer's objectivity thus removes much of the sting from the behavior, thereby helping him fortify and maintain the emotional control so essential to his profession.

Karen Horney's description (1945) of human interaction can also provide an objective framework within which correctional staff can deal with obnoxious inmate behavior. She sees a person's way of interacting as a complex interplay of his tendencies to "move toward," "move against," and "move away from" others. In each person, one of the tendencies appears as dominant, while the other tendencies can be functioning nonetheless forcefully under the surface. The complexity of this interplay has practical interpersonal repercussions. For

example, an officer who feels pestered by an immature inmate's dependence on him may understand the inmate's behavior simply as one of "moving toward" him. As a result the officer feels exasperated: how can he feel pestered by, and angry at, someone who needs him, looks up to him, depends on him? Unless he realizes that the inmate's clinging can be stemming from a resentful hunger for human contact and thus mean a "moving against" as well as a moving toward, he will feel paralysed in his efforts to relate his anger to the inmate's behavior.

Conversely, behavior that appears as "moving against" others may entail as much "moving toward" or "moving away" as it does "against." Insolence, insults, and even assault can function as ways to extort attention and human closeness from others, or as ways to assert one's difference and independence from them. The wrestler's embrace dramatizes the first of these paradoxes, and the "sweep" (tackling the opponent by use of one leg, keeping oneself free) the second. Thus "moving toward" and "moving against" can each represent complex undercurrents, and thus the behaviors require patient and rather unconventional understanding. A proficiency in recognizing and responding to such behavioral complexities should greatly enhance the humanizing function of the correction officer, and as a byproduct should boost his morale.

C. What to Do

On September 26, 1973, on the testimony of a psychiatrist quoting a social worker who had allegedly interviewed family members of the defendant, a 32-year-old Puerto Rican prisoner was declared "dangerous" by the presiding judge at the Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital Court in

New York City. On the basis of the evidence presented, the defendant could or could not constitute a threat to others' welfare. He will nonetheless be defined and treated as "dangerous" at the Mattewan State Prison for dangerous offenders to which he was sent. Thus, through a socially sanctioned decision-making process, a man has been branded with a frightening adjective, and disposed of accordingly.

Clearly the problem with such a process, or with any procedure used to differentiate the dangerous or troublesome from the non-dangerous or non-troublesome is that the differentiation itself may define a person in such a way that both he and his associates come to treat him more in terms of the characteristic assigned him than in terms of his full repertoire of capabilities and past deeds. This is counterproductive in that it quashes what resources there may be for the development of a secure, autonomous self. "Dangerous," "assaultive," and "troublesome" should be viewed whenever possible as bristling thornily within the personality's full bouquet of characteristics rather than as solitary growths unaccompanied by blossoms of any kind. Or, to view the problem again in light of Horney's conception of the "conspicuous" attitude: the undercurrents of less conspicuous attitudes should not be lost sight of when dealing with someone who presents himself, or who is presented, as a troublesome or assaultive individual.

Thus when inmates are classified as "personally troublesome," for example, they should be assigned to treatment units staffed by persons able to view the behavior with the kind of objectivity discussed earlier, and to respond effectively to the less conspicuous as well as more conspicuous attitudes. A policy of classifying and treating per-

sonally troublesome inmates in this way would entail initial costs -- financially, in officer training, and in the ongoing program development research required for the policy's lasting success. But the implementation of the policy would serve as an informed and definite response to the following criticism of New York State prisons voiced by the state's Special Commission on Attica:

> "Security" has continued to be the /state prison system's/ dominant theme: the fantasy of reform /of inmates/ legitimized prisons but the functionalism of custody has perpetuated them. (Attica. Bantam PB, 1972, p.2.)

D. Informed Program Development

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice predicts that in 1975 almost two million Americans will be living behind bars. The treatment to be provided this population certainly merits careful planning. Basic to planning is the procurement of different kinds of pertinent information.

