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INFLUENCE AND GANG MEMBERSHIP IN THREE
JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Missouri - Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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by

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May 1974

Dr. Bruce Biddle

Dissertation Supervisor

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ABSTRACT

This sociometric study investigated the nature of influence in informal peer groups in three juvenile correctional institutions maintained by the Illinois Department of Corrections. It was hypothesized that patterns of choosing would vary for group services with gang members dominating the group services of protection and control. All group services and friendship were highly correlated. It was found that gang members were chosen more than non gang members for all services. The differences between gang members and non gang members were greater for protection and control than for information, satisfaction of needs and information. No differences were found for recidivism or physical size. Gang members were found to obtain lower prosocial orientation scores than non gang members. In summary, gang members tend to dominate the informal inmate peer group. The inmate peer group supports the gang members' antisocial expectations and opposes the goals of treatment programs.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Robert and Rubye Sigler, who over the years have had unfailing confidence in me.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation investigates the nature of influence in informal peer groups for three juvenile correctional institutions maintained by the Illinois Department of Corrections. All informal groups provide services for their members. The delinquent gang is an informal group which stresses the services of protection and control. Juvenile gang members acquire the ability to dominate the services of protection and control through performance of gang membership roles. The juvenile correctional institution, by its very nature, emphasizes the group services of protection and control while de-emphasizing information and satisfaction of needs. Thus it is to be expected that gang members will dominate the informal peer group in correctional institutions. Gang members are also noted for their endorsement of antisocial expectations. If through domination of the informal group services of protection and control gang members assume central positions of influence in the institutional setting, then the informal group will oppose treatment programs. If the new treatment programs of the guided group interaction type are to be successful, these youth must be identified and controlled.

In this study Gang members were identified by the use of typology of delinquent youth developed by Gibbons.

Comparisons were made between gang members and non gang members for relative endorsement of antisocial expectations and for influence in each of the group services. Orientation toward society was measured by a twenty-four item Likert scale adopted from the Highfields study as adapted for the target population. Whereas in the thesis the theory states "patterns of leadership" in the informal peer group, direct assessment of leadership in this setting is difficult, if not impossible. Sociometric questionnaires have been taken by some to measure leadership in a limited way. For this study choosing, as measured by sociometric items, was taken to indicate influence or the aspect of leadership with which the study is concerned. Sociometric items for four group services and friendship were administered. The results indicated that gang members were chosen more frequently than non gang members for all group services. However, gang members tended to be chosen more heavily for protection and control than for friendship and satisfaction of needs. Analysis of correlations between the group services and friendship indicated that two factors were present. The first included protection, control and information. The second included satisfaction of needs, friendship and information. Information appears to link the two factors. Gang member were also found to obtain lower prosocial orientation scores than non gang members.

In order to test potential alternative explanations, similar comparisons were made for recidivism and physical

proress. Neither of these variables demonstrated differentiation for choosing or for prosocial orientation.

Several implications of the findings may be suggested for correctional practice. If treatment programs of the guided group interaction type are to be effectively implemented, then the nature of inmate leaders must be controlled. One possible solution is the modification of the institutional setting such that the group services of protection and control are de-emphasized while the services of satisfaction of needs and information are emphasized. A second alternative would involve the location and control of gang members in the inmate population.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JUVENILE INSTITUTION*

This study is concerned with groups and leaders in juvenile correctional institutions. A review of the forces which shaped these institutions adds to our understanding of groups in today's institutions. In the United States juvenile institutions developed as a response to public reaction to the exposure of youthful first offenders to hardened adult offenders. It is interesting to note that the earliest correctional institutions were for young offenders. Two early orphanages, one in Florence in 1677 and St. Michael's in Rome (still in use today) contained correctional sections and, at least in the case of St. Michael's, these took form of cell blocks. While these were not correctional institutions per se, the pattern for future reform efforts was established--confinement, work, and training. This basic pattern has existed virtually intact to the present day. In early England and Europe the

*The two primary sources for the history of correctional institutions until about 1890 were: Johnson, Elmer J., Crime, Correction and Society, revised ed. (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968), Chapter 18; and Rothman, David J., The Discovery of the Asylum (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), Chapters 1, 2, 4. The reader wishing an even more detailed accounting might see George Ives, A History of Penal Methods (London: Stanley, Paul and Co., Ltd., 1944).

prison as a means of punishment was unknown. Gaols or jails served only to retain the accused until he was tried and until his sentence was executed after he was found guilty. Punishment consisted of corporal punishment, the stocks, lashing, hanging, branding, fines and other types of immediate action.

With the discovery of new territories, England turned to transportation as a means of both exacting payment and ridding herself of unwanted offenders. The committed offender was sentenced to a term of years of labor in the colonies. When his term was completed, he was released in the colonies to make a new life. The revolution in the colonies placed a strain on the English system. Prisoners sentenced to transportation accumulated in jails waiting for the execution of their sentences. It was at this time that the use of the infamous hulks came into practice. The prisoners were put to work cleaning the Thames and building docks. At night and during inclement weather they were kept in the hulls of abandoned rotting ships driven aground along the banks of the Thames. As attention was drawn toward Australia by Captain Cook's voyages, transportation was resumed. It was on one of the islands off the coast of Australia that we find one of the first attempts at penal reform. Captain Maconochie operated the prison colony of Norfolk Island for four years. He advocated humane treatment of inmates, a system whereby an inmate could earn points to obtain his release,

and differing degrees or levels of custody. His was also the first program to be abandoned due to public pressure and higher cost of operation.

The U.S. is credited with the initial use of long term imprisonment for punishment. At the time it was seen as a major reform in dealing with offenders by the elimination of whipping, hanging and other such punishments. Rothman (1971) points out that similar changes in approach were being made to other social problems. Prior to the 18th century the poor, mentally insane and orphans were dealt with informally in that they would be placed with relatives or in private houses in the community. In the years following the early 1800's Americans began building penitentiaries, asylums for the insane, alms houses for the poor, orphanages and reformatories for delinquents. A number of reasons are suggested for the shift of charitable activities from the private to the public sector with the resultant development of institutions as the means for dealing with social problems. In addition to the general climate of reform prevalent during the Jacksonian era, Rothman discusses a number of other possible explanations including the development of an urban and industrialized society.

The stage for reform was set by the Quakers in the 1780's when they limited execution and converted the Walnut Street Jail into the first penitentiary in Pennsylvania. When Eastern Penitentiary was built several years later,

the design was altered to permit solitary confinement with labor. Inmates were given a Bible as their sole source of reading, and work was a privilege. At about the same time the Auburn system was developed in New York. This program had graded treatment of inmates ranging from solitary confinement to congregate work during the day. The severe affects of solitary confinement on inmates led to the abandonment of that form of treatment in less than two years. Within twenty years the solitary confinement Pennsylvania system had been replaced by the Auburn congregate work system. Following the Civil War penitentiaries became overcrowded, a condition which has continued to the present day.

Prison reform movements are almost as old as the prison system. In the last quarter of the 19th century prison reform efforts centered on Zebulon Brockway, who developed the reformatory. A major emphasis in his program was the separation of the first offender from hardened criminals. He graded inmates according to degree of reformation and had parole, advanced education, and trade schools. The reformatory movement spread rapidly, but in every case the separation was made on the basis of first offender rather than on the basis of age.

Early in their development, Europeans provided separate institutions for juveniles. With a few notable exceptions, the United States was slow to follow this trend. The failure of the U.S. to develop separate

juvenile institutions is surprising when you consider the long tradition of separate treatment for juvenile offenders under the English common law.

Early Saxon law of the 13th century differentiated between children under fourteen years of age and adults. Children under twelve were held to be incapable of committing intentional criminal acts thus were not legally responsible for their actions. Children between the ages of twelve and fourteen could be judged as responsible or irresponsible for their actions according to their individual capabilities (Tappan, 1949). By the 18th century this was modified to some extent as can be seen in the English common law distinctions. Children under the age of seven rather than under the age of twelve were held incapable of criminal intent. It was held that at the age of seven the child became capable of mischief. However, a child from age seven to fourteen could be convicted of a crime, with the full range of dispositions applicable to adults, if sufficient evidence could be shown proving that he had adequate mental capability to discriminate between right and wrong. At common law the child over fourteen was dealt with as an adult. The judge, after a finding of guilty, was legally bound to impose the penalty specified by law. Over 300 offenses were punishable by death during the 18th century (Rubin, 1958).

The contention that children below certain ages should be held incapable of committing criminal acts was

transported along with our English ancestors. This influence can be found in many of the early attempts to deal with child offenders in this country and is inherent in almost all of our present statutes.

A second legal tradition deeply rooted in early English practice is more frequently cited as providing a basis for the establishment of a separate juvenile justice system. It is reflected in the Latin terms parens patriae. The English chancery court from early feudal times administered protection of all the children of the land in the service of the King (the pater patrias). The chancellor's power developed such that he could assist, under his prerogative of grace, those who might otherwise suffer hardship. It was through this equity jurisprudence that the crown had the power as guardian over the children who were considered wards of the state and needed special protection. This provision served primarily to protect the property rights of affluent or noble minors (Tappan, 1949). When the chancery court was established in this country, it was modified such that its scope was expanded to include protection of minors in danger of personal as well as property injury. The authority of the chancery court extended until the minor's twenty-first birthday. It should also be noted that the chancery court at this time dealt only with neglected dependent children (Winslow, 968).

