

012577

**Behavior
Modification
and
Corrections**

Southeastern Regional
Management
Training Council,
The University of Georgia

BEHAVIOR THERAPY: A GUIDE TO
CORRECTIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND PROGRAMMING

by

Charles H. Bishop, Jr., Ph.D.

and

Edward B. Blanchard, Ph.D.

CORRECTIONS DIVISION
INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS, GEORGIA

1st Printing: November, 1971

2nd Printing: July, 1973

FOREWORD

The correctional system is still plagued by apathy and ambivalent expectations on the part of the general public as well as by its historically negative image. There are, on the other hand, signs that it is moving toward basic change. One indication is the growing application of human behavior and management to the fulfillment of the system's mandate--protection of society through the rehabilitation of the offender.

This trend will continue and the enlightened correctional manager and practitioner will, of necessity, need to become more and more a generalist. In addition to his own particular knowledge and experience in the field of corrections, he will have to develop familiarity with a number of related fields and disciplines. Only in this way can sound decision-making be assumed. The span of required knowledge is broad. It ranges from management and organizational theory to the implication of crime as a social problem and the concepts of human behavior as related to the treatment of the offender.

Within this range the administrator will be increasingly deluged with new theories, alternate approaches and emerging schools of thought. His job will be to select and apply from all disciplines those contributions which can best effect his particular program at any given time. He cannot afford to lose himself in one single method or technique, nor can he hide behind the status quo.

The purpose of this publication is to provide correctional administrators, program planners, and practitioners with an understanding of the philosophy, techniques and methods pertaining to behavioral theory-behavior modification. The review of the literature and summary of research projects included is not intended to be all inclusive but rather to show specific application to the field of correctional treatment.

This publication is one of the resource documents prepared as part of the services of the Southeastern Correctional Management Training Council which is funded under discretionary grants of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the U.S. Department of Justice. The first printing was made under grant 70-DF-285. The second printing, made necessary by the large demand for copies, was made under grant 73-ED-04-0006.

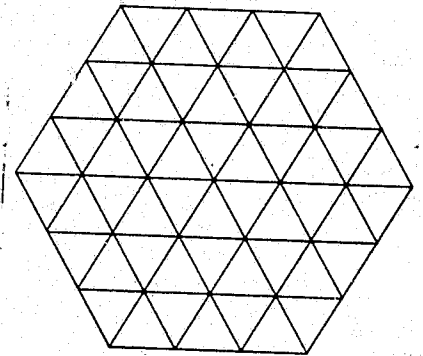
Mr. Charles H. Bishop, Jr., is a corrections associate on the staff of the Corrections Division of the Institute of Government and at the time of the first printing was director of the Council. Dr. Edward B. Blanchard, special consultant and co-author, was formerly at the University of Georgia and is presently associate professor in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Mississippi Medical School in Jackson.

Donald D. Brewer
Administrator
Corrections Division

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I	Overview of Behavior Therapy	1
CHAPTER II	Change Processes Utilized	9
CHAPTER III	Implication of Behavior Therapy for Corrections	17
CHAPTER IV	Basic Reference Materials on Behavior Therapy	22
CHAPTER V	Research Review in Corrections	27
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS		67
APPENDIX 1	A Token Economy in a Correctional Institution for Youthful Offenders	
APPENDIX 2	A Program to Modify the Criminal Behavior of the Juvenile Recidivist	

Overview of Behavior Therapy



Chapter I: Overview of Behavior Therapy

The terms "behavior therapy," "behavior modification," "conditioning therapy," "token economy" and the like are much used these days. The purpose of this chapter will be to define these terms and to present an overview of this area of knowledge and research.

From our contacts with people in the field of corrections, we have concluded that there is some confusion about the terms¹ in this area. There seem to be two somewhat different meanings of the term behavior therapy or behavior modification: the first, and in our opinion the more appropriate meaning, is of a general philosophy of, or approach to, treatment. The second usage of the term is as a title for a collection of treatment techniques or change processes.

There are several treatment procedures, mostly based on principles derived from research on learning or social psychology, which can be subsumed under the term behavior modification. Some confusion exists at this point because there are those who tend to write and act as if Wolpe's systematic desensitization procedure is all there is to behavior therapy. Others use the term to refer solely to Skinnerian, or operant, approaches to treatment such as the token

¹ Throughout this paper the term "change agent" will be used to describe the therapist, counselor, or behavior modifier. In the same light "client" will be used rather than patient or offender.

economy research. This usage of the term is inaccurate because there are numerous techniques, all of which may be subsumed under the title behavior therapy.

Bandura made this point several years ago when he said that if we are going to refer to psychotherapy as a learning process, then we should include all of the phenomena of the psychology of learning as potential means of effecting changes in patients or clients. Today, this concept should be broadened to include not only all of the phenomena of learning but also the research in social psychology on interpersonal influence processes.

In summary, by this second, and perhaps more widespread, definition of behavior modification is meant the whole set of techniques which can be applied to solving different human problems. These techniques, taken as a whole, make up the technology of behavior modification. Later in this paper, we will summarize the principles involved in several classes of treatment techniques.

In considering behavior modification as a general philosophy of treatment, there are several points that should be made. The change agent takes it upon himself to specify both the behaviors he is trying to change (the goals) and the method or methods by which he is going to change them (the techniques). He focuses on observables, or measureable events, on behavior, such as the number of times one child strikes another in a given time period, rather than on hypothetical or inferred

entities such as hostility or aggressiveness in the child, which may be only tenuously related to anything that can be observed and measured. An additional aspect of behavior modification, is that the client is expected to play an active role in setting the goals of treatment. The change agent, in our viewpoint, is obligated to allow the client to set the goals, or at least to assist in setting the goals. Granted that for young children and some psychotic individuals, it is difficult for them to play a very active role in setting the goals; here society, or society's agents such as parents, set the goals. However, for the vast majority of clients, it is they who should be setting goals and deciding what behaviors should be changed.

We admit, of course, that it is impossible for the change agent not to play a part, or influence the client in setting goals; but we feel that the correctional professional is obligated to let the client set the goal as much as possible. A corollary of this point is that, should the client have treatment goals which do not coincide with the way the change agent believes the world should be, or do not coincide with his own goals, then the change agent is obligated not to treat the person.

For example, the change agent is opposed to adultery and a man seeks help for impotence with his mistress rather than his wife, the agent would be obligated to turn the client down or possibly refer him to a change agent who had a different view of adultery, rather than to try to persuade him to forsake his mistress and return to his wife.

An important part of helping the client to set the goals of treatment is to assist him in specifying his goals in concrete, behavioral terms. For it is only with goals specified in terms of measureable criteria that we can hope to know if we are achieving any degree of success.

Let us make it clear, at this point, that the client's specification of goals in no way means that he determines the form of treatment. The change agent, as a specialist in change processes, has the obligation to specify the processes by which the goals are reached. The client should play a very active role in setting the goals; the change agent, as the expert, determines the most efficacious way of arriving at these goals.

Operating under the initial dictum of specificity, the change agent is thus obligated to specify his techniques, to make them operational and objective. Doing so makes the techniques and procedures open to research so that the active elements of a technique can be identified and the superfluous rituals discarded. This obligation also forces the change agent to think through what he is doing, and to justify it, at least to himself. The notion of specifying treatment procedures and goals also lends itself to studying intermediate goals and using different techniques to attack different aspects of the client's problems. The specification process further lends itself to the collection of data on both process and outcome matters. This data collection contributes to a self-corrective process whereby the change agent and the client can determine whether progress is being made and if a treatment approach which initially seemed appropriate to the problem is now no longer suitable.

An obvious implication of this viewpoint is that any change process can be considered a behavior modification technique. This it is believed is valid as is also the pragmatic point of view that the appropriate technique is the change process that seems to work. That is, if the presenting problem and the client's specification of goals is such that the appropriate treatment is depth psychotherapy, this is what the change agent is obligated to provide, or if he is unable to provide it, to refer the client to someone who can provide these services. This viewpoint termed "broad spectrum behavior modification" has its most eloquent spokesman in Arnold Lazarus. In this framework, no particular form of treatment is ruled out automatically. The treatment decisions are made in terms of what is most appropriate, most efficacious, and most efficient in terms of time and the client's money, to achieve the particular goal.

There are two other points that should be covered under the notion of behavior modification as a philosophy of treatment. The first of these is the model of man implied by the behavior modification approach. Behaviorists have been accused of viewing man solely in a stimulus-response framework which leaves him completely at the mercy of environmental events (external stimuli) and, hence, with no control over his own behavior. This is not the case: social learning theory takes the point of view that man is reactive, certainly, but also that he is proactive. By this is meant that a large part of his behavior is determined

by external reinforcement contingencies and by schedules of reinforcement. Undoubtedly other people and environmental events do play a large part in instigating and maintaining a client's pathology. An emphasis on environmental determinants is also compatible with an interpersonal theory of behavior which is a model widely followed by Rehabilitation Counseling and Social Work. Mental health professionals from this discipline place a great deal of emphasis upon environmental manipulations, and upon the effect significant others, particularly members of the immediate family, play upon a person's behavior. However, the behavior modification point of view also pictures man as active; by this it is meant that a person can change his reinforcement contingencies; that is to say that, through his actions, he can bring about changes in his environment which can change his reinforcement contingencies. For example, by seeking help and successfully overcoming a fear, the person is now free, once the fear is removed, to make approach responses to objects which formerly he avoided because of their anxiety-arousing value. Man is both active and reactive. The true state of events is probably one which Bandura has described as a reciprocal influence process whereby man reacts to external reinforcement contingencies but also can take an active role in shaping these contingencies.

The last point to be covered is the misconception that others believe that change agents hold that the cognitive realm does not exist, or at the very least is unimportant. Certainly there is a cognitive realm--

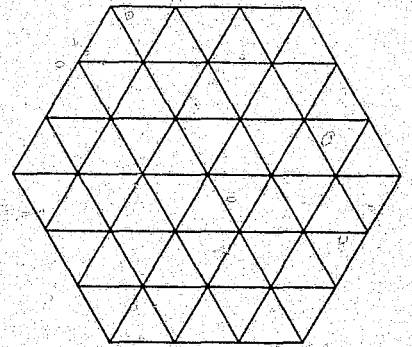
people do think and do feel, and their thoughts can influence their behavior. What the behavior modifier sees is that overt behavior and covert cognition are partially correlated responses. It has been reasonably well established by social psychologists, in particular, Festinger, that there is far from a one-to-one correspondence between cognition and behavior. In opting to modify behavior, or to operate upon behavior, the behavior modifier is taking what seems to be the most efficient course: he is working with observables and, thus, he is able to specify his operations and to note incremental or intermediate changes. Also, as the cognitive dissonance literature amply documents, behavior tends to be prepotent over cognitions and attitudes. Thus if one wants to change attitudes, or to make a change in the cognitive realm, the easiest, most efficient way is to change behavior. The changed behavior and its consequences then operate upon the cognitive realm to bring about change in attitudes, ideas, and beliefs. The route of trying to change attitudes or beliefs, in an effort to bring about changes in overt behavior, tends to be an inefficient strategy as the research on psychotherapy-outcome shows. In fact, much of the evidence shows that there is little transfer from attitude change to behavior change, whereas a changed behavior tends overwhelmingly to lead to a change in beliefs. For this reason, operating upon overt behavior is viewed as a more efficient approach.

Although behavior modifiers would acknowledge a cognitive realm, there is no acknowledgment of an unconscious. Little faith is placed in

underlying causes such as "intrapsychic conflicts" as the cause of symptoms. The reason for this lack of faith is that these causes are entirely hypothetical concepts with no anchors in the observable realm. By being entirely inferential events, they are not then open to disconfirmation or to manipulation in any way. There is acknowledgment within the behavior modification approach of the necessity of dealing with underlying causes, where these underlying causes are the conditions instigating and maintaining maladaptive behavior, but these causes are sought in observable environmental events, rather than unconscious processes.

The definition of behavior modification in this concept then is: (1) a philosophy of treatment stressing specificity, objectivity, and operations upon overt behavior and (2) a collection of techniques for achieving these goals. The next chapter will briefly describe these techniques. Chapter 3 will indicate the kind of problems to which they are applicable.

Change Processes Utilized



Chapter II: Change Processes Utilized

There are four basic classes of behavior modification techniques, or change processes: operant conditioning, or the manipulation of response-reinforcement relations; classical conditioning, or a better term perhaps, counterconditioning, in which the attractiveness of a conditioned stimulus is changed; observational learning, or modeling, procedures; and educational techniques aimed at overcoming behavioral deficits.

1. Operant Conditioning:

There are two sub-classes of change processes within the general class called operant conditioning. One is based on the use of positive reinforcement, or reward; the other is based on the use of negative reinforcement, or punishment.