The present study, for instance, provides two widely different kinds of planning information. First, it provides information about the relative usefulness of predictors, both of physically and of personally destructive behavior. The search for this information was motivated by the conviction that the physically troublesome and assaultive behavior is problematic and therefore something to be screened for and treated. The study's second piece of information consists in a new similar kind of conviction. The study concludes that the inmates' personally troublesome and assaultive behavior also constitutes a serious problem, and probably merits at least as much attention as does the physically troublesome and assaultive behavior. Thus the study has helped to specify a new problem area as well as to deal with

an already established one. Both pieces of information fit into the planning phase of a developing classification and treatment program.

Execution of a program follows its planning phase, and the execution should be accompanied by evaluation. The evaluative information is used to improve and expand the program. It is only when information is fed back into a program in some such systematic way that it can be known both that the program is developing and in what ways the development is taking place. The absence of ongoing program research in the past has led, in the words of the President's Commission, to "repetitive error" and to making it "impossible to pinpoint the reasons for success when success did occur" (Corrections, p.13). Hopefully information relevant to programs for the inmate population of 1975 will make it possible to multiply some successes and to avoid some repetitive errors. Millions of lives, outside as well as inside the prions' walls, depend on such information.

E. Further Related Planning Studies

Several studies could follow from the present work. Three suggestions that pertain to the predictive work of the present study will be made. These will be followed by one that pertains to the present study's finding about personal troublesomeness.

1. The present study could be cross-validated. This would entail carrying out the study largely as described in the above pages; but a new sample of sentenced adolescent homosexual inmates would be used, preferably from the same, New York City, prison system. Based on the present study's findings, more precise hypotheses about the predictors' relative weights could be made beforehand, and thereby much of the first

level of bias in the present study could be avoided.

2. The formulas obtained in the present work could be applied immediately to a new sample. The would constitute a sort of cross-validation, since the applicability of the present study's findings would be tested. If the present study's cut-scores were also employed, all three of the present study's levels of bias would be avoided; if new cut-scores were calculated from the new sample's PRL scores, the first two levels of bias would be circumvented. At the present stage of the formulas' development, however, neither of these attenuated forms of cross-validation is recommended.

3. The present study could be modified according to the suggestions made earlier (see above, section A): clinical predictors could be used to fuller advantage, ambiguity about parental rejection and beatings might be dispelled by determining the meaning the parents' behavior had for the inmate, and a more effective projective measure might be employed. As a further step, the three kinds of modifications could be employed while widening the cross-validation procedure described above (#1) to include samples that are more representative of the nation's prison population as a whole.

4. Finally, in view of the present study's finding that personal troublesomeness seems to be taking its own heavy toll within prison systems, a carefully randomized sample of correction officers could be studied with a view to determining the kinds of behavior that most bother them personally. To arrive at an ordered description of the behavior it would probably be necessary to conduct repeated interviews or to administer repeated questionnaires, with each step's format determined by the findings of the previous step. In addition to speci-

fying the behavior that is most troublesome to officers, the study would accomplish three other important objectives:

a) It would test the distinctive reality of the "personally troublesome behavior" discussed in the present study. That is, it would discover whether the interviewed officers are indeed troubled by a behavior that is convincingly different from the physically troublesome and assaultive behavior that administrators generally view as their chief behavioral problem.

b) It would shift the focus of psychological prison research more in the direction of inmates' personal, as opposed to strictly physical, ways of behaving. This shift, in addition to affecting inmates' personal behavior, could effect strong indirect changes in their physical behavior as well.

c) It would also highlight the personal, as opposed to strictly custodial, function of correction officers.

APPENDIX A

TREATMENT POSSIBILITIES FOR PHYSICALLY TROUBLESOME AND ASSAULTIVE INMATES

A treatment plan for dealing with personally troublesome inmates was presented above, in Chapter IV. Insights gained from a relevant predictor of the present study, Maternal rejection, and from Horney's concept of intertwined attitudes toward others were presented as possible ways for correctional staff to view behavior objectively. More specifically, it was suggested that staff be trained to recognize and respond to the more hidden attitudes of the troublesome inmates, as well as to their more conspicuous attitudes.