The United States has been characterized, among other things, as a nation of moralists and social reformers. Special institutions for children existed in the U.S. nearly 75 years before the idea of a completely separate juvenile system was presented. Civil minded citizens pressed for interpretation and modifications of the law. This resulted in the enactment of a variety of reforms in the adjudication and disposition of juvenile offenders.

The establishment of the New York City house of refuge in 1825 was followed by similar reform and industrial institutions for youthful offenders in other states. While the emphasis was on the first offender character of the clients, reformatories tended to deal primarily with juveniles and young adults. Probation developed as a volunteer program in Massachusetts in 1880. It became a public institution copied by other states. Efforts to separate youth and adult offenders at every level of the administration of justice led to procedural changes in Chicago and Boston. These changes quickly spread to other states.

A third factor influencing the development of the means of handling juvenile offenders can be found in the actions of early reformers. While many were content to work within the limitations of the existing legal procedures, others looked elsewhere. Concern for the plight of children coupled with frustration led some reformers to visit Europe to study the ways in which Europeans dealt

with juveniles. This introduced concepts which developed into latter day treatment perspectives. These efforts were first realized in the development of training and industrial schools (Gibbons, 1970).

In 1899 in Cook County, Illinois, the first juvenile court was established by the enactment of the Juvenile Court Act by the Illinois legislature. For the first time there existed (in theory at least) a completely separate system for dealing with juvenile offenders including courts, probation, institutions, and parole.

The juvenile court was forged from three relatively incompatible philosophies. While the common law recognized that children below certain ages could not be held responsible for their actions, its philosophy was a punitive one. The law protected society by punishing those who by their actions offended society. The supposition was that men could behave according to the law or against the law as they so chose. If the punishment was sufficiently severe, men would choose not to repeat those behaviors. If the child was incapable of understanding that his behavior was improper, then punishment would not accomplish its intended end and would not be appropriate.

Chancery also recognized that minors were incapable of conducting their own affairs. While both chancery and common law recognized this lack of capability, the philosophy of the chancery court was to protect the

interests of the minor from those who would take advantage of this incapacity.

The European concept of training did not consider the responsibility of the child for its actions. It assumed that improper behavior resulted from a lack of training, and that proper training or treatment was required to prepare the child to behave in a manner consistent with the expectations of society. The fusing of these three conflicting philosophies inherent in the development of the juvenile court have extended to all branches of the juvenile justice system. Probation, parole and institutions must deal with all of the juveniles processed by the juvenile court. Each has adopted the goals specified by the juvenile court philosophy. Thus juvenile institutions are profoundly affected by the need to control, protect and treat the juvenile offender.

Although common law and the chancery court had differing philosophies and standards, they did not come into conflict in England. In England there is complete separation of the two courts. The chancery court dealt only with neglected and dependent children. As such protection of the child was unquestionably appropriate. The common law dealt only with those who had committed offenses against the society. As such its purpose was protection of society and could reasonably exclude the incompetent from severe sanctions.

While treatment philosophy is more compatible with chancery philosophy than with common law philosophy, it differs from both. Almost all branches of treatment philosophy posit that the person is not responsible for his actions. Matters of capability, environment and improper developmental processes are alluded to as explanations for the individual's behavior. Treatment suggests that the person needs protection and that the cause of his behavior must be rectified by training or by environmental manipulation.

It was the formation of the juvenile court that brought these conflicting ideologies into direct confrontation. Juvenile court personnel are forced to reconcile a basic conflict in ideologies which can simply be stated as requirements to protect society while at the same time protect and treat the individual. Frequently, it is impossible to do all three. Thus various components of the juvenile justice system are forced to choose implementation of one aspect of the juvenile court philosophy over the others. Part of this conflict is explicit throughout our legal system (the duty to protect society vs. the duty to protect the individual). In other areas these goals are assigned to different components of the legal setting (prosecuting attorney vs. counsel for the defense with the judge as regulator of the process and imposer of punishment/treatment). In the juvenile court all three duties are vested in the same position. The juvenile court judge, the

prosecuting attorney, the juvenile officer, the institutional employee, even the police, are charged with all three tasks.

It should also be noted that the juvenile court, thus the juvenile institution, deals with both dependent and neglected children and "juvenile delinquents." Frequently, the distinction between these two classes of children is not realized in the statement of the purpose and philosophy of the juvenile court. Instead it is often assumed, with some empirical justification, that there is a single class of children who are both neglected and delinquent.

Thus within the juvenile correctional facility we find inmates whose offense background varies from those who are simply habitual runaways or truants to those who have committed acts that would have been homicide if committed by an adult. As states, such as Illinois, have expanded their juvenile facilities, they have developed collateral institutions that differ from the reformatory. Special educational schools such as that at DuPage deal primarily with younger offenders and utilize an intensive educational program. Youth development centers such as that at Giant City have also achieved some degree of popularity. Such institutions are rural in nature and deal with a relatively small number of inmates in a minimum security setting with an emphasis on vocational training. This then is the developmental nature of the institutions in which

our subjects were found. Appendix A contains a complete description of the Youth Division of the Illinois Department of Corrections and the institutions from which the sample for this study was drawn.

Equally important as the developmental history in the social nature of the institution is the character and quality of the individuals who are the human components. We now turn to a consideration of the theoretical considerations relevant for this study.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study investigated the nature of leadership, as measured by responses to sociometric items, in the juvenile correctional institution. The study suggested that those who are influential will be chosen more frequently than others. The suggestion was made that those who are chosen for the group services of protection and control will be different from those who are chosen for satisfaction of needs and information. Gang members dominate the services of protection and control and endorse antisocial expectations. The literature pertaining to groups, leadership, juvenile gangs and treatment strategies was reviewed.

INFORMAL GROUPS

This study investigated informal inmate groups in the correctional institution. General principles of group functioning are applicable to informal inmate groups within the juvenile correctional institution. Social control operates through informal groups and is dependent upon the group leaders. Many recent efforts have been directed toward the examination of social control and deviant behavior. Loomis (1960) defines social control as a process by which deviancy is either limited or somehow reduced to

permit constructive functioning of social groups. He maintains that some processes institutionalize deviancy by establishing certain statuses with associated roles in which deviancy is permitted. Thus a subgroup could require behavior which is deviant by specifying roles and positions which are deviant.

Recognition of these possible control functions of inmate peer groups opens the way to overcoming a major barrier to effective implementation of formal rehabilitation goals. The lack of such recognition thrusts the inmate into a situation in which participation in formal programs places him in conflict with his peers.

Lemert (1954) points out that the individual is influenced by the expectations of various groups with which he is associated. Each of these groups exerts pressure for conformance to its own group goals and processes. This conflict of goals and expectations is also reflected at the group level in the creation of a condition of competition in which the groups are competing for control of the individual. Frequently, an uneasy balance is struck which enables individuals to conduct themselves with a minimum of overt conflict between the roles specified by these competing groups.

In the case of the inmate, two strong systems operate. Each system tends to enforce its own expectations. He must modulate his behavior so as to conform alternatively or concurrently to the demands of the

inmate social system and the official social system in different situations. Since the inmate group operates at a more personal and continuous level, the official system usually will be selected for "lip-service" conformity.

Clinard (1965) states that delinquent groups bring delinquent norms into intimate contact with the individual. Thus when a boy enters into association with a delinquent group, he begins to function within the context of that group. Forces of control, information, and protection will be intricately woven around the delinquent norms and expected role behavior for members of the group. The group can be visualized as providing services of control, information, and protection and assistance. The youth achieves satisfaction of his needs and establishes friendships by adopting this behavior. The suggestion is that the informal group provides services which are essentially different in nature each from the other. The possibility of utilizing inmate groups and selected individuals among their members to promote treatment efforts centers on the services the peer groups provide for their members.

Jennings' (1950) study considers two levels of leadership in the informal group setting. One function is based on control of the group, while the second is based on friendship. Her approach utilized a sociometric technique. Her results are expressed in terms of over chosen and under chosen subjects. The population studied consisted of over 400 subjects in the New York State

Training School for Girls, twelve to sixteen years of age and of normal intelligence. Her study asked the subject to choose and reject companions on the basis of four different activities: living together, working together, leisure, and studying. No limit was put upon the number of choices and rejections that could be made.

She found that leaders (over chosen subjects) helped to make things easier and pleasanter for the members of work groups and groups of girls who lived together in the same housing unit. In these groups, interaction was not completely spontaneous but involved a certain degree of control and the ability to cooperate in a common effort. Leaders able to facilitate interpersonal relations were needed in such groups. Subjects with these characteristics tended to be heavily over chosen on the sociometric test when the choice was based on living together or working together.

A different pattern was found when the choices were based simply on the desire to be with a schoolmate in her free time. In this frame of reference the problems of cooperation were less important. Leisure choices could more closely reflect feelings toward others as unique individuals rather than as persons skilled in group cooperation.

Jennings concludes that in the informal situation of leisure, compared with more formal settings of housing or work units, the individual cannot as readily "promote"

relationships in the sense of winning others to choose her. In working or living together, the individual's behavior as a group member may advance her position. She may find numerous opportunities within the range of the activities to make herself useful to group endeavors.

In studying the dynamics of the informal group, we need to consider how the interpersonal relations are affected by social control and friendship. Jennings (1950) demonstrates that the individual selects, within a work situation, leaders and friends who permit her the most satisfying interpersonal relations, the fullest protection, and expression of her own personality. In the goal-oriented informal group, people must make compromises. As their choices become freer, they can more readily afford to act spontaneously.