With both subclasses the basic principle involved is that behavior, or responses, is determined by its consequences; thus when the reinforcement, positive or negative, is made contingent upon the occurrence of a certain response, the probability that that response will occur again is altered. Through the appropriate use of response-reinforcement relations, the rate at which numerous behaviors occur can be accelerated or decelerated.

There are four basic steps in applying operant conditioning procedures to changing behavior: (1) Specify the behavior that is to be changed in very concrete, observable terms; (2) Record the behavior to obtain its

baseline frequency of occurrence; (3) Make the reinforcement a consequence of the behavior to be changed; (4) Keep trying and maintain the response-reinforcement relation.

There are three essential factors in successful application of operant procedures. First, one must select reinforcers that are sufficiently powerful and durable to maintain responsiveness over long periods of time during which complex behavior patterns are being established. Second, the reinforcing events must be made contingent upon the desired behavior if they are to be ultimately effective. By contingent is meant, if the response occurs, the reinforcement always follows; and that the reinforcement is never delivered unless the response has occurred. Third, a reliable procedure for eliciting or inducing the desired response pattern is essential, otherwise if it rarely or never occurs, there are too few opportunities to influence it. A fourth factor is that one must frequently "shape" desired behavior through reinforcing successive approximations of it.

One of the principal uses of positive reinforcement systems has been the work on "token economies." A book by Ayllon and Azrin (see chap. 4) is essentially a complete explanation of how one sets up a token economy. The basic principle behind a token economy is that through the use of tokens, or substitutes for reinforcements, it is possible to use operant conditioning procedures without having to deliver actual reinforcement immediately. The use of tokens gives the program a great deal of flexibility because they can be delivered immediately after the response

occurs and can be used as substitutes for any kind of reinforcer. The patient can then cash in his tokens for any of a variety of reinforcers. Ayllon and Azrin make the point that a token economy is basically a motivational system.

Certainly, the most ambitious undertaking of a token economy is at this time in the Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown, West Virginia. Appendix 1 covers the conceptual and operational framework in which their token economy operates.

The South Carolina Department of Juvenile Corrections has recently received an LEAA grant to institute a token economy in one of their institutions. Appendix 2 is an abstract of their grant proposal and contains many innovative program concepts in the framework of bridging the gap between institution and community in the creation of a middle class token economy in the institution.

One of the most effective negative reinforcers with children, psychiatric inpatients, and offenders is the use of time-out, or more fully "time-out from reinforcement." This works by making immediate removal of the patient from a reinforcing situation contingent upon his performing an undesired behavior, one which we wish to decelerate. The research by Brown and Tyler described in Chapter 5 (p. 34) illustrates this strategy.

An area which has become popular with those working with adolescents is contingency contracting (Homme 1964) which is basically an operant

conditioning procedure. For the client, receipt of privileges or rewards is made contingent upon his performing certain desired behaviors and refraining from engaging in certain undesired behaviors. Under this system, clients earn, by engaging in desired behavior and refraining from undesired behavior, certain privileges which hitherto were available non-contingently, as if by birthright. This arrangement seems to work better than the traditional approach of awarding all privileges non-contingently and then taking them away as punishment for misdeeds.

Research Reports 1-15 in Chapter 5 illustrate the application of these procedures.

2. Classical Conditioning or Counterconditioning:

As with operant conditioning there are two sub-classes of change processes within the general class of change processes we have termed counterconditioning. In these procedures one is interested in changing the valence, or attractiveness, of a stimulus. Thus one sub-class consists of processes for changing a stimulus which the client fears or unnecessarily avoids because its presence makes him anxious or uncomfortable. In this case the goal would be to change the valence (attractiveness) to positive, or at least to neutral. Most anxiety-mediated problems could be handled by this sub-class of change processes. The second sub-class consists of processes for changing a stimulus which is positively attractive for the patient to one with a neutral or negative valence. Stimuli appropriate for this class of change processes are those which, though highly valued and

pleasurable to the patient, are considered inappropriate by society and pursuit of these stimuli brings the patient into conflict with society. Such stimuli include alcohol, drugs, and deviant sexual objects.

The former sub-class of change processes, is best illustrated by Wolpe's technique of systematic desensitization. In his concept, the patient learns to imagine himself in increasingly intimate interaction with the feared object while remaining relaxed. As a result of this pairing of relaxation with imagination of the feared object, the formerly negative stimulus no longer arouses anxiety in the client, and he becomes free to approach it or ignore it, but does not have to avoid it. This general process of pairing relaxation with the stimulus which arouses anxiety has proved effective in treating many neurotic types of problems. The second sub-class of counterconditioning change processes is generally known as aversive conditioning, or aversion therapy. In this process approach to the desirable (for the patient) stimulus is paired with an aversive event, painful electric shock, nausea from drugs, or unpleasant mental images, over a series of trials until the client no longer approaches the stimulus, but instead avoids it. An important aspect of this kind of treatment, especially with sexual deviance, is to teach the client appropriate sexual behaviors to substitute for his former inappropriate behavior. The aversion therapy serves only to suppress inappropriate behavior. In applying this change process, one would especially want the patient to specify the goals of treatment such as to cease engaging in homosexual behavior.

Research Report 16 in Chapter 5 is a review by Cautela of this procedure.

3. Modeling:

It has been fairly well demonstrated that all learning phenomena which occur as a result of direct experience can be shown to occur also as a result of vicarious, or observational, experience. By modeling as a change process, we mean bringing about changes in an offender as a result of his observing a model undergo certain experiences.

This process has been used primarily with two kinds of problems:

(1) to help people overcome fears through a vicarious extinction or counterconditioning process and (2) to teach new behaviors to patients with behavioral deficits. In the latter area modeling is particularly effective, since it is generally easier to illustrate, and for the client to acquire, complex social behaviors from models than it is from simple verbal description.

Research Reports 2 and 17 (chap. 5) are illustrations of modeling in a correctional setting.

4. Educational Techniques:

This class of change processes has been the object of the least research effort within the behavior therapy realm. These change processes are most appropriate for dealing with behavioral deficits, lacks of skills and abilities in various areas.

There are two principal techniques within this class: role-playing, or behavioral rehearsal, and traditional education. For overcoming deficits in social skills in interpersonal relations, role-playing is probably the treatment of choice. In this procedure, the client can gradually learn, within the protective environment of the therapy situation, how to successfully interact with other people. He is given experience in trying out new behaviors and corrective feedback on his performance.

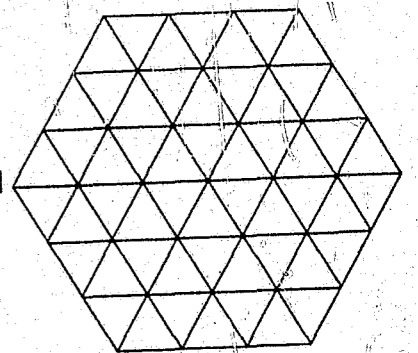
The second class of change processes is traditionally education. By teaching the patient certain basic and advanced educational and vocational skills, he can become a better functioning and more self-satisfied individual. As adjuncts to traditional educational approaches, we would suggest a programed text approach whereby the task to be mastered is analyzed into easy-to-learn units and an operant conditioning approach to sustaining motivation based primarily on rewards delivered contingent on achieving specified sub-goals and terminal goals.

The research by Clements and McKee (Report 18, Chapter 5) illustrates this procedure.

The ultimate question is, of course, "how can behavior therapy be of help in corrections?" This question seems quite timely since correctional administrators are being actively encouraged by Federal legislative programs to seek, and citizens are demanding, different solutions to time-honored problems. Being actively encouraged to move into areas such as "behavior modification," "guided group interaction" and "differential treatment" can leave the corrections person in a quandary. Chapter 3

suggests some approaches to applying behavior modification principles to correctional practice.

Implication of Behavior Therapy for Corrections!



Chapter III: Implication of Behavior Therapy for Corrections

The following pages attempt to relate rather broad principles of behavior modification to equally broad problem areas in correctional practice. Specific examples are cited from the review of research contained in Chapter 5; page references are to Chapter 5 of this publication.

1. Overall Treatment Approach or Basis

Possibly the greatest impact that behavior therapy can have is to force the correctional rehabilitation practitioner to seriously examine the goals of the rehabilitation process, to define behavioral criteria for these goals, and to develop a systematic treatment strategy for attaining these goals. From a totally pragmatic point of view, treatment programs which define their objectives, clearly state the methods by which these objectives are to be achieved, and evaluate the outcomes in terms of observable criteria have traditionally been accorded better acceptance by funding agencies than less clearly defined programs.

Within the institution, there has traditionally been a breach between the goals and functions of the security staff and those of the treatment staff. This breach has not been narrowed by the treatment staff's use of such poorly-defined objectives as "helping the inmate gain insight" or "reorganizing his self-perceptions." These goals are often categorically rejected by the security staff with the epithet "coddling the prisoners." Behavior therapy, with its clearly defined goals and procedures, will be

more readily understood by the security staff, and this understanding may serve not only to improve their communications with the treatment staff but to secure their support for and participation in the treatment program.

2. Institutional Management

There appear to be a number of strategies that could be utilized by wardens and directors of youth development centers in terms of efficient management of an institution. The study by Boren and Colman (page 30) appears to be the most sophisticated piece of research relating to the area of corrections. The institutional population of 12-15 men who operated on a token economy with various target behaviors provides a very sound conceptual framework for viewing some of the traditional problems that confront administrators in the management of wards.

The follow-up study entitled "An Information System for Measuring Patient Behavior and Its Use by Staff" (Research Report No. 7, p. 40) is an introduction of the data system for incarcerated offenders and should provide a more objective evaluation of what individual behavior is and means and describe it so that it can be seen in a positive light. An additional consideration for this piece of research would be that the data-metric system could provide authorities with more objective information regarding decision making concerning parole.

The most significant piece of research relevant to community-based corrections and has carry-over in management is Phillip's work in Achievement Place in Topeka, Kansas (p. 28). The research design

together with the overall structure and philosophy of Achievement Place should be considered essential for corrections as it enters into the area of community-based programming.

One of the traditional arguments that opponents of behavior therapy express is the concern that when the behavior modification program is instituted it immediately raises costs. The work by Allyon and Azrin (1965) is contradictory to this in that they were seemingly able to make more effective use of their staff with less monetary support.

There are other techniques in terms of ward management that can be used. The strategy of "time-out-from-reinforcement" seems to have particular merit and applicability. Studies by Brown and Tyler (pages 34 and 55) are examples of this strategy in a correctional setting.

Principles in planning the operation of a token economy are well covered in Appendixes 1 and 2. Chapter 9 in Allyon and Azrin's book (see chap. 4) is entitled "Administrative and Therapeutic Considerations" and offers an objective, thought provoking picture of the token economy strategy.

3. Modeling

Observational learning or modeling could play an exceedingly important role in learning and subsequently being able to "make it on the street" after release from an institution. It is for this reason that modeling would seem to be increasingly important in any pre-release effort within an institution and/or half-way house setting. Traditionally, correctional pre-release programs have relied heavily upon individuals

from outside the institutional walls coming in and providing cognitive input pertaining to such matters as how to obtain driver's licenses, admittance to unions and similar topics. Sarason's research entitled "Verbal Learning, Modeling and Juvenile Delinquency" (p. 59) offers many conceptual guides that could be of help in a pre-release program.

Studies tend to indicate that observational learning may affect both cognitive competencies, interpersonal relationships and coping behavior. Also, certain kinds of affective reactions can be modified. The question of avoidance or fearful reaction (separation anxiety in psychodynamic terms) to leaving prison has never been dealt with successfully by corrections. Thus, it is our feeling that modeling could be successfully used as a tool to facilitate pre- and post-release adjustment. There is considerable evidence to support the belief that this strategy will work in a correctional setting.

4. Contingency Contracting

Contingency contracting can be thought of simplistically as an agreement between two or more parties (the client and the change agent) to behave in certain definitive, prescribed ways in situations that are predetermined. As such, it defines the expectations, demands, mutual responsibilities that are to be carried out and the subsequent consequences of infractions.

Receiving much attention in corrections over the past decade has been the work of Dr. John McKee of the Rehabilitation Research Foundation

at the Draper Correctional Institution in Alabama. This research indicates fairly clearly that contractual management procedures with programmed educational materials are successful. The research by Cartrell, Huddleston and Wooldridge (p. 37), should be informative in terms of some of the concepts of contingency management in a broader framework than just programmed educational instruction.

Undoubtedly some of the most innovative research will come out of contracting in the therapeutic relationship.

Chapter IV: Basic Reference Materials on Behavior Therapy

This chapter provides brief evaluative summaries of several books of value in applying behavior therapy to correctional problems. The review should by no means be considered exhaustive.