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a sampling of the kinds of plans available for dealing with physically troublesome and assaultive inmates. Several of the plans presented here have already been implemented, but with little pinpointing of reasons for success or failure. The remainder constitute more strictly theoretical suggestions for helping physically assaultive individuals modify their behavior.

Some institutions are geared completely toward helping the assaultive offender. Others' efforts are grossly inadequate. Three institutional approaches will be considered here, as instances of the kinds of thoroughgoing institutional efforts that can be made. An institution geared totally toward helping dangerous offenders change is located at Herstedvester, Denmark. Here inmates are encouraged to keep in touch with the outside world; are provided with private rooms, in clusters of twelve men to a living unit; and receive psychotherapeutic treatment

plans tailored to their individual needs, with "anamnestic analysis" being used most frequently, a therapy that aims to clarify habitual antisocial behavior patterns through the recognition of those patterns in conflicts within the institution itself (Stürup, 1968; Berlin, 1972). The Patuxent Institution in Maryland includes assaultive inmates in its program of changing behavior through graduated privilege levels. Group psychotherapy serves as the most frequent form of psychological treatment here, and a staff treatment team supervises all the activities of the inmates in a given unit (Goldfarb and Singer, 1970; Maryland, 1969; Schreiber, 1970; and see The New York Times Magazine, Sept.3, 1972, for a jaundiced report on the Patuxent program). Finally, and perhaps most encouragingly, an open therapeutic community in India, composed of staff and thirty well-behaved inmates, has succeeded in "resocializing" 13 of the 18 dangerously troublesome inmates introduced into the community in small groups over an 18-month period (Sandhu, 1970).

General rationales for the treatment of assaultiveness include the following. Toch (1969), viewing violence "as a form of social conduct comparable to other forms of social conduct," recommends providing the violence-prone individual with both an insight into the motives for his conduct and a retraining whereby alternative, non-violent responses to old situations become firmly established as personal behavior patterns. Bandura and Walters (1959), discussing this retraining for alternative responses from the perspective of child-rearing, refer to the process as a learning of "response displacement." Speaking from the socio-cultural standpoint of the existence of a subculture within which violent behavior is persistently encouraged, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) recommend doing whatever is needed to weaken the individual's ties to this

subcultural value system and to replace them with ties to the larger society. And Staub (1971) advocates teaching the violence-prone individual to discriminate among the different kinds of internal arousal that he experiences, thereby increasing his capacity for making cue-appropriate responses. These four treatment rationales all spring from a strongly interpersonal, as opposed to strictly intrapersonal or physiological, understanding of violent behavior, and their thrust is toward an increase in response flexibility, a flexibility that will manifest itself in more appropriate, more non-violent, and more productive interpersonal responses.

More specific recommendations for bringing about this flexibility include early recruiting of the budding violence-prone youth for some regular non-violent activity; a therapeutic milieu in which violent offenders learn to reeducate each other, primarily by supporting each other's strengths; and opportunities for social service, in which "doing for" can replace "doing to" others (Toch, 1969). Psychodramatic reenactments of past "violent games" (Toch, 1969) in which others' emotional reactions, as well as one's own, can be empathically analysed (Staub, 1971) are also recommended. Citing the exemplary work of Aichhorn (1935) and of Redl and Wineman (1952), Bandura and Walters (1959) advocate implanting controls within the patient through the establishment of a prior, all-embracing relationship of dependency on the therapist. For the patient who is too restrained or too tense in his verbal and physical expression of himself -- for the "overcontrolled" individual studied by Megargee (1966) -- desensitization procedures and training in assertiveness (Wolpe, 1958) plus other forms of disinhibition training, like small-scale public speaking exercises, might

prove most helpful. Citing the cognitive therapeutic approaches of Wolpe and Lazarus (1966), Ellis (1962), and Kelley (1955), Staub (1971) suggests that through "cognitive clarification" -- a verbal interchange that clarifies one's assumptions about aggressive behavior -- patients' inflexible value systems, whether they be individuals who exercise too much or too little restraint, might be influenced for the better.