Jennings suggests that patterns of selection are dependent upon and will be influenced by the social context in which the subjects are interacting. This study amplifies this position by suggesting that the mediating variable in these cases is the salience of particular services provided by the group in particular social contexts. While Jennings focuses on social context, she notes that inmate needs differ in these various social contexts. The services provided by the group which satisfy these needs will become more important. Group members who control or determine these services become more influential than other subjects.

Jennings was dealing with a relatively large institution in which to some extent job and non-job social contexts were relatively separate. Inmates did not necessarily live in the same cottages as the inmates with whom they worked or with whom they recreated. In this study a different set of institutions is studied. In these institutions there is little or no separation of social contexts within the institution. It is argued that the nature of these institutions is such that the services of protection and control are emphasized while the services of information and satisfaction of needs are de-emphasized. If this is the case, then youth capable of manipulating these services will be influential in this setting.

Leadership in Small Groups

This study is concerned primarily with one aspect of leadership (patterns of influence and influential persons in the informal inmate group). A direct observational study of leadership would have been desirable. However, the nature of the juvenile correctional institution makes an observational study difficult if not impossible. Youth who become influential are not perceived favorably by employees. Influence of one youth by another is prohibited. If overt influence occurs, the youth is negatively sanctioned by the official system. These youth are understandably cautious. They have developed effective means of disguising from view any appearance of influence. The interest of this study is centered on one facet of leadership--influence of others.

Sociometric data have been interpreted by a number of researchers (Moreno, 1947; Jennings, 1950) to indicate patterns of influence with over chosen subjects designated as leaders. While choosing is not leadership, it was taken to indicate influence, therefore leadership, for this study. As this study suggests that leadership is a central variable influencing the nature of the small group and the effectiveness of treatment programs, consideration of the nature of leadership in small groups was appropriate.

Few concepts have received the attention of social psychologists that has been accorded to leadership. The leader provides various functions or services for the group. At times he performs such services as structuring the situation, controlling group behavior, and speaking for the group (Haiman, 1951). Regardless of the particular function, the peer group leader must have a firm understanding of the normative system of the particular group of which he is the leader.

In structuring the situation the leader interprets the situation, with its many ambiguous parts, to his followers. He emphasizes certain aspects, ignores others, and focuses on certain goals. He may deny pertinent facts and distort the data. If the group members accept the leader's interpretation, the group achieves a unified frame of reference. This makes cooperative behavior possible. The leader's task here is complicated by certain basic conflicts of interest that are inherent in group

activity. The effective leader must be sensitive to such conflicts.

In the correctional institution structuring the situation operates in both the inmate informal system and in the employee informal system. Each group perpetuates a frame of reference which is structured by its leaders. Each of these frames of reference also serves to project a system of rationalizations for perpetuation of conditions as they exist.

A second leadership service is control of certain types of individual behavior that are against the best interests of the group. In democratic groups this control is provided by the leader through enforcement of the rules made by the group. At times the leader may be more innovative by creating rules governing participation. In either instance, he can enforce the rules by using rewards and punishments ranging from mild expressions of approval or disapproval to stronger disciplinary measures. The effectiveness of his techniques vary with the strength and orientation of his leadership. A strong dominant leader will employ strong direct controls whereas a weaker leader will employ correspondingly weaker controls.

A third service is the role of spokesman for the group, expressing their hostilities and fears as well as their aspirations and hopes. To do this, the leader must not only be sensitive to the emotions of the group, but

to a large extent must share these feelings himself. As spokesman he must also be skillful in translating the group's feelings into both words and actions. In the correctional institution the position spokesman is not necessarily used by the leader. The autocratic nature of most correctional institutions tends to discourage those who speak out among both the employees and the inmates.

Theoretical orientations to the social phenomena of leadership have varied widely over the years. In the past most social scientists thought that leaders were born with certain traits which fitted them to assume command. The study of leadership consisted of the examination of these traits (Ross and Henry, 1963). Attention was directed toward traits which might be indicative of leadership. This gradually took the form of a theory (the "great man" theory of leadership), which stated that it was men of a distinctive stamp, predestined by their possession of unusual traits, who led events and molded situations. The nature of leadership traits is suggested by a study conducted by Jennings (1950) in a school for girls. She found that leaders were characterized by the following statements:

"She makes you feel a part of things.

She tries to make you better than yourself.

She can lead and not make the girls feel they are being overpowered but rather that they are doing things of their own accord.

She gives advice in a way that makes you think for yourself.

When you have a grudge against a girl, she can reason it out for you.

She is good even to the people she doesn't respect and will lend them things."

(Jennings, 1950)

It appears that over chosen subjects are able to recognize and to tend to the needs of others. Over chosen subjects support these needs in ways that members consider pertinent to furthering group activity and expanding group life. They widen the area of social participation for others and foster acceptance of each other as group members.

Those subjects chosen less frequently than would be expected if selections were made on a random basis, on the other hand, tend toward behavior that divides individuals and blocks or disrupts group activity. They tend to be self-centered, with little ability to identify with others or come to terms with a wide range of personalities. The under chosen were spoken of as follows:

"She's always out for credit and not for the thing itself.

She plays people off against each other. She likes to do things the opposite of what others like to do whether it's right or wrong.

She goes around with a look on and makes you feel that you have done something.

She doesn't keep anything to herself.

She works hard but if she has a disagreeable job to do, sometimes she thinks she is being imposed upon.

She always seems afraid she'll do more than another person does, more than her share I mean." (Jennings, 1950)

Trait theory of leadership assumes that leadership is something that resides in an individual, something that he brings to a group, and something presumably that is capable, under almost any circumstances, of producing the same results in different groups and in different situations. There can be little doubt that to perform leadership functions a person must bring with him capacities for doing that connect with what others bring to the group and with the nature of the situation. What such a person is and does is important, but it is also important that what he brings meshes with what others bring to the group.

A second theoretical model implies that the individual inter-relationships within a single group are primarily determined by the structure of the group rather than by the personality of the individuals (Kerch, 1948). Leadership consists of such acts by group members which aid in setting group goals, moving the group toward its goals, improving the quality of the interactions among the members, building the cohesiveness of the group, or making resources available to the group (Cartwright, 1953).

When performing leadership functions, members of the group play many different roles. Leadership becomes defined more as a structure, less as a person. According to this view, one would rarely, if ever, properly speak of "the leader" of a group. Leadership is viewed as a function of

group structure and a group property. In the process of achieving group goals and maintaining the group as a well integrated and effective group, many different functions and roles must be performed by group members. These roles are played by different persons in terms of how the individual and the group perceive the needs of the group and the usefulness of given individual members at different times.

This group property conception of leadership does not deny or discard the view that what individuals bring with them to the group is basic. Individuals constitute essential elements and set certain limits to the development of the leadership structure. However, emphasis is on the contributions of the social and cultural qualities of the group rather than on the leader as an individual.

A third approach views leadership as a function of the situation. If the ideas implicit in trait theory and group process theory are combined, we can see that leadership is a function of a combination of very dynamic elements--the individual, the group, and the situation. If in a given situation a need arises, the person who is present and has the qualities required becomes the leader. An individual who has the proper qualities but who is not in a situation to use them does not become a leader.

Leadership is a function of the situation, the culture, context, and customs of a group or organization, quite as much as it is a function of personal attributes

and group requirements. The leader undoubtedly has some special traits or characteristics which distinguish him from other members of the group regardless of the task or structure of the group. Similarly, the task in which the group is engaged certainly affects the type of leader chosen or selected as much as the behavior of that leader. Further, it is both reasonable and consistent with experience to claim that more than one person may perform leadership functions in the sense that many in the group may contribute to goal achievement. Leadership is, to this extent, a "group property". By combining the trends in the development of leadership theory we see that the social psychological construct of leadership must consider the person, the task, and the context. Altering of one aspect may alter the nature of leadership for the group. Thus if some services could be stressed and others made less central in the social context, the leadership structure could change. It is also possible to rearrange the leadership structure through selections of inmates for a particular camp or by manipulation of the goal orientation of the informal group.

Leadership for this study was defined as:

Leadership. The ability to influence others in a particular social context.

This influence was assessed indirectly through the use of sociometric items. Following the consideration of the nature of leadership in the correctional setting,

attention will be focused upon choosing as an indicator of leadership. I will return to this issue in the interpretation of the findings.

Informal Groups and Leadership
in the Correctional Institution

In preparation for dealing with informal group leaders and services in a correctional setting, we must consider the particular attributes of inmate leaders in the informal group structure. It has been noted that the juvenile correctional institution, indeed any penal institution, is a unique social system with qualities particular to all that occurs within its relatively firm social as well as physical boundaries.

Much has been said about the particular nature of the total institution, one in which all of life's activities occur in the same physical setting with the same limited number of others (Goffman, 1961). Inmate groups are characterized by a relatively limited number of people and an extremely limited number of roles and, in fact, options as to when which role will be performed. To a great extent the "keepers" specify both which roles and which specific role behaviors will be performed. Modifications are slight, being as much determined as much by the "keepers" as by the kept. As such the variability permitted inmates is limited. The informal inmate peer group becomes critical in such instances, both in terms of

providing an audience and in cooperation in avoiding the controlled nature of the setting.

The common points of inmate groups have been noted by a variety of authors. A basic contention is that the leaders of informal groups in institutions tend to be delinquent or criminally oriented. It has traditionally been held that prisons and juvenile institutions exert an adverse influence on the inmate due to the criminal nature of the other inmates. At times throughout the history of incarceration efforts have been made to control or minimize this effect (Goldberg, 1955).