A. Books on Behavior Therapy and Related Topics

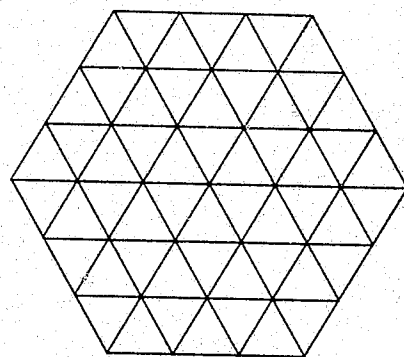
Principles of Behavior Modification, by Albert Bandura: published in 1969 by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

This is an excellent coverage of the entire field of behavior modification at a fairly sophisticated level. It is very strong in its coverage of philosophical and ethical issues as well as theoretical foundations for the change processes. Bandura presents an integrated viewpoint based on research from animal and human learning, social psychology, and behavior modification. The book is long on theory and research integration but short on the specifics of treatment.

Learning Foundations of Behavior Therapy, by Frederick H. Kanfer and Jeanne S. Phillips: published in 1970 by John Wiley and Sons.

This is a very similar book to the one by Bandura in the material covered and the method of coverage. It is somewhat easier for the non-psychologist to follow. Like the Bandura book, it is long on theoretical framework and research integration but short also on the specifics of treatment.

Basic Reference Materials on Behavior Therapy



Behavior Therapy: Appraisal and Status, edited by Cyril Franks: published in 1969 by McGraw-Hill.

This is a collection of chapters on various change processes written by people prominent in the field of behavior therapy. Some chapters are excellent, some good, and some, unfortunately, are mediocre. The chapters contain summaries and reasonably critical reviews of research on certain change processes. There is a lack of a central organizing theme that one finds in either Bandura's or Kanfer and Phillips' book. This book is also very short on the specifics of treatment.

The Practice of Behavior Therapy, by Joseph Wolpe: published in 1969 by Pergamon Press.

This book is a good description of some treatment techniques, especially systematic desensitization. However, it is rather poor in its coverage of many other areas of behavior modification.

Aversion Therapy and Behavior Disorders, by Stanley Rachman and John Teasdale: published in 1969 by the University of Miami Press.

This is an excellent critical summary of the research and theory on aversion therapy. It is limited to this topic but does give both good coverage of theory and adequate attention to treatment techniques.

Psychotherapy by Reciprocal Inhibition, by Joseph Wolpe: published in 1958 by Stanford University Press.

This is Wolpe's pioneering book on the subject of systematic desensitization. It is mainly of historical interest although its description of treatment techniques, especially desensitization, is good.

Behavior Therapy and Beyond, by Arnold A. Lazarus: published in 1971 by McGraw-Hill.

This book gives Lazarus's theoretical viewpoint on broad-spectrum behavior modification. The book is oriented more toward description of the techniques than to theoretical integration. In this respect it succeeds in giving reasonably good descriptions of some of Lazarus's treatment approaches but is woefully short of empirical support and overall integration.

The Token Economy: A Motivational System for Therapy and Rehabilitation, by Teodoro Ayllon and Nathan Azrin: published in 1968 by Appleton-Century Crofts.

This book is a description of a series of experiments in a state hospital where a token economy was employed. This is a strong book, both on the theory behind the use of the token and in its description of setting up and operating a token economy.

Case Studies in Behavior Modification, edited by Leonard T. Ullman and Leonard Krasner: published in 1965 by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

This book is a series of case studies dealing primarily with the application of operant conditioning techniques to psychotic adult patients and to child patients. The editors provide some theoretical integration of the material; however, the strength of the book lies in its multitude of descriptions of treatment procedures.

A Psychological Approach to Abnormal Behavior, by Leonard T. Ullman and Leonard Krasner: published in 1969 by Prentice-Hall.

This book is an admirable attempt to write a text on abnormal psychology from a behavioral point of view. Its description of abnormal behavior is adequate and its introductory material to the study of abnormal behavior and change processes is good. The real contribution this book makes is its attempt to give a behavioral explanation of the various disorders. In this attempt there are several notable successes and several "grand failures" (i.e., the attempt was grand, but seems somewhat unconvincing, particularly with respect to schizophrenia and other psychoses).

B. Periodicals

There are four principal journals which publish both original research and theoretical articles on topics in behavior modification. These, in order of founding, are:
Behavior Research and Therapy, 1963 to present, published by Pergamon Press, Oxford, England.

This was the principal outlet for articles in this area for several years. Although many of the articles in early issues were poor, the overall quality has markedly improved. Counterconditioning studies tend to be emphasized in this journal.

Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, 1968 to present, published by the Society for the Experimental Analysis of Behavior, at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

This journal deals almost exclusively with research in an operant conditioning framework and thus the studies typically report the intensive study of a few cases.

Behavior Therapy, 1970 to present, published by Academic Press, New York.

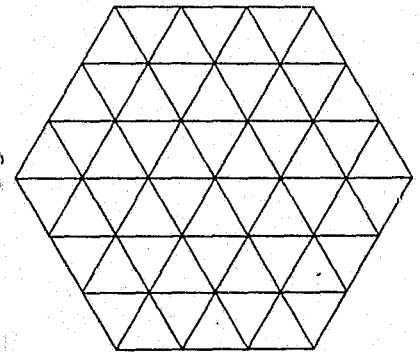
This journal contains a thoughtful blend of theory, case studies, and controlled research. It tends to give equal time to all change processes and is probably the best single journal in the field.

Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry, 1970 to present, published by Pergamon Press, Oxford, England.

This is the weakest of the four journals; its articles tend to be somewhat poorer in quality than the other three. Emphasis tends to be on counterconditioning studies and case histories.

Both the Journal of Abnormal Psychology and the Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, published by the American Psychological Association, carry some articles on behavior modification as well as many articles on other topics within the areas of abnormal behavior and clinical psychology. The quality of articles in general tends to be quite high, and is especially so for the behavior modification research published.

Research Review in Corrections



Chapter V: Research Review in Corrections

This chapter relates to research that is presently applicable and that has been performed in a correctional milieu. The overall picture is that there is a dearth of correctional research, as compared with behavior therapy in the areas of mental health and mental retardation. This review is not intended to be a complete treatment of the subject but to merely describe reported correctional research.

The change processes outlined earlier in Chapter II are illustrated by the following research reports:

- (1) Operant Conditioning: Research Reports 1-15 (positive reinforcement [reward], negative reinforcement [punishment], token economies, use of "time-out from reinforcement," and contingency contracting)
- (2) Classical Conditioning: Research Report 16 (counterconditioning, systematic desensitization and aversive counterconditioning)
- (3) Modeling: Research Report 17 (and partially covered in number 2)
- (4) Educational Techniques: Research Report 18 (role playing, programmed instruction)
- (5) Overall Descriptive Research: Research Reports 19-22

In order to provide structure, the research has been abstracted in the following form:

- (1) Characteristics of subject population
- (2) Setting
- (3) Target behavior
- (4) Change procedure utilized
- (5) Results
- (6) Adequacy of experiment
- (7) Relevance for corrections

Research Report I

Bailey, J.; Phillips, E.; and Wolf, M. "Home-based Reinforcement and the Modification of Predelinquents' Classroom Behavior." Paper presented at the 78th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, 1970.

Two experiments are described using the same population and setting:

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Five males, age 11-15, assigned by the juvenile court after sufficient trouble in the community. Identified in school as disruptive influences (tardy, truant, cutting classes, acts of aggression).

2. Setting:

Home-style rehabilitation facility for predelinquents - established on a token economy. One of the program's main goals is to divert youngsters from the juvenile system.

3. Experiment I:

Target Behavior:

- (a) Study behavior
- (b) Classroom demeanor

Measured by evaluations of trained observers and recorded as to whether boys were working in workbooks (study period) or were being disruptive and/or inattentive - according to a set of detailed and reliable response definitions.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Boys required to carry daily report card reflecting "studied whole period" and "obeyed the rules." Positive marking gave assurance of valued privileges (T.V., snacks, etc.) - while negative resulted in loss of privileges.

5. Results:

Conditions

- Carrying of card only with observer marking "yes" for all boys resulted in initial dramatic improvement in study behavior and drop in rule violations - behaviors deteriorated shortly.
- Carrying card with discrimination of good from bad behavior reflected on card - behavior improved dramatically.
- Boys advised that they did not have to earn privileges resulted in 50% time in disruptive and 25% in appropriate study demeanor.
- Carrying card and earning privileges resulted in excellent classroom behavior (90%).

Experiment II: (to determine if same results could be obtained in a regular school classroom)

Observer sent to youths' math class - recorded study behavior for each class period.

Results: Under conditions outlined in #1, the outcomes were essentially the same.

6. Adequacy of Experiments: Very good

7. Relevance for Corrections:

(a) Contingencies provided in "half-way house" setting and their application for community adjustment.

(b) For institutional program the use of operants demonstrated in experiment in the educational program.

Research Report 2

Boren, J.J. and Colman, A.D. "Some Experiments on Reinforcement Principles within a Psychiatric Ward for Delinquent Soldiers." Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, 1970, 3, 29-37.

Five experiments are described using the same population and setting.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

"Delinquent soldiers," diagnosed as having character and/or behavior disorders, with records of repeated offenses of being AWOL, minor crimes, suicide gestures, difficulties with parents, school officials, Army officers. Twelve to fifteen men normally on ward.

2. Setting:

Army psychiatric hospital inpatient ward with census of 12-15 men, being operated on a token economy. Patients could earn points for "appropriate social behaviors" including attending educational classes, dressing neatly, carrying out work projects, etc. Points were exchangeable for (backed up by) semi-private rooms, coffee, access to TV set, pool room, weekend passes.

3. Experiment I:

Target Behavior:

Participation in daily half mile run - dependent variable was percentage of men running.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Various point (reinforcement) levels for engaging in behavior, plus modeling of behavior by Army officer, psychiatric resident.

5. Results:

- (a) Minimal effects of small reward (4 points) 10% only
- (b) Increased participation with more reward (20 points) 20-30%
- (c) Modeling by officer had no effect
- (d) More increased participation with larger reward (30 points) 30-60%
- (e) Drop off to almost nothing with modeling but no reinforcement

Experiment II:

Target Behavior:

Attendance at morning ward meeting.

Change Procedures Utilized:

Moderate reward for attendance (20 points) 70-100%; imposition of punishment in form of fine for not attending but still being in bed; return to baseline reward level.

Results:

Imposition of fine (punishment) resulted in dramatic drop off in target behavior (50% to 0) and generalization of rebellious behavior (could be men saw fine as purchase price for non-attendance and extra time in bed). Insuitability of punishment in this setting.

Experiment III:Target Behavior:

Attendance at morning ward meeting.

Change Procedures Utilized:

Moderate reward for attendance (20 points) baseline down to 40% and chaining procedure whereby reward given for behavior and must engage in target behavior to be eligible to earn points for rest of day.

Results:

Increase to 60% then 85% as a result of chained schedule of reinforcement.

Experiment IV:Target Behavior:

Verbal report on preceding activity before whole group - public speaking practice.

Change Procedures Utilized:

Baseline was reward for speaking which led to one or two speakers doing all - attempt to get more men to speak.

(a) Group contingency - listeners receive (25 for 3) points for number of first time speakers each day. Speaker given only 5 points. Attempt to manipulate "peer group pressure."

(b) Individual contingency - speaker given many points for his first speech each week.

Results:

Individual contingency better.

Experiment V:

Submitting problems of special category - "here and now" rather than past or displaced.

Change Procedures Utilized:

(a) Social praise for submitting target behavior problem and points for attending group meeting.

(b) Bonus points for target behavior.

Results:

Change in target behavior from 14% (1) to 35% (2) drop in displaced category - least rewarded from 75% (1) to 35% (2).

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Very good.

7. Relevance for Corrections:

(a) Ward Management - Experiments 1-5 can be readily applied as operant strategies.

(b) Example of excellent research design and methodology.

Research Report 3

Brown, G. Duane and Tyler, Vernon O., Jr. "Time Out from Reinforcement: A Technique for Dethroning the 'Duke' of an Institutionalized Delinquent Group." Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines, 9 (3/4), 203-211.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Case narrative of 16 year old male offender, twice committed to institutions and had served eleven months. Frequent aggressive outbursts in school resulting in suspension and attention of Juvenile Court for larceny and "incurability."

2. Setting:

Juvenile institution, cottage style residence, population varied but normal census was 20 boys, ages 14 to 16. Open door policy for all cottages. Normal preferred treatment method was group and individual counseling with confrontative base. Because of management problems by subject, specialized program was initiated to attack aggressive behavior by using the technique of social isolation, an attempt to remove the social rewards for his behavior.