Inmates' inflexible reaction patterns might also be modified through a kind of cognitive clarification in small group settings. Within a day or two following a dispute between two inmates, one of the two could be contacted. Provided the therapeutic relationship is strong and that the inmate desires some improvement in his relationship with the other inmate, the second inmate in question could be brought into the discussion. Then, working jointly with one another and with the therapist, the two inmates could examine what expectations and feelings led to the dispute, noting especially the inflexibility in their expectations that could lie behind other similar instances of heated disagreement. Favoring this kind of therapeutic work is not only the inmate's impulse toward self-improvement, but his need to be able to co-exist with the other inmate as well. At times, too, there is a need to resolve guilt feelings. Whatever the need being met, a cooperative exploration into the factors behind a dispute should have a definite positive effect the the participants' lives.

Finally, the Hornian framework discussed in Chapter IV for dealing with personally troublesome inmates applies with equal force to the problem of physically troublesome and assaultive behavior. For example, in the above instance of the inmates' need to co-exist with one another bringing them together to discuss problematic patterns of assaultive-

ness, it is their attitude of "moving toward" that makes it possible for them to confront their attitude of "moving against." Generally whenever some kind of collaboration is being used to modify assaultive patterns -- whether it be a one-to-one therapeutic exercise, a group experience, or an institutional emphasis on frequent family visits -- the "moving toward" attitude is being acknowledged and used. Thus attitudes like desires for collaboration, for commitment, or for community can be given support in order to help inmates temper their destructive impulses.

APPENDIX B

REFERENCE LIST OF VARIABLES USED IN PRESENT STUDY

PREDICTORS

1. Amount of good feeling for mother.
2. Amount of good feeling for father.
3. Maternal rejection (or attention).
4. Paternal rejection (or attention).
5. Frequency of beatings by mother.
6. Frequency of beatings by father.
7. Extent of interparental discord.
8. Degree of parents' expectations of S.
9. Age.
10. Age at first detention.
11. Drug addiction.
12. Suicide history and expectation.
13. Assault expectation.
14. Assaultiveness of criminal record.
15. Assaultiveness of infraction record.
16. Interviewer's clinical judgment.
17. Officer's judgment after one week of contact.
18. Acting-Out Ratio of The Hand Test.
19. AGG (Aggression) score of The Hand Test.
20. Assault-Proneness score of The Hand Test.

CRITERIA

1. Regular officer's judgment after three months.
2. Assaultiveness of infractions during three month period.
3. Sum of scores on Criterion 1 and Criterion 2.

INTERCORRELATIONS OF ALL VARIABLES

	Predictors														
Predictors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1		.13	.68	-.19	.32	-.05	.28	.08	-.00	-.08	.04	.20	-.05	-.08	.02
2	.13		-.02	.50	.12	-.13	.10	.09	-.17	-.09	.08	.04	-.12	-.16	.09
3	.68	-.02		-.16	.23	-.11	.20	.15	.10	-.02	.22	.12	.08	-.01	.09
4	-.19	.50	-.16		.02	-.21	.13	.22	-.13	-.19	-.27	.17	-.14	-.06	-.13
5	.32	.12	.23	.02		-.23	.25	.14	-.30	.03	-.06	.19	.37	.22	.15
6	-.05	-.13	-.11	-.21	-.23		-.12	-.09	.08	.00	-.03	-.18	.04	.17	.05
7	.28	.10	.20	.13	.25	-.12		.11	-.12	.11	-.20	.15	-.15	.09	-.07
8	.08	.09	.15	.22	.14	-.09	.11		-.27	.24	-.14	-.14	-.14	-.01	.32
9	-.00	-.17	.10	-.13	-.30	.08	-.12	-.27		.09	.17	-.04	-.02	-.05	-.18
10	-.08	-.09	-.02	-.19	.03	.00	.11	.24	.09		-.03	-.01	.12	.09	.15
11	.04	.08	.22	-.27	-.06	-.03	-.20	-.14	.17	-.03		.22	.06	-.13	.20
12	.20	.04	.12	.17	.19	-.18	.15	-.14	-.04	-.01	.22		.03	-.06	.05
13	-.05	-.12	.08	-.14	.37	.04	-.15	-.14	-.02	.12	.06	.03		.31	.13
14	-.08	-.16	-.01	-.06	.22	.17	.09	-.01	-.05	.09	-.13	-.06	.31		.25
15	.02	.09	.09	-.13	.15	.05	-.07	.32	-.18	.15	.20	.05	.13	.25	
16	.23	.12	.14	.12	.30	.09	.00	-.08	-.11	.20	.17	.31	.27	.25	.13
17	.00	.29	.04	.28	-.16	.05	-.13	.03	.15	.08	.23	.06	.03	-.02	.02
18	-.06	-.21	-.02	-.07	.00	-.24	-.17	.28	-.15	.10	-.06	-.07	.04	-.10	-.02
19	-.03	.00	.05	.18	.10	-.27	.05	.30	-.26	-.04	-.20	.02	.03	-.01	.04
20	-.00	-.21	.06	.05	.00	-.14	-.08	.48	-.22	.13	-.14	-.15	.15	.02	.17
Criteria															
1	.15	.04	.35	.05	.06	-.11	.07	.15	.11	.19	.13	.14	-.01	.19	.12
2	.04	-.03	.07	-.10	-.10	-.03	-.12	-.02	.26	.11	.19	-.03	.20	.01	.18
3	.11	-.01	.23	-.05	-.05	-.08	-.06	.06	.25	.18	.21	.05	.14	.10	.20