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) in their analysis of delinquent gangs point out that every culture (and sub-culture) provides its members with proper beliefs, values and norms (expectations). He is provided with the facts needed to shape his judgments and behaviors. These become beliefs which are integrated with other beliefs in such a way that they support the culture's prescriptions and control the behavior of the members. Each delinquent sub-culture regardless of type is based on a set of dominant roles which involve the performance of delinquent acts.

The social scientist has been investigating the structure of the prison from many perspectives. A familiar theme in studies of prison life is that inmate peer groups in custodial institutions tend to take a negative stance toward the goals of the institution. Articles such as that of John Mitchell (1957) hold that inmate behavior in

institutional settings is dominated by the informal peer group structure which acts to frustrate the goals of rehabilitation.

It is assumed that the majority of inmates in any facility are delinquently or criminally oriented to a degree. Although the degree of such orientation will vary greatly among the classes of inmates, their sentence to a correctional facility is usually evidence of their previous involvement in delinquent or criminal acts. It is possible that many youth have a minimal commitment to a criminal ideology although they have committed acts labeled as criminal or delinquent.

Johnson (1961) holds that the effects of confinement press the newcomer toward affiliation with the prisoner culture. Confinement subjects him to a repressive environment. He shares with other inmates the experiences of confinement. He is encouraged to associate with groups of prisoners who share common conduct codes, a communication system and a structure defining rights and obligations.

The influence exerted by the inmate social system can affect treatment programs. In treatment processes the staff attempts to alter the inmate's expectations and perceived patterns of role behavior. In this way they are opposing delinquent or criminal norms and role patterns. Clinard (1965) states that the informal rules which reflect the prison's subculture generally exert a greater effect on the prisoner's actual behavior than the system of formal

rules. Ohlin (1956) states that inmate groups place a strong emphasis on in-group loyalty. The prison culture provides a pattern of expected behavior which the inmate must adopt. To the extent that the peer and official groups are in conflict, the influence exerted by delinquent or criminally oriented inmate social systems impedes modification of expectations and roles.

The negative orientation of inmates toward employees and employees toward inmates has been extensively documented in almost every study of prisoners. Recent reports of inmates have expressed this relationship as being one of open hostility between these two groups. The members of each group harass and hinder the opposing group at every opportunity (Chang, 1972). Sykes in Society of Captives points out that the captors can not control the institution without the assistance of the inmates. Thus while the captors have great power the appearance of total power is falacious. Inmates, particularly inmate leaders, have the power to make the institution unmanageable. What occurs then is a balance of power maintained by semi-cooperation and an exchange of harassments with each group antagonizing the other within relatively defined limits.

A considerable number of reports have indicated that this arrangement is not limited to men's prisons. It would appear that while the conflict occurs in women's institutions, it is not as severe as in the case of men's prisons. Both Giallombardo (1966) and Flynn (1963) have

written about Alderson Penitentiary. Flynn writes as an inmate and reports on a period in the early 50's prior to the institution of a new reform program. Giallombardo reports on the same institution following the implementation of the reform program. Both reference staff-inmate conflict but do not indicate that this conflict operates as intensively as in men's prisons. Ward and Kassenbaum's (1965) study of homosexuality in a women's institution in California deals only briefly with other aspects of imprisonment, but it appears that their perceptions are similar to Giallombardo's and Flynn's.

Sykes and Messinger (1971) point out that a cardinal rule of the inmate social system requires lack of cooperation with any employee of the criminal justice system. Severe penalties are imposed on those who violate this rule even to the extent of being friendly with a "hack" or "screw". Zald (1970) reports that this condition exists in male juvenile institutions but seems to be indicating that it is not as absolute. If the inmate social system is directly opposed to staff and staff goals, it seems that the informal inmate peer group would hinder rehabilitative efforts.

This study raises the issue that informal groupings of inmates need not necessarily be an obstacle to treatment objectives of the correctional institution. Primary focus was placed on the nature of influence in informal inmate peer groups. Anti-official aspects of peer groups tend to

be characterized by delinquency oriented leadership. Thus the question arises whether other than delinquent orientations exist in inmate informal groupings. If so, can leadership patterns become a means of moving these groups toward at least partial support of therapeutic objectives of the correctional institution?

If the goals of correctional institutions are to be involved with changing inmates so that they may function acceptably in society, efforts to suppress inmate peer groups are not necessarily an effective strategy. Instead the nature and functions of inmate interactive patterns should be examined and manipulated. It is apparent that the inmate social system will influence the success of any program. Taft (1956) states that reformation implies socialization and requires the support of the peer group. The individuals with whom one associates influence the degree to which personal wishes are to be satisfied. Desires which require the cooperation of others are dependent upon those others. To receive the cooperation of others, the individual must conform to the expectations and role behaviors which the others express. This process is power to peer groups. Youth with strong delinquent expectational frames should not be allowed to employ leadership status to control this power if treatment attempts are to be successful.

It is apparent, however, that leadership patterns and informal groups do not operate in a social vacuum.

The philosophy expressed by the staff in interaction with inmates contributes to the general expectational environment.

Adams and Baker (1959) suggest that the emphasis of the institution is on the re-education of delinquent boys by adult personnel under an authoritative system. They suggest that the boys do not become attached to or identify with the personnel thus reducing learning.

Homens' (1961) analysis of the data collected by Jennings (1950) casts some light on the impact of the relationship between staff and inmates. He indicates that the over chosen girls were often characterized by the house-mother as rebellious, reticent, and retaliatory. Homens suggests that in directing these acts against the house-mother the over chosen girls were enhancing their position by acting out the desires of the other inmates.

A major factor is the attitude toward the official system taken by the inmate leaders. Grusky (1959) found that inmate leaders tend to express more favorable attitudes towards the authorities than the non leaders. It is interesting to note that he is dealing with a treatment centered institution when you consider Vintor and Janowitz's (1961) review of juvenile correctional institutions. They found that in more custodial institutions leaders had more negative perspectives while leaders in treatment-oriented institutions had more positive

perspectives than the other youth. It appears that structure and philosophy of the correctional institution have an effect on the enunciations of the inmates.

David Street (1966) has indicated that institutions vary with the emphasis on custody and treatment. He has established a custody treatment continuum on which he places various juvenile institutions in terms of their relative commitment to custody and treatment. He notes that positive expectations are more closely associated with primary group interaction in the treatment institution than in custodial institutions. That is, inmates in the treatment setting have more highly developed primary relations and stronger orientations of solidarity. Their leadership was more strongly associated with positive expectations than were those in the custodial setting. Therefore, staff competence and dedication to a respect for the social worth and unique individuality of inmates is essential if peer groups are to become supportive of treatment efforts.

The inmate social system has set itself against the official system or employees while the employees reciprocate. As treatment is identified with the official system and is opposed to delinquent orientations, opposition is encountered from the inmate informal group.

Treatment Strategies and the Peer Group

This study suggests that the informal group must be considered in attempts to rehabilitate delinquent youth.

In contemporary correctional institutions treatment programs are directed toward the individual per se as the target of change. The individual is the focus of the change process in that the active aspects of the treatment program are directed toward changing the individual's perspective and expectations. However, this is not to say that the group is relegated to a position of relative unimportance. While the goal usually is changing the expectations of the individual, the group is employed or influences the treatment to some degree in all approaches. Even the most individualistic approaches are affected by the groups in which the clients operate. Even though the treatment approach may focus on internal psychological factors or on behavior modification, there is still an awareness that the individual must develop the capability to deal with society and the groups in which he exists. If one were so inclined, it would be possible to create a typology of treatment approaches based on the relative emphasis placed on group processes.

Fenton (1957) has defined the primary objective of counseling as helping the individual to gain a greater understanding of his personal problems so that he can face the realities of his life and understand the possible causes of misbehavior. The inmate modifies his roles and expectations sufficiently to adjust well in the penitentiary. It is assumed that he will continue performing accepted roles upon his release due to the changed nature of his

expectations. Fenton's basic approach makes use of group processes. He advocates one variety of group counseling.

Jenkins (1954) speaks of psychotherapy as being a controlled interpersonal relationship directed toward assisting the client in attaining a more rational or socially satisfactory life adjustment. In the foreward to his book he states, "An understanding of self in relation to others is essential to successful living". Thus inmate psychotherapy would be directed toward changing the offender as an individual so that he can function in society. A satisfactory life adjustment involves making satisfactory adjustment within a social framework because the individual must learn to resolve the conflicts between various group demands. The informal group affects his attitudes toward psychotherapy and thus affects the degree of his participation. It is unrealistic to assume that the individual operates outside of a social context.

Rogers (1951) states that the individual has within himself the ability to alter those things which cause him to come into conflict with society. Rogers operates by establishing a warm, accepting and understanding relationship. This process involves methods of accommodation to various membership groups. Client-centered therapy can be applied through group therapy techniques as well as in individual psychotherapy. The orientation is to allow the individual to help himself adjust to society as well as to resolve inner conflicts.

Weeks (1950) points out that a rehabilitative program requires an interruption of the practical success of delinquency followed by a psychological reorientation to some other pattern of adaptation. The Highfields program applies Rogerian theory on a group basis. The group is the medium of change. The individual is changed through his experience in the group setting. The individual members interacting in a warm, accepting understanding situation provide a dynamic environment conducive to change. The goal again is to change the offender so that he will be able to adjust to society. Recent programs of the guided group interaction type developed from the Highfields project. Programs such as Positive Peer Culture and Birch Cottage place the greatest emphasis on the group. In these programs the informal (or at least semi-informal) group is the instrument of treatment. Problems are dealt with by the group which is given a mandate to solve both group and individual problems. These programs range from groups which meet together regularly to deal with problems during group sessions to programs in which the group shares all daily living experiences and deals with problems where and when they arise.