3. Target Behavior:

(a) Intimidating - aggressive behavior.

Measured subjectively by observation of ward staff of indications of intimidation of other youngsters, suspicion of his instigation staff - resistant behavior.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Systematic use of social isolation (time out from reinforcement). Isolation contingencies were defined broadly enough to encompass every conceivable situation that could contribute to the maintenance of subject's role as "duke."

5. Results:

(a) Verbal reports of staff related to decrements in aggressive behavior, beginning in sixth week, continued improvement rated throughout three months until he was considered a "normal child."

(b) Institution of the procedure placed the cottage staff back in control of the cottage and created a better environment.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Unknown.

While the strategy seemed to work, there were too many independent variables that were not controlled subsequently; to render an opinion as to the efficacy of the change procedure originally intended would be presumptuous.

7. Relevance for Corrections:

In institutional cottage management an example of the use of time out from reinforcement as an operant strategy.

Research Report 4

Burchard, J. D. and Taylor, V. O. "The Modification of Delinquent Behavior Through Operant Conditioning." Behavior Research and Therapy, 1965, 2, 245-250.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Subject was 13 year old male adjudicated delinquent, committed to Department of Institutions due to numerous aggressive altercations in community, setting fires, destroying property. History of continued deterioration of behavior with increased difficulty in control (40 occasions of destructiveness requiring isolation cumulating to 200 days in previous year to study).

2. Setting:

Juvenile Treatment Center, utilizing a variety of treatment methods, no specific program of token economy.

3. Target Behavior:

Anti-social behavior.

Generally not documented but defined as "any behavior which would normally require a sanction, verbal or otherwise."

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

(a) Time-out from reinforcement: immediate and perfunctory placement in sterile isolation area.

(b) Differential reinforcement and shaping: for each hour out of isolation tokens were given (tokens used for recreational activities, beverages, etc.). After two months changes were made which required two hours for each token with bonus tokens for each 24 hours without isolation.

5. Results:

(a) Gradual but consistent decline in frequency of unacceptable behavior (decline of 33% from first to fifth month).

(b) Subjective analysis indicating a decrement in seriousness of offenses.

(c) Elimination of the grossly unmanageable aspects of subject's behavior.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Fair; poor documentation of target behavior desired to be changed.

7. Relevance for Corrections:

Provides evidence suggesting that anti-social institutional behavior can be shaped and maintained.

Research Report 5

Cantrell, Robert P.; Cantrell, Mary Lynn; Huddleston, Clifton M.; and Wooldridge, Ralph L. "Contingency Contracting with School Problems." Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis. 1969, 2 (3), 215-220.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Underachieving public school children, first through eleventh grades, who were seen as potential school drop-outs.

2. Setting:

Diagnostic and remedial education center employing contingency contracting. Contract defined ways in which subject could earn points necessary for academic growth (homework assignment, specialized task); points could be exchanged for preferred activities or money.

3. Target Behaviors:

Individualized referral problems.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Written contracts delineating remedial changes in reinforcement contingencies. Specificity as to desired appropriate behaviors chosen as incompatible with referral problem behavior.

Daily record of contracted behaviors and reinforcers.

5. Results:

Preliminary data led authors to conclude that contingency contracting could and should be useful with school age potentially delinquent children.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Unknown

It appears methodologically sound; however, it is too early to speculate as to overall adequacy due to only preliminary data being available.

7. Relevance to Corrections:

(a) Application of contingency contracting related to educational programs in institutions and community follow-up.

(b) Feasibility of research to consider contingency contracting when a person enters the criminal justice system. For states having the indeterminate sentence it would be program additive.

(c) Overall, the article is extremely well written and informative to anyone considering institution of contingency contracting.

5. Adequacy of Experiment: Poor

It should be noted that the study was in its formative stages when reported upon.

6. Relevance for Corrections:

An informative overview of some of frustrations, "trials and tribulations" of treatment of delinquents is presented in the introduction.

Research Report 7

Colman, Arthur D., and Boren, John, Jr. "An Information System for Measuring Patient Behavior and its Use by Staff." Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, 1969, 2 (3), 207-214.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

"Delinquent soldiers," diagnosed as having behavioral and character disorders. Described as "typically 21, single, previous history of acting-out behavior, recurring fights, poor job stability and manipulative suicide gestures."

2. Setting:

Army, inpatient research psychiatric ward being operated as "token economy." Point system was used to "pay off" desirable behavior. Points could be exchanged for reinforcers in the system such as cards, TV, passes and extra education. Patient had opportunity to hierarchically move through phase system based upon illustration of ability to responsibly and responsively handle social behavior.

Research Report 6

Carpenter, Patricia; Carom, Robert. "Green Stamp Therapy: Modification of Delinquent Behavior Through Food Trading Stamps." Proceedings of the 76th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1968, 3, 531-532.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

"Boys activity therapy group," ages 10-12, six subjects who had manifested such behavior as stealing, truancy, disobedience, sexually acting out, and open aggression.

2. Setting:

Child Study Clinic attached to the Wayne County (Detroit) Juvenile Court. After using other treatment approaches the author elects behavior modification. Youngsters could earn green stamps for attendance, promptness, helpfulness to others, waiting for satisfactions, talking during discussion.

3. Target Behavior:

Generalized social behavior alluded to, such as "stopping play to discuss problems, putting play equipment away, and attendance and promptness at meetings." Measurement not included.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Not given. Omnibus statement that rewards (in the form of green stamps) were to be utilized.

Confusing the issue further is the fact that the therapist states that other psychodynamic therapeutic techniques (ego support, reeducation, catharsis) were used.

3. Target Behaviors:

(a) A number of patient behaviors, some of which were described previously which resulted in point earning or spending. Points were recorded directly on a data matrix designed as a daily economic balance sheet.

(b) Change in global behavior of staff so as to provide more objective evaluation of patient behavior. No specific measures set up, although self-report by staff and observers' impression of staff activities bears credibility.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Information available at all times to staff and patients through recording of points earned for appropriate patient behavior on a data matrix; subsequently, graphs were prepared which reflected these behaviors; participation of patient group in various ward activities, and an overall index of ward activities. In addition, techniques were devised so that ward staff could evaluate the success of their procedures over substantial time periods.

5. Results:

Subjectively reported the fact that the

(a) Staff readily accepted the matrix information system (rather than nursing progress notes).

(b) Patient and staff were appraised of performance at all times.

(c) Emphasis placed upon positive balances (consistent with the ward structure to reinforce appropriate behavior).

(d) Assisted staff to objectively monitor short and long term contingency (daily, weekly, monthly).

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Good

7. Relevance for Corrections:

(a) Introduction of data system for incarcerated offenders would provide more objective evaluation, plus a positive emphasis - "what he can do, rather than what he can't do."

(b) Provide information so that effective procedures for modifying behavior can be identified from the information system.

(c) Data matrix system would provide paroling authorities with more objective information regarding decision making concerning parole.

Research Report 8

Martin, Marian; Burkholder, Rachael; Rosenthal, Ted L.; Tharp, Roland G.; and Thorne, Gaylord L. "Programming Behavior Change and Reintegration into School Milieux of Extreme Adolescent Deviates." Behavior Research and Therapy, 1968, (3), 371-383.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Nine subjects - non-adjudicated youngsters - ranging in age from 13-18, who had been placed on homebound program (used for unmanageable children whose place in normal class proved to be unenable). Collectively, there was a history of fighting, truancy, sexual promiscuity, stealing and disruption of school.

2. Setting:

Joint program between the local school district and a Mental Health Center. Classroom on grounds of Center with academic program,

employing a token reinforcement system, was established. Program was based upon discriminative stimuli, "modeling", and sequencing of steps into phases.

3. Target Behavior:

Disruptive school behavior.

Particular undesirable behavior was defined for each student on a subjective basis, baseline established.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Points (initially on a fixed, later on a variable ratio) were dispersed for individual school appropriate behavior. Intra-staff recording by trained observers and teachers (recorder reliability .91). Points were exchangeable for personal items; students could earn "notes" to be taken home and exchanged for reinforcers.

A "phase system" evolved with demand increased and with simultaneous reduction of contingent concrete reinforcements; phases were Preliminary, Intermediate, Advanced, Honors and Post-Graduate - each phase identified requirements, reinforcers and time schedules.

5. Results:

(a) Overall disruptive behavior decrease, attendant with increase in frequency of work behavior (45% to 70%).

(b) Most highly disruptive students showed a marked reduction of disruptive behavior (one case - 80%, reduced to 5%).

(c) In the phase system typically there was a drop in work behavior, a rise in disruptiveness, after promotion to a higher phase level.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Good

7. Relevance for Corrections:

(a) Application to institutional education program.

(b) An avenue for corrections to involve the parents or guardian in a concrete way, i.e., notes sent home.

(c) Concept of the phase program could serve as a symbolic model, which would have application of appropriate behavior in transitional facilities within the community.

Research Report 9

Meichenbaum, Donald H.; Bowers, Kenneth; Ross, Robert R. "Modification of Classroom Behavior of Institutionalized Female Adolescent Offenders." Behavior Research and Therapy, 1968, 6 (3), 345-353.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Female youthful offenders with a long history and high incidence of inappropriate and marked disruptive classroom behavior.

2. Setting:

Subjects incarcerated at a reception and diagnostic center, classroom setting operated as a token economy. Girls received slips of paper indicating percentage of appropriate behavior. Percentages were translated into money.

3. Target Behavior:

Classroom behavior.

Establishment and maintenance of appropriate classroom behavior measured by reliable time sampling assessment technique and use of

trained observers with the dichotomization of classroom behavior into appropriate and inappropriate categories.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Following a two-week baseline, operant procedure was implemented in which money was used as reinforcer, with potential earning power of \$2.00 for judged 100% appropriate behavior in each day.

5. Results:

(a) Significant difference in appropriate classroom behavior noted between samples and non-institutionalized (45% vs 83%); however, a consistent pattern of results was obtained with the introduction of reinforcement in both the morning and afternoon classes (29% to 100% and 44% to 95%).

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Good

7. Relevance for Corrections:

(a) Immediate implications in institutional academic program.

(b) An excellent introductory overview of problems encountered in working with the incarcerated youthful female is included.

Research Report 10

Phillips, Elery L. Achievement Place: "Token Reinforcement Procedures in Home-Style Rehabilitation Setting for 'Pre-Delinquent' Boys." Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, 1968, 1 (3), 213-223.

Five experiments are described using the same population and setting:

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Three "Pre-Delinquents," declared dependent-neglected by the County Court, background from low income families, with history of committing minor offenses (thefts, fighting, and general disruptive behavior) and histories of "school truancy" and "academic failure."

2. Setting:

Home-style, community-based, treatment facility using token reinforcement procedures. Points could be earned in the social, self-care and academic areas on a weekly basis with chaining procedures introduced whereby points given could be exchanged during the next week. In addition, certain privileges were sold to the highest bidder, i.e., choice of seats in the car, overseer in execution of household chores. Points earned were exchangeable for TV and other recreational activities.

3. Experiment I:

Target Behavior:

Aggressive verbal statements (stating or threatening inappropriate destruction or damage to any object, person or animal).

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Five conditions:

- Baseline - no contingencies
- Verbal correction
- 20 point fine contingent upon each response

- No fines, intermittent verbal threats to reinstate the fine conditions

- 50 point fines contingent upon each response

5. Results:

(a) Verbal correction reduced the responding of only one (1) boy

(b) Fines (20 points) produced an immediate and significant decline in statements

(c) Responses returned when fines were not levied

(d) 50 point fine produces dramatic decline in statements

Experiment II:

Target Behavior:

Bathroom cleaning.

Change Procedures Utilized:

Sixteen cleaning tasks involving sink, stools, floor were scored as accomplished or not accomplished and subjected to reward or fine.

Conditions - baseline (instructions given, no consequences contingent on their behavior, other than clean again if fewer than four of the tasks accomplished).

- one boy designated as manager, paid or fined workers (20 points) according to quality of work judged by him.

- group responsibility - fined when less than 75% of the sixteen tasks were completed - fines varied from 25 to 300 points.

- managerial designee (as aforementioned condition)
- group - same as previously with exception of fine being 100 points
- managerial designee (same as previous)

Results:

- (a) Points levied by manager were most significantly effective.
- (b) Imposition of larger fine results in better performance.

Experiment III:

Target Behavior:

Punctuality (recorded by returning home from school, going to bed and returning home from errands).

Change Procedures Utilized:

Fine of 20 points for every minute late (dispersed when returned home or departed for bed).

Results:

Imposition of fine overall increased punctuality. Fining one measure seemed to have no effect upon others.

Experiment IV:

Target Behavior:

Homework completion.