INTERCORRELATIONS (CONCL.)

	Predictors					Criteria		
Predictors	16	17	18	19	20	1	2	3
1	.23	.00	-.06	-.03	-.00	.15	.04	.11
2	.12	.29	-.21	.00	-.21	.04	-.03	-.01
3	.14	.04	-.02	.05	.06	.35	.07	.23
4	.12	.28	-.07	.18	.05	.05	-.10	-.05
5	.30	-.16	.00	.10	.00	.06	-.10	-.05
6	.09	.05	-.24	-.27	-.14	-.11	-.03	-.08
7	.00	-.13	-.17	.05	-.08	.07	-.12	-.06
8	-.08	.03	.28	.30	.48	.15	-.02	.06
9	-.11	.15	-.15	-.26	-.22	.11	.26	.25
10	.20	.08	.10	-.04	.13	.19	.11	.18
11	.17	.23	-.06	-.20	-.14	.13	.19	.21
12	.31	.06	-.07	.02	-.15	.14	-.03	.05
13	.27	.03	.04	.03	.15	-.01	.20	.14
14	.25	-.02	-.10	-.01	.02	.19	.01	.10
15	.13	.02	-.02	.04	.17	.12	.18	.20
16		.29	-.15	-.13	-.08	.38	.20	.35
17	.29		-.10	.05	.11	.19	.46	.44
18	-.15	-.10		.65	.42	-.08	.13	.06
19	-.13	.05	.65		.52	-.13	.08	-.01
20	-.08	.11	.42	.52		.03	.12	.11
Criteria								
1	.39	.19	-.08	-.13	.03		.23	.68
2	.20	.46	.13	.08	.12	.23		.87
3	.35	.44	.06	-.01	.11	.68	.87	

APPENDIX D

SUBJECTS' REMEMBERED RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS

In The Brothers Karamazov, the renowned lawyer from Moscow, Fetyukovitch, defends the impulsive Mitya Karamazov against a parricide charge by challenging the applicability of "parricide" to the act Mitya is charged with:

> It's a fearful thing to shed a father's blood -- the father who has begotten me, loved me, not spared his life for me, grieved over my illnesses from childhood up, troubled all his life for my happiness, and has lived in my joys, in my successes. To murder such a father -- that's inconceivable.
>
> /But/ why depict my client as a heartless egoist and monster? He is uncontrolled, he is wild and unruly -- we are trying him now for that -- but who is responsible for his life? Who is responsible for his having received such an unseemly bringing up, in spite of his excellent disposition and his grateful and sensitive heart? Did any one train him to be reasonable? Was he enlightened by study? Did any one love him ever so little in his childhood? My client was left to the care of Providence like a beast of the field. . . .He was met by cynical taunts, suspicions and wrangling about money. He heard nothing but revolting talk and vicious precepts uttered daily over the brandy, and at last he saw his father seducing his mistress from him with his own money. . . .
>
> Such a father as old Karamazov cannot be called a father and does not deserve to be. Filial love for an unworthy father is an absurdity, an impossibility. Love cannot be created from nothing: only God can create something from nothing. . . .(pp. 900-903).