The target of change in each case is the individual. There is a wide range of methods from highly individualistic psychotherapy to the group-oriented programs currently popular. However, each philosophy recognizes to a degree the inherent importance of the group. The success of

attempts to effectively instill prosocial expectations and delete antisocial expectations is affected by the groups in which the individual interacts.

In contrast to these approaches emphasizing the individual per se as the target for change, an alternative would be to place greater emphasis on the social environment within which the therapeutic processes occur. For example, Gibbons (1956) defines treatment as a therapy which consists of the procedures deliberately undertaken to change the conditions thought to be responsible for the violator's misbehavior. He recognizes that there are many possible approaches to changing the individual but that all must recognize the normative context within which behavior occurs. He emphasizes that treatment is designed to change the factors which have caused the offender to come into conflict with society.

The main goal or purpose of treatment is to reorient or change the individual so that he can adjust to society. Although the methods vary widely, the purpose remains the same. An attempt is made to facilitate the adoption of a prosocial expectational frame and to delete antisocial expectational elements. Therefore, the individual's social environment is an important factor in the change process as his environment determines which expectational elements are prosocial.

The most potent aspect of the treatment environment is the group involved in the treatment. Even though

the individual is the target, his reactions are influenced by the characteristics of his basic membership groups. The groups either facilitate or hinder treatment by affecting the client's receptiveness to treatment and by determining to some extent which specific elements of the expectational frame are desirable. The informal groups of an institution can be seen to affect to some degree the success of the institution's attempt to treat the inmate.

Group Services

Although Gross (1958) studied work groups as an industrial sociologist, his presentation of the basic processes of informal groups is pertinent for this study. His framework includes the orientation toward group processes presented by Jennings. Gross has presented four services of informal groups: protection and assistance, control, information and satisfaction of needs.

Gross perceives informal groups as varying in strength in accordance with the ability of the group to make membership worthwhile. The four basic group functions (services) are those things provided by the group which make group membership worthwhile. He describes protection and assistance as the tendency of the group to stand together when one of its members is in difficulty. The group provides protection from and assistance in dealing with threats to its members. Communication is seen as the process by which the group informs its members of

impending events which will affect his successful adjustment to the social situation. Control references the ability of the group to maintain a degree of consistency in expectations and roles held and performed by its members. The provision of satisfactions references the creation of primary relationships from which the member can receive both a feeling of acceptance and easy access to the small items which satisfy personal needs.

Group services for this study was defined as:

Group services. Benefits received by group members generated by their group membership.

This study focuses on varying patterns of influence for different group services in the juvenile correctional institution.

The protection and assistance service takes on a position of greater importance in the delinquent sub-culture than in the work group. In the work group this service operates to maintain status within the work situation. In the juvenile institution protection and assistance takes on a physical as well as status maintaining character. The increased demand for a unified, self-maintaining group process creates a powerful tool for the informal inmate leaders.

Protection and assistance for this study was defined as:

Protection and assistance. The benefit of general support for group members

from potential attacks or threats permitting adequate adjustment in any social situation.

The communication service exists in inmate informal groups. There is a constant searching for knowledge in a juvenile institution. Formal lines of communication are seldom the lines of communication utilized to communicate administrative decisions to the inmates. Informal lines of communication between staff and inmates usually provide information to the inmate population. The youth usually interpret the various hypotheses advanced by staff members as to what will probably happen in the camp's immediate future. As much of this information is unreliable, the possession of information is not usually a strong tool for the informal inmate leaders. However, in a total institution consistently reliable information would be a powerful tool. If correct information was made available to individuals with a positive orientation on a consistent basis, their position in the informal group would be enhanced.

Communication or information for this study was defined as:

Information. The benefit of protection from unforeseen actions which may affect a member's welfare by discovering and communicating forthcoming decisions which might affect his welfare.

The service of control takes on a position of significance in a juvenile institution. The social

distance between those who are "in" and those who are "out" is great. The desire to be a member of the group is strong in young boys. In the juvenile institution youth associate in controlled groups. The ostracized youth has no other group to which he can turn. The inmate group in the juvenile institution tends to persecute isolates. One who is not associated with an informal group is in a particularly threatening situation. The pressure to conform to the dictates of the group provides the informal inmate leaders with a powerful tool. The power of the group is most evident in this sphere. Thus, it has been the focal point of much of the preceding treatment of group functions in this study.

Control for this study was defined as:

Control. The benefit of maintenance of uniform behavior and conformity to group expectations.

In the juvenile institutions, as well as in other situations, the group serves as a medium whereby personal satisfaction of needs can be achieved. Here the group per se does not necessarily provide the satisfaction, but it provides the structure in which individuals can interact to satisfy their personal needs. In the institution where personal privileges are rare, this service increases in importance. If positive individuals could be placed in positions which permitted them to dispense services in this sphere, it would enhance their position in the informal group.

Satisfaction of needs for this study was defined as:

Satisfaction of needs. The benefit of provision of primary relations and access to the necessities for personal satisfaction.

In addition to the four group services, a fifth variable was measured by means of a sociometric item.

Jennings (1950) noted that selections in non work related social contexts tended to follow basic friendship groupings. It is suggested here that the group services of satisfaction of needs and information will follow patterns of friendship in an institution which emphasizes protection and control. Friendship is at best an elusive term. No attempt will be made to theoretically define friendship. Instead, the following definition was used.

Friendship. The acknowledgment or recognition of another person as a friend on a sociometric item.

With this as the approach to group services and friendship, the question again arises as to the significance of this for treatment in the juvenile correctional institution. The pressure of control and protection and assistance lend themselves best to the ideology of the delinquent subculture. Johnson (1968) states that confinement creates pressures which produce anxiety and tensions. The individual who least fits the new social system will experience the greatest tension and anxiety. This will place him in a less secure position.

Klein (1967) investigated the nature of juvenile gang structure. Gang workers evaluated gang members on fifty-four judgmental items and location at the core or on the fringe of the gang. The application of factor analysis to the data yielded two major factors: the deficiently-aggressive factor (which indicated a relationship between delinquency or aggressive and personal deficiencies for gang members) and a group involvement factor. Baker and Adams (1959) in their study in a boys industrial school found that two types of leaders develop, one which is based on brute force and one based on charismatic power.

If unchecked, it is to be expected that youth with backgrounds involving gang association use the pressure of control and protection to gain a position of influence. The gang culture emphasizes control and protection processes. Youth associated with conflict gangs would be exposed to techniques of threat and physical violence as well as manipulative techniques. Reducing the importance of these services would permit the remaining services to gain importance. They could then become primary processes for leadership selection by the informal group. By selecting those youth who were given access to pertinent accurate information and the means to control the media of satisfaction of needs, the nature of the informal inmate social system could be affected.

As these processes can be controlled by the staff, the selection of inmate leaders could be controlled. If

such a technique were to be used, a cardinal requirement would be camp policy such that information or access to personal privileges is not denied but channeled effectively through youth with prosocial expectations.

PHYSICAL PROWESS AND RECIDIVISM

This study suggests that gang membership accounts for influence in correctional institutions which by their nature emphasize the informal group services of protection and control. Practitioners in the field suggest that two additional variables are related to influence. It would be unwise to ignore knowledge produced by the years of experience with delinquent youth represented by beliefs held by practitioners. For this reason recidivism and physical prowess were assessed in the same manner that gang membership was assessed.

The belief is expressed by many practitioners that youth who have been committed to an institution prior to their present commitment will secure positions of influence in the informal inmate social system. It could be argued that the prior commitments prepare the youth for successful adjustment to, and manipulation of, the institutional setting. In a study of adult prisoners, Schrag (1964) found that inmate leaders tend to be recidivists and committed to criminal values. The population here is composed of juveniles rather than adults. It is suggested here that

recidivism has little or no affect on patterns of choosing in the juvenile correctional institution. It is possible that this belief can be accounted for by an earlier finding (Sigler, 1969) which indicated that in one sample of institutions gang membership was highly correlated with recidivism. Gang members tended to be recidivists while non gang members tended to be non recidivists. For this reason an attempt was made to control for recidivism in the selection of the population for this study.

Recidivism was defined as:

Recidivism. Commitment to a juvenile institution following a period of parole.

Recidivism was measured by noting prior commitments in the case records. Recidivism is taken as indicating a return to delinquent behavior after release from an institution. An earlier study (Sigler, 1965) indicates, however, that for one institution for youth under sixteen the most frequent reason for return of youth indicated by parole officers was truancy or an inability to adjust successfully in an academic setting.

More widely held than the belief in recidivism is the belief that physical prowess accounts for influence in the juvenile correctional facility. It can be argued that in a social setting in which the ability to physically protect one's self is critical, youth with exceptional physical capabilities would become influential as a result of their ability to physically dominate others. Again an

explanation linking physical prowess to gang membership is possible. The Gluecks (1950) in their extensive study of delinquency found that delinquent youth tended to be gang members. In addition to psychological patterns, they noted that delinquent youth in classification by body types tend to have athletic physiques. It is possible that gang members tend to fall into this category. While this contention was not supported by this study, it is possible that in institutions with representative gang populations a correlation between body type and gang membership would be found. Physical prowess is difficult to assess directly. For the purposes of this study, height and weight will be taken as indicating physical prowess. They were defined as:

Height. The distance from the bottom of the feet to the top of the head measured in inches.