Change Procedures Utilized:

Various conditions were tested - monetarily (25 cents for each day's assignment if completed with less than 25% error); opportunity

to stay up late on the weekend or daily (one hour of time could be earned per assignment); points (500 each assignment) given for target behavior.

Results:

- (a) Points conditions were most effective.
- (b) Money yielding extremely poor outcome.
- (c) Daily late time was second most productive.

Experiment V:

Target Behavior:

Poor grammar (as recorded by the verbal response "ain't").

Change Procedures Utilized:

Various conditions such as verbal correction, a 20 point fine in conjunction with a verbal reprimand.

Results:

Change in target behavior under 20 point fine by immediate and consistent decline in frequency. Post check conditions (30 days) indicating transfer of treatment.

6. Adequacy of Experiments: Very good.

7. Relevance to Corrections:

(a) Concrete and dramatic use of operant strategies in a community-based correctional setting.

(b) Generalized application in use of and procedures in management of juvenile delinquents - particularly in areas that pose significant obstacles in working with adolescents.

(c) Overall structure and philosophy of Achievement Place should be considered by corrections, particularly in planning diversionary projects with delinquents.

Research Report 11

Schwitzgebel, Robert L. "Short-Term Operant Conditioning of Adolescent Offenders on Socially Relevant Variables." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 1967, 72 (2), 134-142.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Informally recruited from male adolescent street gangs from high crime area - 35 in three matched groups (2 experimental, 1 control) - mean age of 16.2 years, 9.1 years of completed school. Forty-eight of group had served 1.4 years on probation with seven subjects being incarcerated an average of 1.6 years.

2. Setting:

Storefront office - contact made initially at street corner. Participation in interviews and social activities with differential treatment during the course of twenty sessions regarding different operants utilizing selected mild aversive consequences and positive reinforcements.

3. Target Behaviors:

Improvement on four classes of operants - hostile statements, positive statements, prompt arrival at work (the sessions), and general sociability.

Statements were scored by independent raters in terms of "units," rather than separate sentences - positive statements (units of concern)

and negative statements (expressions showing antagonism). Arrival at work was measured objectively by a time record - socially desirable behavior measured by standardized series of test situations.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Delivery on a variable ratio schedule by experimenter of prescribed consequences after behavior: positive consequences consisted of verbal praise, small gifts (cigarettes, candy and cash bonuses in amounts varying from 25¢ to \$1.00); negative consequences were inattention and mild verbal disagreement.

5. Results:

Overall, a significant increase in frequency of behavior followed by positive consequences.

(a) Arrival time: by the sixth session differences in promptness of arrival was significant in the predicted direction (11.2 minutes difference in experimental and control groups).

(b) Verbal behavior: one experimental group shared significant change of 1.9 positive statements and 4.0 after reinforcement. Negative consequences for hostile statements shared small insignificant decrease.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Good

7. Relevance for Corrections:

(a) Illustration of short-term operant strategies - application could be made to diversionary projects and juvenile court service areas.

Research Report 12

Tyler, Vernon O., Jr., and Brown, Duane G. "The Use of Swift, Brief Isolation as a Group Control Device for Institutionalized Delinquents." Behavior Research and Therapy, 1967, 5, 1-9.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Fifteen (15) juveniles, ages 13-15, divided into two groups. Mean IQ of group was in low average range.

2. Setting:

Twenty subjects were court committed and involved in a "token economy" based on academic performance and residing in a cottage living unit of a state training school. They attended school in their own self-contained classroom supervised by two team teachers. Subjects observed a daily television newscast and the following morning a 10-item true-false test based upon program content was administered. Alternately tokens (contingency reward) and non-contingent (straight salary).

3. Target Behaviors:

Academic functioning of subject - current events.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

In Phase I - scoring of current events test resulted in Group I being paid in tokens according to scores earned on the test.

Group 2 was paid a "straight salary," redeemable for certain items (candy, gum, etc.). In Phase II - reinforcement contingencies switched.

5. Results:

(a) Test scores consistently higher (24 to 29 days) with group under contingent reinforcement.

(b) Both between group ($U=13$, approaches significance at the .05 level) and within group data clearly indicates that contingent reinforcement was associated with higher test performance than when reinforcement was non-contingent.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Good

7. Relevance for Corrections:

Illustrates the utility of using token economy, based on academic performance and would be informative for correctional administrators who are considering establishing a token economy.

Research Report 13

Wetzel, Robert. "Use of Behavioral Techniques in a Case of Compulsive Stealing." Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1966, 30 (5), 367-374.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Ten year old Mexican-American male, described as "mildly disturbed," with a five-year history of "compulsive stealing." Recurring problems with stealing and destructive behavior, expulsion from normal public schools and special education class. Report from guidance clinic (age 7) reveals a Stanford-Binet of 78, with diagnosis of Passive-Aggressive Personality, Aggressive Type.

2. Setting:

Residential Treatment Center for mildly disturbed children
(patient was ward of court for one and one-half years with one unsuccessful attempt at foster placement, due principally to stealing).

3. Target Behavior:

Compulsive stealing, measured by entering a "stealing incident" (property of another person or the school on his person, locker or his room) on a daily chart.

Positive reinforcement of appropriate alternative behavior was used. No systematic approach used, except staff was told to verbally praise and reinforce "socially appropriate behavior."

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Reinforcement from significant figure at residence - cook.
She was informed of stealing incident - immediately going to patient and advising him that he would be unable to go home with her that night.

5. Results:

(a) With steady progress - within 105 days the behavior dropped out.

(b) With stealing eliminated more acceptable peer relations were formed and the cook became a less significant figure.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Good

Would have been more effective if measurement procedures for the staff in their positive reinforcement of "socially appropriate behavior."

7. Relevance to Corrections:

- (a) Strategy in handling management problems in institutions.
- (b) Effective demonstration of use of child-care staff to provide treatment program with consultative assistance of professional staff.

Research Report 14

Tyler, Vernon O., Jr., and Brown, G. Duane. "Token Reinforcement of Academic Performance with Institutionalized Delinquent Boys." Journal of Educational Psychology, 1968, 59 (3), 164-168. (PA 42:12409)

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Subjects were 15 male adjudicated delinquents, ages 13-15, committed by the courts for varying crimes such as auto theft, "incorrigible," sex offenses, etc.

2. Setting:

Institutionalized in a reception center in an experimental cottage, having a simple 4 x 8 foot "time-out" room. Undesirable behavior resulted in placement in the "time-out" area.

3. Target Behavior:

Undesirable and inappropriate behavior around the pool table in the cottage.

Measurement was by staff agreement on constitution of undesirable behavior - breaking rules of the game, throwing or hitting with the pool cue, fighting, bouncing balls on the floor, touching moving balls.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Swift, brief time-out for inappropriate behavior (no warnings, no discussion, no arguments, no second chances).

5. Results:

(a) With institution of operant procedure theme was a clear and distinct decline in offense rate: (estimate - 63% drop).

(b) All subjects showed pattern of increase of offense rate when time-out was not administered.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Poor

The number of independent variables constitute insurmountable methodological limitations so that many questions are raised but few answered.

7. Relevance to Corrections:

The article could be informative regarding some of the practical considerations in using time-out from reinforcement.

Research Report 15

Tyler, Vernon, Jr. "Application of Token Reinforcement to Academic Performance of an Institutionalized Delinquent." Psychological Reports, 1967, 21 (1), 249-260.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Sixteen year old male identified as a delinquent, described as "glib, manipulative," history of stealing four cars. WISC IQ of 108 (Verbal IQ 97, Performance IQ 118).

2. Setting:

Juvenile treatment facility, through tokens earned with daily and weekly school grades subject "rented" the use of his mattress at night, the right to wear his own clothes and purchase canteen items with tokens.

3. Target Behavior:

Academic performance.

Measured by weekly grades in auto shop, mechanical drawing, science, English, and metal shop.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Performance measured daily by teacher who recorded effort exhibited on a daily grade sheet, carried from class to class by subject. A weekly academic performance grade was given.

In daily and weekly report: A equals 5 tokens, B equals 4 tokens, etc., permitting 30 tokens earning capacity per day.

5. Results:

(a) Over 30 week average weekly grades improved slightly with inclusive results. Previous grade point averages were .60, 1.00, .50, and 1.20; with reinforcement, averages rose to 3.00.

(b) An observable and verbalized dislike for school but still the impetus to work for tokens.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Fair to good, author alludes to a number of contaminating variables.

7. Relevance for Corrections:

Assist researchers with perennial question of whether behavior reinforced in the institution generalizes to the parole situation. It should be recognized that this subject's overall prognosis does not appear to be good; at the same time the article presents provocative considerations.

Research Report 16

Cautela, Joseph R. "Covert Sensitization." Psychological Reports, 1967, 20 (2), 459-468.

The author presents his theory and rationale for the treatment strategy he calls covert sensitization. He describes the application which is based upon principles of aversive cognitive counterconditioning.

Cautela sees particular application for maladaptive approach responses such as obsessions, compulsions, homosexuality, alcohol problems and juvenile delinquency.

In his approach to treating juvenile delinquency, he narratively and generally describes that fact that he has been using behavior therapy and his preliminary guess (1966) was that procedures such as relaxation, desensitization and covert sensitization would be applicable. It should be noted that the author has not published any substantive data since that time as to their effectiveness.

Involvement by the author in the juvenile area has been with court related cases; a severe alcohol problem who steals while under the influence, car stealing and glue sniffing.

There appears to be little relevance to the field of corrections for this approach, although the article bears reading from the standpoint of a clinical illustration of the "how to" of covert sensitization.

Interestingly, the author made the transition from dynamic psychotherapy to desensitization.

Research Report 17

Sarason, Irwin G. "Verbal Learning, Modeling, and Juvenile Delinquency." American Psychologist, 1968, 23 (4), 254-266.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Adjudicated juvenile male offenders, age range 15 1/2 to 18 where "acting out" behavior was such as to require commitment to the Department of Institutions.

2. Setting:

In the Juvenile Diagnostic and Classification Center, youthful male offenders committed by the Juvenile Courts were placed in session - two models (advanced graduate students in clinical psychology) and four subjects. Each session had a particular theme, e.g., applying for a job, developing more internal control, and using systematic exposure to identification models. Matched control group (age, intelligence level, severity and chronicity of delinquency) which used traditional role-playing around same problem areas were formed.

3. Target Behavior:

Generally stated, improvement of the vocational and educational plans of the juvenile offenders, their motivations, interests, attitudes

toward work and socially inappropriate behavior. Measures consisted of subjects' self-reports (Semantic Differential Test and Wahler's Self-Description Inventory) and cottage staff, using two pre- and post-ratings (Behavior Rating Scale and Weekly Behavior Summary).

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Exposure to modeling behavior in groups using a particular theme with emphasis placed on the generality of appropriate behaviors being modeled in order to emphasize their potential usefulness.

5. Results:

(a) Consistent tendency for experimental modeling group to show less discrepancy between present and idealized self (suggestion made that boys receiving the modeling condition become more personally dissatisfied with themselves and subsequently act upon it).

(b) Control subjects (role playing only) became more self-satisfied with themselves as they progressed.

(c) Greater willingness to admit having problems and difficulties have characterized the responses of the experimental, but not the control group.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Fair

The author sweeps back and forth between his general impressions of modeling, objective findings of two experiments and speculative methodology of a future experiment. Coupled with nebulous documentation of the change procedures utilized, the potential of the experimentation is not reached.

7. Relevance for Corrections:

(a) Immediate application for pre-release programs to utilize modeling strategies.

(b) Use of modeling to train probation and parole officers for community work.

Research Report 18

Clements, Carl B. and McKee, John M. "Programmed Instruction for Institutionalized Offenders: Contingency Management and Performance Contracts." Psychological Reports, 1968, 22, 957-964.

1. Characteristics of Subject Population:

Sixteen volunteer offenders, ages ranging from 17 to 35, with academic achievement levels from 7.6 to 11.2 grades. Background of offenders not given, although offenses were serious enough to warrant removal from the community.

2. Setting:

Institutionalized male offender subjects with the institution having a tradition of extensive use of programmed instruction. Four areas were included: learning (task) area, reinforcement event area, office and testing room. Programmed instruction materials assigned to all subjects - subject responds in a written manner to specially constructed questions and/or statements. Learner received immediate feedback as to correctness of each response.

3. Target Behaviors:

Completed academic work.

Baseline measurement by standardized achievement tests scores.

Unit tests were administered at designated intervals in each programmed course.

4. Change Procedures Utilized:

Early experimenter management phase consisted of programmed academic materials assigned daily under contractual agreements and contingency management procedures. Increments of 20% from preceding week; following completion options were available for recreation or additional study with bonus given for punctuality.