Fetyukovitch's forensic argument resonates with many of the psychological emphases of the present work. The purpose of this appendix is to concretize the emphasis on parental determinants of troublesome and assaultive behavior by sketching some of the Ss' remembered relationships with their parents. We shall consider the family backgrounds of two Ss who obtained the lowest composite restraint score possible on Criterion 3 (1), one with the next lowest score (2), and two with the highest score possible (4).

1. #1-24

Inmate #1-24 received a score of 1(troublesome) on Criterion 1, 0 (assaultive) on Criterion 2, and thus a sum of 1(assaultive) on Criterion 3. He is black, a bit larger than average, and said he was 18 years old. He seems quiet and easy-going in everyday matters, but manifests a rather flat affect when discussing his life history. When first interviewed he reported having very little good feeling either for his father or his stepmother. He said both of them gave him lots of beatings, and that he had thoughts both of suicide and homicide in his cell area. The interviewer rated him as "assaultive," or "dangerous."

When questioned further several months later, #1-24 said he was serving a 3-year sentence for two armed robbery convictions, robberies he had executed at knifepoint with the aid of five female impersonators. Previously he had been arrested four times for auto theft (grand larceny); he said, "I stole 600 and some cars, just to drive 'em -- I was a car fiend." He said he killed three people during robberies "cause they wouldn't give me any money" and added "it doesn't affect me -- not if I don't know em." He told me, "I could kill you and not feel at all bad about it" and "If I could get away with it over half that quad /cell area/ up there would be dead." Repeating that he doesn't feel bad about the killings, he contrasted himself with people who "drop a dime on themselves" (confess) or "break down" with remorse. Hollow bravado? or the voice of a hardening psychopathic personality? Unfortunately his family background and the lack of affect while he spoke both point toward the latter.

There were four significant adults in his life. The "first and last" he saw of his mother: "I was in diapers on the floor, crawlin, and I

seen two men in white coats take my mother by the arms, and carry her out the door. . .to the hospital. How I remember that I don't know."

A stepmother filled in immediately. First he said of her, "What I remember of her I don't wanna remember." She beat him often, and once tried to beat and kill him with a baseball bat. When he was 9 their apartment caught fire from a burning mattress thrown from next door, and #1-24 phoned the police and fire departments. She then blamed him for having started the fire.

The things he most remembers about his father: "Used to drink a lot; used to kick my goddamn ass when I was bad in school, punch the shit outta me, tore up a whole mother_____ bed tryin to get to my ass." Contrasting the father to the stepmother he said, "He wasn't half as bad -- he beat me when I was bad, to let me know I was bad." He said he remembers nothing good about the stepmother, and of his father only that he himself "went crazy, hysterical and shit" at 8½ when he was told of his father's death shortly after having walked him to a hosptial.

After his father's death and until his current stay in prison, #1-24's grandfather took charge of him. Of him he stated, "He never stayed around any women, never drank, never smoked, always in perfect health." I said, "Sounds like he might have been good for you." "Uh huh -- he's the only one that means anything to me." The problem, though, is that the grandfather may not mean enough to #1-24, and that he may have started to mean it too late.

2. #1-31

Like #1-24, Inmate #1-31 received a score of 1(troublesome) on Criterion 1, 0(assaultive) on Criterion 2, and a sum of 1(assaultive)

on Criterion 3. At the first interview he reported that as long as he can remember he lived with his grandparents and that they served as his "mother" and "father." He then proceeded to answer all the quetions in terms of a home situtions in which "everything was beautiful," as he summed it up in the follow-up interview. He had "a lot" of good feelings for both his grandmother and grandfather, both paid attention to him, both gave him "almost no" beatings; there was very little conflict between them, and they expected "a lot" from him.