Weight. Attraction of the body by gravitational pull toward the center of the earth measured in pounds.

THE JUVENILE GANG

The Nature of the Juvenile Gang

This study suggests that one particular segment of the juvenile population exerts disproportionate influence. If gang members are in fact in positions of dominance in the juvenile institution, then close examination of the nature of juvenile gangs is necessary to an understanding of the social structure of the juvenile institution. There appears to be substantial support both in research and theory to

indicate that juvenile gangs which are identified as delinquent do indeed adhere to a set of expectations which are contrary to those expressed by the larger society of which they are a part. There is also considerable support for the assumption that gang members acquire skills which increase their ability to manipulate others by providing protection and assistance and by utilizing overt control behaviors.

Much of the theoretical effort directed toward the analysis of gang behavior flows from a reference group and reference position perspective. Reference group and reference position concepts flow directly from early symbolic interactionist theorizing.

While the concept of the other is central to the formulations of Cooley, Dewey and Mead, it is not analyzed with the same degree of precision as found when the action of the actor is delineated. Each of these theorists suggests that meaning, thought and self are created in a relationship between the actor and his alters. Face to face interaction is posited as a necessary condition in the influence process (Martindale, 1970). It is in the work of Cooley (1969) that we find the influence of the other translated into group identification. Cooley described at length the nature of a particular kind of intimate face to face group identified as the primary group. Spontaneous play groups and gangs were included in the category play group. It is in the work of Faris (1937) [the elder Faris]

that we see the first suggestion that the primary group can influence without face to face relationships. He suggested that if there is a consciousness or a feeling of "we", a primary group exists that influences the actor. Kimble Young (1931) in talking about the social act defined this concept as any act which is qualified by the other.

An argument could be made that Cooley's early formulation of primary group generated gang research in that the earliest formal study of gangs followed closely the publication of Social Organization. However, Puffer's (1912) study tended to present a psychoanalytical interpretation of group functioning. Puffer's efforts have faded into relative obscurity with most researchers crediting Thrasher (1967) with the distinction of producing the early research effort which set the stage for an impressive number of subsequent evaluations of gang phenomena. Thrasher discusses a variety of types of primary groups in addition to the studied gangs. Much of Thrasher's earlier work has been replicated successfully by researchers such as Shaw and McKay (1945), Block and Neiderhofer (1951), and Furfy (1941). Basically, Thrasher suggests that boys group up into gangs in that gangs tend to develop from play groups. Thrasher and the Boy Scouts of America both suggest that the formation of adolescent gangs is a normal process. The nature of the gang is determined by the nature of the participants and the social context in which the gang exists. In this pioneer work we find an early typology of

gangs utilized in the theoretical explanation of the findings. Thrasher anticipates the later reaction formation conceptualization of Cohen when he notes that gang members usually accept the values of the society but are in rebellion against them. A critical element for Thrasher in the development of a gang is the need for this group to face and successfully negotiate a conflict situation. The gang forms and solidifies through the process of resolving the conflict.

Bolitho's (1930) subsequent study of Chicago gangs is similar to Thrasher's. He suggested that the conflict which generated gangs could be traced to the difficulty encountered by minority groups in negotiating with the majority groups--a position preceding Austin Turk's (1966) conflict approach to deviance.

Furfy (1941) was another early worker whose efforts paralleled Thrasher's. He noted the existence of both core members and peripheral members. Groups forming in lower income areas demonstrate a tighter, closer organization and greater adherence to gang values. Work inspired by the Chicago School suggests that gang delinquency could be attributed to social disorganization and lack of cohesion in the ethnic slums or transitional areas. There is a suggestion in Thrasher's earlier work that delinquency flows from the child's early search for recreation which is restricted by his environment.

All of the early studies were ecological studies. As interest turned from the distribution and operation of gangs to an analysis of their nature, attention was drawn to the nature of delinquent gangs, and the studies became descriptive. In the last of the studies which were primarily ecological, attention was directed toward the particular nature of delinquent groups. Shaw and McKay (1945) noted that delinquency is a group phenomenon with delinquent acts occurring almost exclusively in a group context. At about the same time Kvaraceus (1943) in his study of delinquent referrals was noting that relatively few clients were loners in their delinquent activities. Shaw and McKay (1945), like Thrasher, found that ganging (and delinquency) tended to occur in transitional slum areas. Delinquency and ganging also tended to be associated with a wide range of other social problems such as fatherless families, working mothers, etc. (an early finding, by the way, which seems to have been ignored by the majority of workers in this area).

The most notable of the descriptive studies did not deal with delinquents. Whyte (1961) studied young Italian adults' clubs for three years. Whyte was particularly interested in the changes occurring in such groups as they responded to changes in membership. He noted that when clear leaders were not present (in interim periods), clique rule tended to characterize these groups. He also noted that leadership tends to be implicit rather than explicit

such that while the leader is recognized and identified, his position is not formalized. Studies of non delinquent gangs were rare.

The rising interest in delinquency as a social problem and the identification of delinquency as a gang phenomenon generated a rash of studies which tended to suggest that delinquent gangs were predominately lower class associations. Harding (1952) and Rohm and Weber (1958) describe a Jewish-gentile gang fight and a Mexican youth street project in El Paso respectively. They support the lower class as a generator of delinquent gang position. It is noted that Rohm and Weber's description indicates adherence to an antisocial expectational set with coercion and intimidation of non gang members in gang areas by gang members.

A number of programs similar to that of Rohm and Weber were initiated across the country in the 1940's and 1950's. The most notable of these in terms of the generation of usable data were the Chicago detached worker program (YMCA) and the New York City Youth Board. The latter was particularly fruitful in the volume and quality of the reports produced. The Youth Board developed a typology of peer groups which included both conflict gang and pathological delinquent gang categories similar to those used in this study. Both of these peer groups evidence antisocial acts and expectations. They point out that gangs are control oriented with little democratic procedure (New

York City Youth Board, 1960). The quality of these studies varies from relatively impressionistic assessments, indicative of many of the recent efforts in today's growing corrections literature, to the professional participant observation studies as represented by Whyte's research.

It was also during the 1940's and 1950's that we find the seemingly unending search for the cause or causes of delinquency which produced an unbelievable number of studies and theoretical interpretations all of which purported to hold the crucial key to delinquency. In fact, if one is sufficiently selective, it is possible to demonstrate that almost anything causes delinquency. Among these were a number of reputable studies culminating in the comprehensive approach of the Gleucks (1950). As it became apparent that single factor approaches were inadequate, researchers turned to multiple factor approaches. A number of these referenced gangs or utilized gangs as the central variable either as that which must be explained or as a critical factor.

Studies such as Bogardus' (1943) study of Mexican American youth and Yablonsky's (1962) early study of zoot suit gangs of the 1940's suggest that a variety of social pressures push youth into gang involvement. Yablonsky (1959) later suggests that cultural and ethnic clashes are more likely to push youth into delinquent gang activity. Workers such as Hart, Tapping, Hewitt and Jenkins and Dumpston indicated that a matrix of factors

were indicative of delinquent gangs, many of which are related directly to the general level of economic deprivation of the areas they chose to study (Hardman, 1964). It is noted that these researchers selected for study gangs that were defined as demonstrating antisocial expectations and behaviors. These studies as well as the 1950 study by Wattenburg and Balistrieri (1952) stressed the socio-economic factors and the presence of relatively lax homes.

The most comprehensive study of this type was that undertaken by the Gleucks (1950). They matched 500 delinquents with 500 non delinquents according to age, residence, intelligence, and ethnic background. Basically, they found that there was relatively little difference between delinquent youth and non delinquent youth. They noted that delinquents tend to be members of gangs. In addition to a tendency to adhere to a specific psychological type they noted a number of temperamental, expectational and personality characteristics which tend to be elements in the virtually nonexistent definitions of the phenomena labeled delinquency and gang. Among these are aggressiveness, antisocial expectations and dominant personalities.

In these early years of intensive study of delinquency and gang behavior, there was a notable absence of theoretical analysis. This was rectified in the late 1950's and 1960's. The earlier theoretical positions tended to stress social class and/or social conflict as the appropriate theoretical frame for the explanation of

delinquency and/or the nature of gangs. The earliest of these was produced by Short and Nye (1957). These authors suggest that delinquency is essentially a lower class phenomenon. They supported their explanation by a study of adolescents in a reform school and a sample of high school students. They found that inmates in reform school tended to be concentrated in the lower socioeconomic classes. Cohen's (1960) formulation is more complex. He assumes that delinquency is a lower class phenomenon which occurs in a subcultural context. This delinquent subculture is characterized by a rejection of middle class expectations and the establishment and enforcement of a set of expectations which are opposed to middle class standards. Anti-social or delinquent behavior then becomes a symbolic rejection of middle class expectations. He suggests that the issue is not the relative economic deprivations experienced by lower economic individuals but the relative status deprivation experienced. Cloward and Ohlin (1961) have shared Cohen's delinquent subculture perspective. However, they see delinquency as oriented toward acquisition of material means rather than as non materially rewarding efforts which are symbolic protests. Their formulation stresses opportunity to achieve a specific goal--relative affluence--by illegitimate means when legitimate means are unavailable. They suggest three types of subcultures typed according to the response made to deprivation of opportunity: criminal, conflict, and retreatist.