In a self-management phase the subject operated with performance contracting and contingency management except that he contracted for the amount of work he would do each day, with the only stipulation that it be additive to baseline conditions.

5. Results:

(a) Significant performance increase throughout baseline to management phase (25% increase in frames per day) - weekly increase did approximate 20%.

6. Adequacy of Experiment: Good

7. Relevance for Corrections:

(a) Programmed instruction has proven to be effective in a correctional setting, particularly with the fact that remedial education programs are available that can substantially attack the problem of illiteracy.

(b) From a human economic standpoint the selective use of programmed instruction can remove the inmate's dependence upon a teacher and classroom group.

(c) Contingency contracting has utility in institutional educational planning and also as an overall philosophy or approach with committed offenders.

Research Report 19

Akman, D. D.; Normandeau, A.; and Wolfgang, M. E. "The Group Treatment Literature in Correctional Institutions: An International Bibliography, 1945-1967." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1968, 59 (1), 41-56.

The authors provide a very thorough presentation of over 650 articles in the bibliography focusing attention on group counseling, group therapy, and group psychotherapy methods used in correctional institutions.

"Group Procedures" as a preferred method of treatment is coming to the forefront and receiving a great deal of attention.

The nomenclature for the articles is interesting as to whether the article is a general article, group experimental method; however, a more appropriate process would have been to look at the groups in terms of content and process. For example, it would have been more informative to know whether the group dealt with (a) training and educational content and information; (b) personal adjustment matters, or (c) exploration of intrapersonal and interpersonal feelings and attitudes.

For anyone interested in the establishment of groups, their utility and purpose this bibliography is the most extensive and comprehensive document available.

Research Report 20

Grossberg, J. "Behavior Therapy: A Review." Psychological Bulletin, 1964, 62 (2), 77-78.

In a very thorough and objective manner this article gives an up-to-date (1964) account of behavior therapy. As a survey article, it is one of the most thorough publications available concerning the application of behavior therapy as a treatment method, and bears review.

Contents included are:

- Background and history of behavior therapy and how it has evolved.
- Objective questions pertaining to conditioning procedures vs the psychodynamic model as a preferred method of treatment.
- A basic framework and classification of behavior therapy.
- Discussion and review of behavior therapy as it relates to
 - (a) Neurotic Disorders - phobias, anxiety reaction, situational stress reactions, sexual disorders, conversion reactions, alcoholism, and delinquency;
 - (b) Special and Miscellaneous Disorders - tics, skin eczemas;
 - (c) Psychotic Disorders in Adults and Childhood.

A very complete bibliography is available at the conclusion of the article and this factor, in and of itself, would make the article worthwhile.

Research Report 21

Krumboltz, John D. "Behavior Goals for Counseling." Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1966, 13 (2), 153-159.

Concise in nature, this article is an excellent treatment of goals in counseling and provides a framework for both the understanding and appreciation of goals and behavior therapy. It would be helpful as a review for practitioners in behavior therapy and those interested in using behavior therapy as a basic philosophy and/or approach in handling various psychological problems.

The author outlines criteria for setting counseling goals:

- (a) Goals should be capable of being stated differentially for each client.
- (b) Goals for each client should be compatible with, though not necessarily identical to, the counselor's goals.
- (c) The degree to which goals of counseling are attained should be observable.

Three types of goals are listed:

- (a) Altering maladaptive behavior
- (b) Learning the decision making process
- (c) Preventing problems.

The last part of the article deals with some of the consequences of establishing behavioral statements of counseling goals.

The task of stating behavior goals is, in fact, hard work and the job has scarcely begun. Only when the goals of counseling are clearly stated and communicated will we be able to engage in the service and experimentation which will ultimately benefit clients, counselors and citizenry alike.

For anyone involved in the area of rehabilitation of the juvenile and public offender, this article will assist in examining the germane question of our "involvement" with him.

Research Report 22

Pigott, Richard A. "Behavior Modification and Control in Rehabilitation." Journal of Rehabilitation, 1969, 35, (4), 12-15.

The author introduces very basic concepts of learning and operant procedures and relates these to the field of rehabilitation. Application to a number of problematic behaviors such as delinquency are reviewed.

This particular article gives an excellent survey of behavioral therapy and would be helpful to vocational rehabilitation agency personnel entering the field of corrections. In providing an overview, it could be of help to anyone interested in the topic.

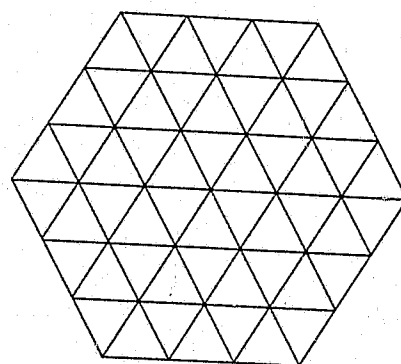
Summary and Conclusions

A review of the literature reveals that behavior therapy has been applied to many neurotic and psychotic disorders and has been successful with disorders involving a certain amount of maladaptive behaviors. Conditioning procedures were highly effective with phobic reactions, anxiety reactions, bed wetting, stuttering and tics. Although a great deal of attention has been given to treatment of alcoholism and certain sexual disorders, it was found that behavior therapies are disappointing as a method of treatment.

In the present state of the art, corrections would seem to find its best sources to be in an overall treatment approach, contingency contracting, and modeling. Certainly out of some of the research presently underway at the Kennedy Center and some of the projects funded through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration there will hopefully be generated and identified a number of new strategies to deal with the delinquent and the public offender. For example, the most ambitious undertaking found recently in the area of juvenile corrections is with the South Carolina Department of Juvenile Corrections (see appendix 2). It should be of interest to watch that particular program develop.

The Robert F. Kennedy Center in its token economy program has built in and maintained the flexibility to change procedures as more appropriate approaches are identified. This is the present spirit of corrections and it needs to be maintained. Only through willingness to experiment will we make the progress that is needed.

Appendixes



APPENDIX 1

A TOKEN ECONOMY IN A CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION FOR YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS

BY
LOREN KARACKI AND ROBERT B. LEVINSON, PH.D.

REPRINTED FROM
THE HOWARD JOURNAL OF PENOLOGY AND CRIME PREVENTION
VOL. XIII, NO. 1, 1970, pp. 20-30

NOTE: Mr. Karacki is Program Research Analyst, Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center, Morgantown, West Virginia. Dr. Levinson is Chief, Psychology Services, United States Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.

INTRODUCTION

On January 14, 1969, the Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center (KYC) began operation with the arrival of 85 youthful offenders. Designed to replace the century-old National Training School in Washington, D.C., KYC is an open, cottage-type institution nestled within a scenic valley near Morgantown, West Virginia. With capacity set at 325, the Center receives Federal law violators, ages 15-19, whose homes, generally, are in the eastern half of the nation^{1/}. The largest offender category, by far, consists of Dyer Act violators (persons who have crossed a state line in a stolen automobile). Other major offense categories include drug law violators, postal law violators, and individuals who have committed crimes on Federal property.

The treatment program at the Center incorporates a number of innovations. Prominent among these are: (1) a differential treatment program based upon a behavior typology developed by Quay, et. al.^{2/}; (2) an educational/vocational program built around various vocational clusters^{3/}; and (3) a token economy system which enables the performance of students--inmates--to be evaluated and rewarded.

In this article, the token economy system will be discussed--first, by describing how the system operates; second, by indicating some of the advantages seen in this approach over more traditional institutional reward systems; and, finally, by providing a preliminary assessment as to how the token economy system has functioned thus far. Before proceeding, however, a brief description of other aspects of the program at KYC is in order^{4/}.

DIFFERENTIAL CLASSIFICATION

When a new student--as offenders are referred to at KYC--is received at the institution, he is sent to the Reception Center where he remains for approximately two weeks. While there, he undergoes extensive testing, including the administration of test instruments especially developed by Quay and his colleagues for rating students along various behavioral dimensions. Based upon this test profile, the newly admitted student is classified into one of five behavioral categories or BC-types: BC-1 (inadequate-immature); BC-2 (neurotic-disturbed); BC-3 (psychopathic-aggressive); BC-4 (sub-cultural-gang oriented); and a more recently established and as yet untitled BC-5 category, which is a sub-group of BC-1 and BC-4. He is then assigned to the particular cottage where his BC-type is housed.

Once assigned to his regular cottage, the student becomes the responsibility of that cottage's classification committee. The Cottage Committee consists of the Cottage Supervisor (a caseworker), the student's Counselor (a Correctional Officer/Counselor), and a member of the teaching staff. Cottage Committee members familiarize themselves with the student's case and, in consultation with other members of the staff, develop and monitor a treatment and training program relevant to the particular needs of the student. Since the program at KYC consists primarily of academic and vocational training during the day and an evening cottage program, the main task of the Cottage Committee is that of involving the student meaningfully

in these areas. In addition, however, attention must be given to such matters as release planning, the student's medical and religious needs, and assignment to chores for two hours per day.

HOUSING UNITS

Cottages are designed to handle up to 55 students. They are staffed by a Cottage Supervisor (a social worker), an Assistant Cottage Supervisor (a Correctional Supervisor), two or more Correctional Officer/Counselors, and enough Correctional Officers to provide 24-hour coverage. Each cottage operates more or less as an autonomous unit and has responsibility for developing and implementing a program especially suited for the BC-type individual it houses.

In the case of the BC-1 or immature group, for example, since these students characteristically are weak and dependent individuals who behave in childish and irresponsible ways, the major program objective is to establish a secure and non-threatening environment in which "growing-up" can be stressed. The approach taken is a combination of individual counseling--"fatherly" talks--and group activities such as town meetings and group discussions.

In contrast, since the BC-3 or psychopathic group consists of rather aggressive, manipulative individuals who frequently become institutional "trouble-makers," the primary objective in that cottage has been to provide an environment in which their energy can be absorbed while control is still maintained. Consequently, emphasis has been placed upon athletics and

other forms of physical activity with only limited effort made to establish verbal interaction through individual or group counseling^{5/}.

THE PROGRAM DAY

During weekdays, students usually are scheduled for six hours of training. This program represents a major effort in integrating vocational training with academic instruction. The program is structured around several vocational clusters such as aerospace, graphic arts, and electronics. These, in turn, are subdivided into various segments such as power technology, wood and plastics technology, and metals technology, to name three under the aerospace label. The academic and vocational training students receive in each vocational cluster is specifically geared to the knowledge and skills necessary for employment in that vocational field. In this manner, the practical value of classroom instruction is made apparent.

Nearly two hours of a student's day are spent on a chore detail. The work performed contributes to institutional maintenance and is not regarded as having any specific treatment value for students. Religious instruction and medical treatment are also provided. An effort is made to maintain community contact through such modalities as town visits, furloughs, and work/study release.

CLASS LEVELS

Another aspect of the program at KYC is a class level or privilege system. All students begin at the Trainee or lowest class level. They must

demonstrate their ability to progress in their program before they can be promoted to the next level of Apprentice and eventually to the highest class level--Honor student. The higher the level, the greater the advantages. For example, while Trainees can only wear institutional issue khaki clothing, Apprentice students are permitted to wear civilian clothing during evening hours and weekends while Honor students wear regular clothes whenever they wish. Similarly, whereas Trainees are not permitted to leave the institution, Apprentices are eligible for town trips and study release while Honor students are also eligible for home furloughs, work release, and parole.

OVERVIEW OF THE TOKEN ECONOMY SYSTEM

A major element of the program at KYC is the token economy system or the method by which students are, in effect, rewarded for appropriate behavior. Based upon operant conditioning principles of behavior modification through application of external rewards, this approach to retraining has been successful in such diverse fields as mental health and work with the mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed^{6/}. Its application in the field of corrections, however, has been limited, mainly being restricted to small experimental studies^{7/}. Consequently, the token economy at KYC represents one of the more ambitious undertakings of this nature to date in the field of corrections^{8/}.

STUDENT EARNINGS

The token economy at KYC provides a method by which students earn "points" for good behavior. The points have a monetary value (1 point = 1 cent) and can be used for the purchase of various goods and services. Points are earned in two ways: (1) through a regular token economy system by which student earns points on a weekly basis while functioning in the areas of cottage, school, and chores; and (2) by a bonus point system in which points can be immediately awarded youths for certain positive kinds of behavior.

In the regular system, the amount of points a student can earn in any week is dependent upon his class level at KYC. Trainees can earn up to 750 points with 250 coming from the cottage area, 375 from school, and 125 from chore detail; Apprentices earn at a rate of 10 percent greater than Trainees; and Honor students earn at a rate 20 percent greater than Trainees.