Yet at 11 #1-31 was sent away to a youth house for setting fire to his school, and at 13 to a training school for fighting with the school's principal. Why had he set the fire? "Cause I hated the school -- the teachers and the principal." Today, at 24, he feels "the same way" toward the prison officers as he did then toward the school personnel: "Don't like the police, the way they dish out orders." This was one of the few unelicited statements made by the large, black, and very taciturn inmate. #1-31 is quietly and immovably angry. Quietly, perhaps, because he lacks the verbal adroitness to be supercilious, caustic, or manipulative. And immovable because he feels that for him to adjust his angry posture toward the world would be to change himself and thus be untrue to himself -- a primitive ethic bound to a primitive fear.

The enigma of #1-31's "beautiful" home life leading into a violently hated school life and life of crime serves as an instance of the problems encountered when making predictions. #1-31 does not seem to have been deceptive in his responses to the questionnaire. For one thing, he still considers his grandparents' home to be his home, and plans to return there when released. Secondly, he answered "23" to the age question, an answer that could have him removed from his present housing area if communicated

to appropriate authorities. Thus chances are that from his standpoint his homelife was indeed "beautiful," especially when compared to his experiences outside the home. The possibility of cognitive impairment suggests that school constituted a particularly threatening reality for him. He was probably unprepared from home to deal with the reality, and was then forced to deal with it in the only way he was capable. Home, on the other hand -- with its uneducated, permissive, and unthreatening adults -- probably served as a haven from the competition and repeated failings experienced in the outside world. The enigma, then, suggests, among other things, that some measure of the Ss' intellectual abilities might serve well among the predictive instrument's variables.

3. #1-12

Inmate #1-12 received a score of 1(troublesome) on Criterion 1, 1(troublesome) on Criterion 2, and a sum of 2 (very troublesome) on Criterion 3. He is a white, 18-year-old femal impersonator who wears his blond hair in aponytail and bangs. His walk and gestures are feminine; he is friendly and noisy in the impulsive and hysterical sense. His mother has been the dominant adult in his life, and when interviewed he reported having very little good feelings for her, having been rejected by her, having had lots of beatings from her ("for anything"), and having experienced "very very very little" by way of expectations from her.

#1-12's natural father was an alcoholic. When the inmate was very young the court had both the father and mother put in a mental hospital for observation where it was decided the father was the source of the problem. The mother was told to choose between the children (#1-12

and three older brothers) and the father, and she chose the children.

From the time #1-12 was 3 years old until he was 16 he was constantly "put away" by his mother. Between 3 and 6 he lived in two different foster homes. At 7 his mother shuttled him back and forth between home and Kings County Hospital. He doesn't remember why. At 8 his mother transferred him from Kings County to Creedmoor State Hospital, where he was admitted and released five times before he was 16.

> At times I don't consider her my mother. It's the first thing that ever pops in my mind, it always bothers me: she had me put away when I was small; she never paid me any attention; she always had me put away, put away, put away. . . . I was in Creedmoor 8 years, 8 years -- I was 16 when I got out. In and out for 8 years.

At 16 he left home because "I felt like I wasn't wanted." His three natural brothers had also left home, but his stepsister with whom he was raised and his stepbrother ("the pets") remained. He became a prostitute ("I didn't particularly want to, but that's what you do at that age"). He was first arrested for assault with a deadly weapon ("That man found out what I was and started beating me, and he had a knife on the table. . ."). Bellevue Hospital found him sane, released him, but his mother would not accept him at home. He was then arrested for grand larceny, and bargained in court to his current 10-month sentence.

#1-12 has been living in a hotel, a "nice, very big place," paid for by a man friend. I asked if he plans to return to this place. "What else can I go back to? My life is destroyed. But sometimes I wonder why -- why do I feel this way and why did my mother feel that way? . . .I lay back at night and ask myself what's the first thing I'll do when I get out, and I don't know."