Merton (1957) has an elaborate theoretical explanation for the affects of availability of socially prescribed goals on the response patterns of individuals to their environment. It is interesting to note that Merton does not consider crime as necessarily dysfunctional or harmful to society. His paradigm, which describes modes of adaption characteristic of men in an anomic society, deals with the acceptance of societal goals and the availability of means to achieve these goals. Thus innovation and rebellion as solutions are defined as criminal or non criminal by the society. Delinquent gangs are characteristic of rebellion in that these gangs reject both the goals and the means prescribed by society. Delinquency is seen as a socio-economic phenomenon created by the lack of availability of socially acceptable means to lower income youths.

Miller's (1959) anthropological approach differs from Merton and Cohen is that he suggests that there is not necessarily a rebellion against societal or middle class expectations. The expectations indicative of juvenile gangs are not the expectations of a delinquent subculture but are indicative of the lower class culture in which delinquent gangs tend to form. Kvaraceus and Miller (1959) expanded this basic position by inclusion of McClelland's level of aspiration. They state that the one sex peer group is the typical pattern of social organization in the lower classes of large cities. They also suggest that the lower class household tends to be female

dominated. As a result the boys turn to the neighborhood gang for learning male sex roles and proving their masculinity.

The central question for most theorists (although not always explicitly stated) is the why of delinquent gangs. If the formation of groups by adolescents is a natural phenomenon characteristic of all adolescents, why do these particular groups develop into delinquent gangs? The theorists reviewed to this point have suggested that delinquent gangs take the form they do because they are composed of youths who are members of a particular social class. These youth have inculcated the values indicative of that class or have developed a set of antisocial values as a reaction against middle class values due to conflict with the larger society or the absence of the means to achieve societal goals.

A central variable for this study attempts to approach this antisocial expectational orientation of juvenile gang members. Prosocial orientation was defined as:

Prosocial orientation. A positive assessment and public commitment to the expectations of the society of which the subject is a member.

A number of other theorists have offered variations of this basic position.

David Matza (1964) suggests that the delinquent subculture is not the correct mode of explanation for

delinquent behavior. He emphasizes the similarity between delinquents and non delinquents. He suggests that delinquents know that what they do is wrong and that they feel guilty about it. To deal with these feelings of guilt, the subculture develops sets of antisocial rationalizations. He suggests that these subcultures do not have delinquent agendas in that they are committed to conflict with society. Rather, they commit delinquent or antisocial acts occasionally and drift into a pattern of delinquent behavior. Similar to Miller, Matza suggests that the transition between childhood and adulthood, with the need to acquire male roles and masculine identity, enhances the importance of the gang. He also suggests a condition of pluralistic ignorance in which each member feels that the other members adhere to antisocial expectations although he himself does not.

Redl (1945) has presented a comprehensive typology of delinquents which is oriented to patterns of adjustment rather than types of offense. Redl states that it is a natural tendency for youth to form gangs and cliques. He defines subculture loosely suggesting that society is composed of a wide variety of groups or little subcultures. The delinquent gang is a subculture which does not adhere to the expectations of the parental subculture or to the subculture of the enforcers. He does not perceive delinquency as primarily gang generated but sees some types of delinquency as flowing from mishandling, confusion, or

neurosis as well as from delinquent associations. He does suggest that when delinquency flows from other causes, delinquents will tend to associate with those sharing their expectations. Delinquent gangs can form from natural tendencies to join with those who are similar. Once formed these gangs can recruit others providing them with the basic group orientation.

This position is compatible with Sutherland's (1955) theory of differential association particularly as modified by Glaser (1958). Youth become delinquent or non delinquent based on their experience or, in the case of Glaser, based on with whom the particular youth chooses to identify. While the genesis of gangs is unclear in this formulation, they are seen as ongoing groups which recruit youth who tend to adopt the gang's expectational perspectives.

Studt (1956) expands this perspective in his typology of gang members based on their motivation for gang involvement. In addition to those who identify themselves as delinquent, he suggests that there are those who participate for personal satisfaction or because they are incapable of adjusting to prosocial groups.

Block and Niederhofer (1951) have offered a completely different approach in that they suggest that delinquent gangs are not reactions to or created by social class differences. They suggest that as youth progress from infancy to adolescence they experience a series of adolescent identity crises. Our culture is

devoid to a great extent of puberty rites. Gangs provide these puberty rites permitting boys to prove their toughness and masculinity. While not explicitly stated, it appears that they assume that gangs exist at all socioeconomic levels with only lower class gangs labeled delinquent and gangs. This latter assumption would be supported by the early theoretical explanation offered by Spaulding (1948).

Spaulding differentiates between cliques, gangs and networks. His conception of gang is similar to Thrasher's in that he specifies that a gang is a clique which has become more compact through exposure to conflict. Spaulding's definition of clique resembles Cooley's definition of primary group. Networks are loose organizations of cliques such that a community can be seen as a set of interrelated networks which are composed of a set of interrelated cliques. Gangs are not abnormal in their existence though they may be identified by their expectational systems and tightness of organization.

As indicated by the introduction of male identity and proof of masculinity, most juvenile gangs studied tend to be male gangs with female gang participation perceived as auxilliary units to boys' gangs. Hanson (1964) in her study of girl gangs notes that most girl groups tend to be girl affiliates of male gangs. She reports the recent development of independent girl conflict gangs in the city of New York. These gangs tended to form as earlier girl affiliates to boys' gangs then began to follow an

independent course. These gangs tend to demonstrate the patterns revealed in studies of boys' gangs.

To this point it has been indicated that a number of theorists, researchers and gang workers have noted that members of delinquent gangs tend to be aggressive and dominant, and that core gang members exert some control over non gang members and peripheral members. A closer look at the structure of the gang may provide additional support for the assumption that the position gang member requires the skills necessary to influence others through control and protection.

Both Thrasher (1963) and the New York Youth Board (1960) suggest that gangs are relatively cohesive, distinct groups. Members thus would experience the types of close interpersonal interactions indicative of the total institution. They would also have experienced control techniques. In Yablonsky's (1962) formulations, Short and Strodbeck's (1965) recent study of Chicago gangs, and Klein's (1967) analysis of California gangs, the gang is differentiated as to the extent of involvement of its members. Much of the gang research has tended to indicate that the gang has relatively undefined boundaries with an inner core membership and progressively less involved or peripheral members. Thus while the gang may appear to be relatively large, the inner or core membership usually does not exceed twenty or twenty-five. Core membership tends to be relatively permanent with the peripheral membership

in a constant state of flux. It is this type of group which Yablonsky referenced as a near group--a group which is more organized than a clique and less organized than a social club. Researchers such as Klein and Crawford (1967) in their California study, Scott (1956) in London and Downes (1966) in London have used sociometric analysis in pursuit of the nature of gang structure. Their results tend to indicate a high degree of interaction among core members with peripheral members maintaining gang contact through one or more of the core members. Thus all core gang members acquire the ability, or perhaps conversely core gang members must have the ability as a prerequisite to core membership, to control others.

The definition of gang member utilized by this study closely follows this conceptualization. Gang member was defined as:

Gang member. A subject who has been a core member of a juvenile gang. Core members are those members who form the small tightly knit group about whom peripheral members cluster.

Support for this general position can also be found in some of the recent impressionistic inmate originated literature. One inmate, as reported by Chang (1972), describes gang development in Chicago and the surrounding suburbs. He notes that suburban gangs tend to be relatively independent but that inner city gangs, particularly the west side and south side gangs, have been forming into two relatively discrete confederations

with well defined territorial boundaries. There are determined efforts to expand territorial boundaries by annexing bordering gangs. Thus the Blackstone Nation is composed of a relatively large number of subgangs.

The reader is reminded that this review of gang literature is undertaken with a specific purpose in mind. As such the coverage of various positions is generally limited to areas relevant to this particular argument. For the interested reader there are three excellent short review articles, two by Bordua (1970a,b) and one by Hood (1970), which provide a systematic analysis of gang research and theory.

A Typology of Delinquents

If this study is to be concerned with gang members, then gang members must be identified in the study population. If the control of gang members is found to be desirable, then the method of identification must be one which would permit location at the earliest possible time. The Gibbons typology (Gibbons, 1956) permits classification of institutionalized youth based on material found in the case records at the time of arrival at the institution.

Gibbons' typology provides a tool which permits the identification of gang members in delinquent populations. His typology for delinquents consists of nine role types: the predatory gang delinquent, the conflict gang delinquent, the casual gang delinquent, the casual delinquent,

non gang member, the automobile thief joy rider, the drug user--heroin, the overly aggressive delinquent, the female delinquent, and the behavior problem delinquent. Our study population consisted of boys in juvenile institutions for boys. This population was selected by juvenile court personnel in such a way as to rule out three of Gibbons' role types: female delinquents, behavior problem delinquents and overly aggressive delinquents. Therefore, this study was limited to the remaining six role types: predatory gang delinquent, conflict gang delinquent, casual gang delinquent, casual delinquent non gang member, drug user, and automobile thief joy rider. The general theoretical background utilized by Gibbons in the construction of his six role types was applied in the construction of a seventh role type, strong delinquent non gang member, which was used to designate a substantial group of boys, found in Youth Division institutions, who did not fully qualify for placement in one of the classifications used.