Rating forms are used by staff to evaluate student performance. Regarding school, for example, the form contains such items as: arrives on time, uses class time productively, plans work, and so forth. The basis for evaluation is deliberately flexible so that one student may be scored on a variety of behavioral items while another may only be evaluated in the one area where he has evidenced problems in the past. Rating forms are completed by Sunday of each week, and on Thursday students receive an earnings statement indicating points received and their current financial status.

The bonus point system (the second method by which students can earn points) differs from the regular economy in that rewards are immediate and no limit exists on the number of bonus points a student can earn over a given period of time--although there is a limit on the number of bonus points any individual act can be awarded. It is expected that bonus points will be used primarily to reward especially meritorious behavior. For example, the successful completion of a unit of study by a recalcitrant student or assisting staff in an emergency situation are acts which may warrant issuance of bonus points. Such bonuses consist of slips of paper on which a student's name is written; these are given directly to the student by the staff member.

The bonus point system, with its emphasis upon immediate and unlimited rewards, is more consistent with the tenets of operant conditioning theory which hold that new behavioral learning is more likely to occur if desired behavior is rewarded immediately every time it takes place. It is, therefore, an effective device for "shaping" new behavior. The problem, of course, with this approach is that it tends not to be the manner by which society rewards its members. Consequently, the weekly token economy system, with its reliance upon delayed gratification and definite limits to rewards, represents a system more nearly approximating conditions outside the institution. It is hoped that this combination of approaches to rewarding positive behavior will prove to be a more effective treatment tool.

STUDENT SPENDING

Points earned are nontransferable from student to student. They are used in a variety of ways, some of which reflect voluntary spending and others involuntary charges against student accounts, as follows:

Savings - all Trainees are required to deposit 40 percent of their net earnings in a savings account, Apprentices 20 percent, and Honor students whatever they may voluntarily choose to set aside. Three percent simple interest is paid on deposits which are "frozen" until the student's release. Students who run away or who are transferred to another institution for disciplinary reasons automatically forfeit their savings.

Room rental - Trainees pay a room rental of 70 points per week, Apprentices 140 points, and Honor students 280 points. Differences in rental rates reflect variations in accommodations and privileges associated with place of residence. The living area for Trainees consists of small cubicles separated by shoulder high partitions; Apprentices have private rooms without sink and toilet facilities; and Honor students have private rooms with sink and toilet.

Earnings Tax - Each student is charged a weekly earnings tax of three percent of his gross earnings which is placed in a general fund for his cottage. These funds are used to sponsor social events such as dances and splash parties, and to pay for property damage in the cottage.

Fines - Students can be fined for misconduct. In one case, for example, a youth was fined 500 points for having taken a bottle of India ink for use as a tattooing agent.

Commissary and Snack Bar Purchases - Points can be used to purchase such items as cigarettes, soap, and toothpaste from the Commissary and candy bars, soft drinks and ice cream from the cottage Snack Bar. Purchases are made with "spending cards" which students obtain by writing checks against their spending accounts. Each spending card is worth 200 points. Printed on it are values of five and ten points which are punched out by staff as purchases are made.

Recreation and Special Services Charges - Many leisure time activities available at KYC must be paid for by the students. It costs to see a movie, to shoot a game of table pool, or to use the gymnasium or swimming pool beyond the prescribed program. Other privileges also carry a charge. Trips to town for special events, for example, cost points and a charge is made for renting civilian clothing for the occasion. While no set formula exists for determining how much an item or service should cost, generally the charges are in line with actual prices in the free community.

Miscellaneous Charges - Other ways in which points can be used include the purchase of civilian clothing, rental of cameras, a charge for overdrawn checking accounts, and a tariff on items sent to students from outside the institution by friends and relatives.

ADVANTAGES OF THE TOKEN ECONOMY SYSTEM

It can hardly be said that there is something new or revolutionary in a correctional method which provides external rewards for positive behavior. On the contrary, such reward systems tend to be the very cornerstone upon

which most institutional programs are built. This principle is reflected in such well established practices as parole, "good time," custody grading, and institutional work-pay systems. Further, the token economy system does not eliminate other institutional reward systems. Rather, its contribution is one of strengthening and enhancing these other aspects of the total institutional program. Nevertheless, the token economy at KYC is sufficiently different from other monetary reward systems to give it a rather unique and experimental character. And found in these differences is its potential for greater correctional effectiveness.

1. Inclusiveness - Most institutional monetary reward systems are based solely upon work assignment performance. As a result, it is quite possible for an offender not to participate in a significant segment of the institutional program and yet receive full monetary reward, provided his non-compliance is manifested outside the work situation. In contrast, the token economy system extends into virtually all aspects of a student's life at the Youth Center. Students are not only evaluated on how they perform in their chore detail but also in school and in their cottages. Consequently, it is extremely difficult for a youth to "beat the system"--remain detached from his program--without adversely affecting the amount of points he earns.

2. Flexibility of Application - Not only do most monetary reward systems apply only to the work situation but they also tend to be administered along rather narrowly prescribed and inflexible lines. Inmates are paid simply for being in the work area or their pay is based upon the extent to

which they maintain production schedules. In either case, the basis for evaluation is quite restricted and usually has little real bearing on individual situations. In contrast, the basis for evaluation at the Youth Center is extremely flexible and broad based. It is possible, for example, for one student to be rewarded mainly in terms of how he conforms to institutional rules and regulations and for another to be evaluated primarily on the basis of progress toward obtaining a high school degree or on his behavior in cottage group sessions. In this manner, staff are able to direct the token economy system towards what appears to be a particular treatment and training need of a youth and to shift focus as circumstances warrant.

3. Universality - Another weakness or shortcoming of usual institutional monetary reward systems is that they frequently exclude certain members of the offender population, thus contributing to gross inequities among inmates. This is usually the case with a work-pay system where there are not enough jobs to go around or when new admissions are not assigned to work details until after completing the orientation period. At KYC, all students participate in the token economy system from day of arrival to day of departure. As a result, variations in student earnings should reflect actual differences in behavior rather than merely fortuitous circumstance or worse.

4. Self-contained Nature - A problem with some institutional monetary reward systems is that they are easily undermined by funds received from friends and relatives outside the institution. Consequently,

differences which existed among offenders on the outside tend to be repeated inside the institution and, for those receiving such funds, the motivation to comply with institutional standards is often reduced. In the extreme, excessive pressure is placed on marginal family resources to provide funds for some incarcerated offenders; while affluent "racketeers" buy their way through their confinement period.

At the Youth Center, money sent to students is held for them until they are ready to leave and cannot be used in their spending account. Furthermore, restrictions are placed on the kind of items a student can receive from outside the institution, while those which are permitted, as noted earlier, are subject to a tariff. In this way, the attempt is made to make the student solely dependent upon his own efforts and the token economy system for his source of goods.

5. Variety of Choice - In many institutions, what an inmate can do with his funds is limited to what is available in the Commissary and Snack Bar. At the Youth Center, students not only enjoy their privileges, but have many other goods and services available to them. They can buy telephone calls home or pay for items ordered from a mail order catalog; they can pay to attend selected events in the community such as athletic games, concerts, plays; they can pay to attend dances and parties; they can pay to use recreation equipment and facilities during their leisure hours, and so forth. This variety of choice makes the token economy system significant and meaningful for the KYC students.

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

INITIAL EXPERIENCES

The KYC token economy has not been an easy system to operate. The seemingly countless forms and unrelenting deadlines necessary to operate the system on a current basis have required an enormous effort from institutional personnel and, at times, have taxed the patience of even the most sanguine staff member. Nevertheless, the expectation is that it will prove to be both an effective population control device and a powerful treatment tool.

Since the program at KYC has only been in operation a brief period, any effort at assessing the token economy system at this time would be premature, particularly since the evaluation, in part, is dependent upon obtaining follow-up information on students after release. It is possible, however, to comment on how the token economy system has operated thus far.

Within the framework of operant conditioning theory, consideration must be given to: (1) determining the desired behavior; (2) observing and recording occurrences of the desired behavior; and (3) providing appropriate rewards. It is within this context that the following discussion proceeds since problems have been encountered in each area.

DETERMINATION OF BEHAVIOR TO BE REWARDED

It is important to note that the principles of operant conditioning theory provide a method of changing behavior but not a method for selecting the behavior to be changed. Ultimately, therefore, the success or failure

of any program of this sort depends on the ability of staff to select appropriate behavior.

In this regard, problems have arisen since staff have shown a tendency to become "form bound"; that is, they frequently rely upon the various rating forms mainly devised to suggest general ways students could be rewarded, rather than developing individualized behavior goals. This, in itself, would not be a problem if the purpose of the token economy system merely was to assure that students got up on time in the morning or remained seated in class; in other words, if the purpose was simply to run a "smooth" institution. As it is, since the token economy is also seen as contributing directly to offender rehabilitation, an effort must be made to relate it to the specific treatment and training needs of students.

Admittedly, this is no easy task. Frequently, what needs to be changed is not so much specific, observable behavior as it is such intangibles as attitudes and values. Moreover, one rarely finds at KYC such behavior as phobic reactions, serious withdrawal, tics, enuresis, or persistent assaultive behavior which readily lend themselves to treatment by operant conditioning techniques^{9/}. It is necessary, therefore, that cottage staff and school personnel receive assistance in this endeavor. This is being provided by psychologists on the Center's staff and by consultant psychologists.

Along these lines, a recent innovation has been the use of a reinforcement "menu" as part of the Admission Unit testing program^{10/}.

This will enable cottage personnel to individualize rewards since each student indicates those things he finds most pleasurable.

OBSERVING AND RECORDING BEHAVIOR

Numerous minor problems have arisen over such matters as communicating to staff behavior to be observed and devising forms for recording this behavior when it occurs. There has been, however, a persistent problem in the perception of how points are credited to students. It was originally intended that each student would begin each week with a clean slate and would accumulate points throughout the period as he demonstrated positive behavior. As it was, the forms for recording behavior were structured in such a manner that many students thought they began each week with the full quota of points and would lose points for misconduct. Consequently, rather than functioning as a positive reward system to promote new behavioral learning, the token economy system appeared to be another way to punish student misconduct. Efforts are now being made to re-direct the system along intended lines.

REWARDS FOR BEHAVIOR

A third problem area concerns the use of points earned. Somewhat unexpectedly, however, this involves those who provide the points rather than those who spend them, since it is essentially a budgetary problem which has arisen. Indeed, from the standpoint of the students, the reward system would seem to be working exceedingly well since, by objective

standards, it has fostered what can be called an "economy of abundance." That is, in addition to paying all involuntary charges against their accounts, students appear to be earning enough points to satisfy their wants for such "basic teenage staples" as candy bars, soft drinks, and cigarettes and still afford such "extras" as dances, games on the pool table, movies, etc. During the last week in July, for example, the average student began the week with over thirteen dollars in his spending account while earning over six dollars during the week. It is no wonder, therefore, that he could spend, on the average, more than three dollars for Commissary goods and another dollar for snack bar items during that week without causing a serious drain on his spending account.

It is noteworthy that this "economy of abundance" appears to have contributed to a positive institutional climate among students. At least there seems to be fewer instances of theft and related forms of misconduct at KYC than is usually the case in institutions for young offenders.

In order to appreciate the budgetary problem which has arisen, a distinction needs to be made between "hard" and "soft" items in the token economy. "Hard" items are those which must be paid for with real money from the token economy budget. Primarily this consists of money spent by students for consumable goods and money set aside for savings. "Soft items, in contrast, are those which are not charged to the token economy budget either because they are paid for from other budgets or because no actual costs are involved. Transportation to town, for example, is a "soft" item

because, although students must pay to go to town, the actual cost of their transportation is paid for from another budget.

Based upon original estimates, approximately \$2.50 was set aside for each student per week to cover the cost of "hard" items. As it turned out, over five dollars a week is being used for "hard" items or twice the budgeted amount. This suggests that staff may be too generous in the rewarding of points to students. It also indicates that additional planning needs to be done to develop more non-cost or "soft" items on which students can spend their funds. These areas are currently under review and some modification of the token economy system is expected.

Another issue concerns the rewards themselves. A few students have occasionally refused to perform desired behaviors because they feel too few points are being awarded. The value that students place on points is inverse to their need for them. As points accumulate in their spending accounts over the weeks, some feel they can afford to "loaf." While this is disconcerting for staff and may present some management problems, such a turn of events may not be totally undesirable. It does get across to the student the idea that "the good life" can be earned by staying within the law. The problem, of course, is to insure that good things are being earned and not given away in an unrealistically generous environment.

CONCLUSION

This discussion of the experience to date with the token economy system at KYC has concentrated on problems encountered. This should

not overshadow the general impression that the token economy has gotten off to a good start and appears to have received acceptance by both staff and students. Thus, while problems remain, the token economy at KYC has proven to be a workable system and one which deserves further testing and refinement.