4. #1-112

Inmate #1-112 received a score of 2(restrained) on Criterion 1, 2(restrained) on Criterion 2, and a score of 4(restrained) on Criterion 3. He is a slight, black, 21-year-old man with strong feminine identifications. He has completed high school and is more intelligent than the average inmate. He has had no psychiatric contacts since coming to prison ("I got common sense"). He also shows a marked personal concern for another inmate whom he says he is in love with.

When #1-112 was 4 or 5 his mother gave him to another family because she "didn"t want me." Shortly thereafter #1-112's grandmother took him to live with her and his aunt, where he has lived till the present. The grandmother "picked me out," he said, adding, "And I'm glad she did 'cause I love her -- I was her pet." Though the stay with the grandmother and aunt was punctuated with several runnings-away to visit his brothers, sister, and mother at home, he said he received "good treatment, the best treatment" from the two ladies. "They wouldn't let anything happen to me -- never beat me, except once because I broke a watch I experimented with." He said he "got along good in school," and that he sees himself as having been a "good boy who never got in fights and never got beat up." His chief problems during school were "love problems" that arose from his consuming interest in other boys. His first prison term began at 18 for shoplifting, and he is currently serving a fifth relatively light sentence for narcotics sales.

#1-112 feels he "inherited" his homosexuality. His mother always wished for a girl. When he was born he was accompanied by a twin sister who died shortly thereafter. Then, he stated, "I grew up with

feminine ways." He said his grandmother and aunt did not encourage his femininity, though his grandmother restrained the aunt when the latter tried to beat him for dressing in women's clothing. He has fathered a son by a masculine lesbian.

#1-112 says he wishes to become a tailor or clothing designer. Bewailing a recent dispute between inmates and prison authorities over meal procedures, he exclaimed: "Why did God let it happen -- people trying to take over each other -- I just want to love people." Though a radical improvement in life does not seem imminent for #1-112, he does possess a positive orientation toward his world, and thus seems capable of such an improvement, should his maturation and life conditions meet to make the improvement possible.

5. #1-38

Inmate #1-38 received a score of 2(restrained) on Criterion 1, 2 (restrained) on Criterion 2, and a sum of 4 (restrained) on Criterion 3. He is a 20-year-old, larger than average, black, masculine inmate who depicted homosexuality as a "jailhouse thing" for himself. He spoke about his life with a note of nervousness in his voice, as if he were short of breath.

His mother died when he was 13. There are clues that his homelife was marked by serious difficulties during the 13 years: he began school late, at 8 or 9 and in the 2nd grade; his parents disagreed and fought "a lot" between themselves; when he moved to his aunt's home at 13 she expressed bewilderment at his mother's having beaten him so often, since she, the aunt, found him so well behaved. These are merely clues of an atmosphere of negligence, discord, and arbitrary treatment, since #1-38

did not elaborate on any of them, repeating "that was so long ago" several times. He attributed his memory difficulty to his overriding concern about his immediate future.

There is some reason for hope in this future. He is completing a 3-year sentence for robbery, the only sentence he has ever received. He started robbing in order to support a drug habit that developed in 1969. When released he plans to live with his older brother, recently released from Sing Sing and now holding a job. #1-38 has taken the high school equivalency tests, and plans to enter a training school to learn a trade. Though his plans may contain some self-deception, he does take his life seriously. After the second interview he sought feedback from me. And he seems determined to avoid the mistakes he made the last time he received parole.

Thus the life of #1-38, like that of #1-112, lacks the thoroughgoing deprivation and hopelessness that characterize those of the first three inmates interviewed. The difference is reflected both in the inmates' respective criterion scores and in the feelings engendered in me during the follow-up interviews. With #1-24 the feeling was one of fear-for-peoples'-lives. With #1-31 I felt a despair at the lack of dissatisfaction he showed about his angry stance toward the world. With #1-12 the feeling was one of deep disappointment that this lively person did not, and probably will not, receive some stable parental guidance. With the last two the feeling was one of respect -- respect for #1-112's childlike concern ("love") for others and for #1-38's determination to avoid past mistakes. The last two engendered in me some sense of hope in their future. Perhaps some such "hope" measure could serve as a variable within the predictive instrument.

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