- 1/ Youthful offenders from the western part of the nation are sent to the Federal Youth Center, Englewood, Colorado.
- 2/ Peterson, D. R., "Behavior Problems of Middle Childhood," Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1961, 25, 205-209; Peterson, D. R., Quay, H. C. and Cameron, G. R., "Personality and Background Factors in Juvenile Delinquency as Inferred from Questionnaire Responses," Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1959, 23, 395-399; Peterson, D. R., Quay, H. C., and Tiffany, T. L., "Personality Factors Related to Juvenile Delinquency," Child Development, 1961, 32, 355-372; Quay, H. C. and Peterson, D. R., "The Questionnaire Measurement of Personality Dimensions Associated With Juvenile Delinquency," Mimeo, 1964; Quay, H. C., "Personality Dimensions in Delinquent Males as Inferred from the Factor Analysis of Behavior Ratings," Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 1964, 1, 33-37; Quay, H. C., "Dimensions of Personality in Delinquent Boys as Inferred from the Factor Analysis of Case History Data," Child Development, 1964, 35, 479-484; Quay, H. C. and Quay, Lorene C., "Behavior Problems in Early Adolescence," Child Development, 1965, 36, 215-220; Quay, H. C., "Personality Patterns in Preadolescent Delinquent Boys," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 1966, 26, 99-110; Quay, H. C., Morse, W. C., and Cutter, R. L., "Personality Patterns of Pupils in Special Classes for the Emotionally Disturbed," Exceptional Children, 1966, 32, 297-301.
- 3/ Developed under contract by Learning Systems, Inc., Washington, D.C.
- 4/ A more detailed description of program is found in: Gerard, Roy, et. al., Differential Treatment...A Way to Begin. Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center, Morgantown, West Virginia, May 1969.
- 5/ The treatment approach for this group is based upon an experimental program developed at the National Training School in Washington, D.C. See: U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Project R.E.A.D.Y. (Reaching Effectively Acting-out Delinquent Youths). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1968. See also: Quay, Herbert C. and Levinson, Robert B., "The Prediction of the Institutional Adjustment of Four Sub-groups of Delinquent Boys," Mimeo, 1969.
- 6/ See, for example: Ayllon, Teodoro and Azrin, Nathan H., Token Economy: A Motivational System for Therapy and Rehabilitation. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.
- 7/ A recent list of 50 institutions in the United States and Canada involved in token economy systems contained only three institutions for confined

offenders. Krasner, Leonard and Atthowe, John, Jr., "Token Economy Bibliography," Mimeo, 1968. For examples of programs in correctional institutions involving token economics or other operant learning techniques, see: Burchard, John D., "Systematic Socialization: A Programmed Environment for the Habilitation of Antisocial Retardates," The Psychological Record, 1967, 17, 461-476; Burchard, John D. and Tyler, Vernon O., Jr. "The Modification of Delinquent Behavior through Operant Conditioning," Behavior Research and Therapy, 1965, 2, 245-250; Callihan, W. W., "A Training Program for Teenage Male Residents with Histories of Delinquent Behavior," Mimeo, 1967; Cohen, H. L., Filipczak, J. A. and Bis, J. S., "Case Project: Contingencies Applicable for Special Education," to be published in R. E. Weber (Ed.) A book on education and delinquency, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Ross, R. R., "Application of Operant Conditioning Procedures to the Behavioral Modification of Institutionalized Adolescent Offenders," Mimeo, 1967; Tyler, V. O., Jr., "Exploring the Use of Operant Techniques in the Rehabilitation of Delinquent Girls," Paper read at American Psychological Association meeting, Chicago, 1965; Tyler, V. O., Jr., "Application of Operant Token Reinforcement to Academic Performance of an Institutionalized Delinquent," Psychological Reports, 1967, 21, 249-260; Tyler, V. O., Jr., and Brown, G. Duane, "The Use of Swift, Brief Isolation as a Group Control Device for Institutionalized Delinquents," Behavioral Research and Therapy, 1967, 5, 1-9, and Tyler, Vernon O., Jr., and Brown, G. Duane, "Token Reinforcement of Academic Performance with Institutionalized Delinquent Boys," Mimeo, undated.

- 8/ The token economy at the George Junior Republic in Freeville, New York (which considerably predates the one at KYC) also represents a comprehensive approach along similar lines.
- 9/ The difficulty in relating the token economy to individual treatment and training programs is stated somewhat differently by Tyler and Brown. "In a school for delinquents, the size of living units, the limited number of staff, the large number of youngsters, and the numerous responsibilities of the staff members make it difficult to set up individualized programs without extra staff to record data and administer contingencies with precision." Op. Cit., p. 1.
- 10/ This is an adaptation of a reinforcement survey schedule developed by J. R. Cautela and R. Kastenbaum, Psychology Reports, 1967, 20, 1115-1130.

APPENDIX 2

A Program to Modify the Criminal Behavior of the Juvenile Recidivist

The following is abstracted from a proposal made by the South Carolina Department of Juvenile Corrections and accepted for funding by LEAA. The program is scheduled to become operative in late 1971.

Objectives: This program will enable the juvenile recidivist who is well adjusted to the delinquent subculture and institutional life to learn to cope with and function in the prevailing middle class economic system. It does not attempt to dislodge him from his ethnic subculture nor make him a member of the middle class capitalistic system. It will enable him to function within this system and understand its unique requirements.

To carry out these objectives, the following methodology has been developed. Unlike programs developed in other states (e. g., California and Illinois), which are applicable only to the first offender with the best prognosis for success, this program is limited to repeat offenders whose prognoses are poor.

Selection of Participants: Participants will be selected from among those having the greatest recidivist rate at the John G. Richards School for Boys, the state's major correctional institution for older delinquents. Criteria for selection are:

- (a) Students who are fifteen or sixteen years old and in the fifth, fourth, third and second time recidivist classification.
- (b) Individuals who have made adequate adjustment in the institution but who are totally unable to function in the community.
- (c) Individuals whose academic attainment is below average.
- (d) Individuals of the minority ethnic group who have exhibited passive-aggressive trait disorders.
- (e) Individuals who have exhibited native shrewdness in their ability to manipulate staff and peers.
- (f) Individuals who have exhibited passive or aggressive homosexual activities.
- (g) Recidivists who exhibit little, if any, work concept or ability to function in the middle class community.

This group will be lodged in dormitories on the grounds of the John G. Richards School. These delinquents will continue to participate in many, if not all, of the regular correctional school educational and vocational training programs. They will be encouraged to socially relate to other members of the student body at the John G. Richards Correctional School. The group will be fed in the regular cafeteria and will attend classes with other students. They will, however, live together and participate jointly in the middle class economic reinforcement technique.

Special youth counselors, who may or may not be college graduates but who will be very conversant with the middle class economic system as well as knowledgeable of the minority ethnic group culture, will be recruited as leaders. It is preferred, but not mandatory, that at least some of the youth counselors will be members of the prevalent ethnic subgroup and a few will be members of the middle class population. In this way, it is hoped to demonstrate by models the ability of people to function in both cultural classes.

Program: A model of the middle class economic system will be initiated within the institution. Since the school is an open institution, the resources of the community will be utilized to augment the institutional program. Some of the features of the program are as follows:

1. It will be a money based economy. Delinquent must earn quasi-money which will be translated into relevant rewards for the student.
2. Delinquents will earn quasi-money by contracting for work in the cottage or institution, making written contracts with fellow students and/or with the faculty and staff for extra work or attaining certain goals in school. He will earn a salary by working in the Work Shop.

3. The youth counselors will carefully lead, supervise and structure this economic experimentation. They will develop, with the delinquent, contracts for goods and services in the dormitory, community and institutional work shops.
4. Children will be encouraged to trade or to conduct business transactions with each other in exchanging goods or services for quasi-money. In this way, actual profits and other realities of the everyday middle-class business world will be experienced. It is anticipated that some recidivists will obtain economic advantage over the others which is a true to everyday middle class capitalistic practice.
5. Extreme efforts will be made to reinforce the feeling of private property and possessions that one obtains by contracting for work or services. In this way, it is hoped that a taste of middle class property values will be developed by the delinquent that will serve as a deterrent to subsequent stealing.
6. Selected individuals will be allowed to secure part-time, after school employment in the surrounding community under supervision. Money they earn will become part of this economy. Only those individuals who have experienced early success and ability to function in this middle class economic system will be allowed the privilege of earning extra money on a part-time base. The youth counselors will be very careful in this selection process. They will act as placement officers and employment supervisors.

7. The delinquent must apply for employment at the Work Shop. He will earn a salary which will be translated into quasi-money. This money will be used in the token economy.
8. The participant will not be allowed to receive money, gifts, clothes or any other article from his parents.
9. The participants must pay for their board and keep. They must decide for which alternatives they will spend their money. Except for the bare necessities in the dormitories, everything must be paid for at a pre-set value. Students must pay rent and pay for all privileges. They must pay for their food. They may pay other students to carry out their duties which is a replication of day to day existence in the middle class capitalistic system. A special area will be constructed and stocked with goods that are relevant to the student. Monies from this grant will be used to purchase stock. Students may elect to use their credits to purchase material. Clothes must be rented.
10. A system of weekend passes for travel to their homes in the community or the surrounding area will be established. Students may purchase the right to go home on passes for weekends, but they must pay for the bus trips or going into the town unescorted. All systems of rewards will be related to the student. He will have to chose alternatives. He may use his money for different rewards in different ways. This will require that he budget his time, earnings, and expenditures.

11. The student will have to bank his money. He must use check and bankbooks for transactions. This will require a system of bookkeeping, which again is a replication of community economic life. There will be penalties assessed for the use of checks when there are not sufficient credits to cover it. He will have money in coin form that may be used as pocket money.
12. The student will have to pay social service benefits. This will include the payment for social security, retirement, hospital or doctor insurance. Every effort will be made to teach him economic responsibility and the functions and alternatives of the middle class capitalistic system. He will be taught by experiencing economic rewards as well as penalties.
13. In addition to the economic program, the student will also participate in the following learning experiences:
 - (a) Didactic methods and group lectures by staff and visiting speakers will attempt to teach employment skills, responsibilities, and appreciation for the concept of work. Effort will be made to teach him the realities of the employer-employee relationship by observation, involvement, confrontation, and visits to the community. He must apply and be selected for employment in the Work Shop.

- (b) The delinquent will be introduced to the social benefit program by site visits, mock experiences, and discussions with representatives from social security, welfare, rehabilitation and other government agencies. He will be introduced to employment-security programs. Deductions from his salary will be made for benefit insurance programs.
- (c) The delinquent will be introduced to the criminal justice system. This will be carried out by duplicating police, court and attorney functions in the dormitory utilizing live models. Representatives from the Police Department, State Law Enforcement Division and Sheriff's Department will be invited to talk to the delinquent about law enforcement, methods of apprehending criminals and their role in civil and criminal justice. Police, attorneys, and judges will be asked to serve as consultants and guest instructors. Civil law, including lawsuits, will be taught by student participatory demonstration. The demonstration of civil judgment using mock courts will be developed in the dormitory under the leadership of the youth counselors to arbitrate arguments over personal property between the students. The students will attend Adult and Civil court trials in the community. They will be introduced through site visits and guest lecturers to the civil court justice program in South Carolina. An attorney will be a consultant to the program.

Democratic living requiring the student's involvement in the law and political process will be learned through mock governmental structures. Democratic leadership by the election of officers, representatives, and court officials among the students will be encouraged. Youth counselors, of course, will carefully structure and supervise this function in order that it will not get out of control. Yet, to be meaningful, this program has to be more real and "earthy" than student government in a community high school.

Experiments will be conducted with trade unionism and contracts. Every effort will be made to introduce the student to the function of trade unions in the economic, social, and political system of the middle class society.

While regular institutional punishment will be imposed for any major violation of the rules, including runaways, the major system of punishments and deterrents will be fines which will result in loss of status, privileges and living capabilities. Counseling and frank discussions on the opposing rewards of the criminologic subculture and the middle class society will be given. No effort will be made as such to attempt to modify personality traits. The basic thrust of this program is to enable the student to function more effectively in the middle class society in his relationship to police, courts, and employers.

This is essentially a behavior modification learning process. We will not hesitate to utilize or mobilize all community resources that

will enable this program to be successful. It is anticipated that Vocational Rehabilitation, volunteer businessmen's groups, lawyers, ministers, judges, Welfare Department, Social Security, athletics, the University of South Carolina, and any other group will be mobilized and fed into this program. The recidivist will be encouraged to learn in the community as well as in the institution. Experience has shown that most of these recidivists are not runaway risks or institutional "acting outers." Although it is anticipated that some will run, this will not create any problem that would interfere with the utilization of the community resources.

END