The conflict gang delinquent is involved in fighting, usually in well defined gangs. On occasion he engages in predatory acts but not with the frequency of the predatory gang delinquents. He is usually a member of a fairly well structured group with which he strongly identifies. His self concept is usually less criminalistic than the predatory gang delinquent's. He sees himself as a member of a tough gang. He tends to be hostile toward conventional work careers, have hostile views of police, and sees the

world as offering little promise for him. His role career begins in adolescent years. It seems that many of these youth make normal adult adjustments. Most of the delinquent acts take place within the structure of a delinquent gang which exerts strong control through group norms.

The casual gang delinquent engages in conflict activities, theft, and vandalism. As his career develops, he becomes less involved rather than more involved. He may engage in delinquent behavior with gang members, but tends to regard the behavior as fun. He is usually a fringe member or hanger on in the group structure. He will usually have negative attitudes towards policemen, but he does not usually have strong antisocial attitudes. He sees himself as non delinquent, realizes his behavior is delinquent, and sees the other gang members as real delinquents. He usually becomes involved at an early age but stops his delinquencies and makes a normal adult adjustment. He sees gang members as friends and associates with non delinquents.

The predatory gang delinquent is involved in property offenses, theft, vandalism, auto theft, and sexual delinquency. He engages most frequently in behavior which involves monetary rewards. He is usually labeled a gang delinquent and associates with delinquent peers. The degree of structure of the gang is not an important factor. The gang he associates with will vary at times. He views himself as cool, self-reliant, a tough kid, and a

delinquent. He exhibits antisocial attitudes. He sees himself as a victim of society. He enters into delinquent acts as early as eight years old with an increasing degree of involvement until he acquires a developed pattern of offenses, a delinquent self image, and antisocial attitudes. He usually associates with delinquent peers and avoids non delinquent peers in his area.

The casual delinquent, non gang member, is involved in relatively few minor acts of misbehavior such as petty theft, traffic violations, drinking and vandalism. He associates with non delinquents who deviate on occasions. No status gain or loss is attached to the delinquent acts. He sees himself as a non delinquent who is having fun and feels ashamed when caught. He has prosocial attitudes and is not necessarily hostile toward the police. He begins his offenses at various ages but usually during the teen years. He associates with non delinquents or casual delinquent non gang peers.

The automobile thief, joy rider, steals cars to ride in rather than to strip or sell them. They are sometimes known as wild boys who drink. Joy riders usually steal cars in loosely structured varying groups. A joy rider sees himself as a non delinquent who is tough and cool. His career begins in adolescence. It appears that most terminate their actions during teenage years and make normal adult adjustments. Joy riders associate with other joy riders and non delinquents.

The drug user is involved in acts involving possession, sale and use of drugs. His offense background includes truancy, unmanageable, and in later years theft offenses. He associates with other drug users but commits criminal acts alone. He sees himself as a non delinquent who is violating an unjust set of laws. There is no other overall attitudinal pattern. He is usually passive but hostile toward authority and police.

An additional category would improve the typology for use with this population. This category includes youth who exhibit strong delinquent behavior but who have no gang affiliation. Some youth placed in casual gang delinquent and casual delinquent categories will not conform rigidly to the specifications of these categories. On occasion they are at odds with neighborhood gangs or have established a working co-existence relationship. The additional category could be labeled strong delinquent non gang member. The offense behavior of this type involves multiple criminal offenses usually directed toward material gain perpetuated without companions or with the same single companion repeatedly. The interactional setting is theft for profit motivated by a desire to achieve material advancement. His self concept is such that he sees himself as a deprived individual who has a desire to gain the material advantages and personal advancement by the best possible means at hand. His attitudes are such that he feels that he is a victim of his environment, prevented

from having things due to a system which provides him with no legitimate means of advancement. While he realizes that his behavior is wrong, he feels that criminal activities present the easiest way to get the things he wants. When he is caught, he does not always feel guilty for his misbehavior. He feels that he has played the game and lost.

The role career begins early in life and continues through the teen years. Offenders of this type come from lower class slum areas. The family background shows the absence of one or both of the parents. The family is large and living on minimal income. The delinquent non gang member has a wide range of peer associates. While he does not have active delinquent gang contacts, he associates with non delinquent peer groups. He experiences repeated contact with various community agencies and is labeled underprivileged.

The application of this typology will permit the identification of gang members in the study population.

CHAPTER IV

HYPOTHESES

The argument developed to this point suggests several testable hypotheses. We have seen that the nature of the juvenile gang is such that the performance of gang member roles requires aggressive, dominant, control oriented behaviors. Gang members acquire the skills necessary to dominate the group services of protection and control which are emphasized in the correctional setting. If this is the case, then gang members will be chosen more frequently than non gang members for these sociometric items. Hypotheses 1a and 1b provide the tests for this argument.

1a. Gang members will be overchosen for protection.

1b. Gang members will be overchosen for control.

Gang members do not dominate the services of information and satisfaction of needs. These services are de-emphasized in the correctional setting. Performing gang member roles does not provide the skills for exerting influence for these services. De-emphasis of these services coupled with the lack of skill development indicates that these services will not be dominated by gang members. Satisfaction of needs and information will follow

friendship patterns in choosing with gang members receiving no more choices than non gang members. Hypotheses 1c, 1d and 1e provide the tests for this portion of the argument.

1c. Gang members will not be overchosen for friendship.

1d. Gang members will not be overchosen for satisfaction of needs.

1e. Gang members will not be overchosen for information.

In the evaluation of alternative explanations of the variables influencing patterns of choosing, the beliefs of practitioners in the field of juvenile corrections have been considered. Two major explanations were offered for the ability of some youth to influence others. The first suggested that recidivists are more influential than non recidivists. A prior commitment permits an opportunity to learn institutional roles. In fact, adequate performance of institutional roles is a prerequisite for release. Recommitment places these youth in a setting which they have mastered. Freedom from learning new roles coupled with knowledge gained of the operations of the institution provides these youth with the skills and insight needed to manipulate their social setting. As the services emphasized in the correctional setting are protection and control, these youth will concentrate on acquiring influence in these areas. If this were true, recidivists would be chosen more frequently than non recidivists for protection and control but not for friendship, information or

satisfaction of needs. Hypothesis 2 states the relationships tested in support of this argument.

2a. Recidivists will be overchosen for protection.

2b. Recidivists will be overchosen for control.

2c. Recidivists will not be overchosen for friendship.

2d. Recidivists will not be overchosen for satisfaction of needs.

2e. Recidivists will not be overchosen for information.

The second major variable which is suggested by practitioners to account for influence is physical prowess. Those youth who are physically capable will dominate those youth who are not. The services of protection and control to some extent involves the ability to enforce group norms or provide protection from potential external threats. If this is so, it would be reasonable to expect that those who are physically capable will be chosen more frequently than those who are not. Physical capability is measured in terms of height and weight. Hypotheses 3a, 3b, 4a, and 4b state the relationships tested in the assessment of this argument.

3a. Height will vary with number of choices received for protection.

3b. Height will vary with number of choices received for control.

4a. Weight will vary with number of choices received for protection.

4b. Weight will vary with number of choices received for control.

Physical prowess, however, would provide no advantage for group services without an aggressive facet. Satisfaction of needs, information, and friendship imply a voluntary exchange. As physical prowess does not provide an advantage for these services and friendship, these youth would not be chosen more frequently than those who were not physically powerful. Hypotheses 3c, 3d, 3e, 4c, 4d and 4e express the relationships tested for this argument.

3c. Height will not vary with number of choices received for friendship.

3d. Height will not vary with number of choices received for satisfaction of needs.

3e. Height will not vary with number of choices received for information.

4c. Weight will not vary with number of choices received for friendship.

4d. Weight will not vary with number of choices received for satisfaction of needs.

4e. Weight will not vary with number of choices received for information.

If influential inmates can be identified, what are the consequences for the correctional institution? If those youth who are influenced are gang members or recidivists, then they will endorse and enforce antisocial expectations. Gang members are virtually defined as endorsing and enforcing antisocial expectations. If this is true, then gang members will endorse lower values on a Likert scale designed to measure prosocial orientation

than non gang members. Hypothesis 5 states the relationship tested in support of this argument.

5. Gang members will have lower prosocial orientation scores than non gang members.

The same argument can be advanced for recidivists. Recommitment to an institution indicates at least an inability to conform to societal expectations. Recidivists then will also obtain lower scores than non recidivists on a Likert scale designed to measure prosocial orientation. Hypothesis 6 states the relationship tested in support of this argument.

6. Recidivists will have lower prosocial orientation scores than non recidivists.

Unlike gang membership and recidivism, there is no reason to suggest that physical prowess is related to the enforcement of antisocial expectations. Thus there would be no correlation between height or weight and prosocial orientations. Hypotheses 7 and 8 state the relationships tested in support of this argument.

7. Height will not vary with prosocial orientation.

8. Weight will not vary with prosocial orientation.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

This study investigated patterns of sociometric choices, prosocial expectations and gang membership in three juvenile institutions of the Illinois Department of Corrections. This study was prompted by the recurring attempts at reformation which have been indicative of prison systems since their inception. Correctional reform is more often supported by faith than by reason. Reformers are appalled by the inhumanity expressed by the prison system as it exists and operates today. It is all too evident that present institutional approaches to the rehabilitation of the offender are grossly inadequate. It is unfortunate that penal reformers fail to evaluate proposed new programs before they are initiated, and at times there is not even a plan for evaluation after the program has been successfully established.

Evaluations, when performed, are usually inadequate. There is some question as to what the measure of success should be. Reformers frequently fail to consider the goal of rehabilitation. They continue the fallacious assumption that conformity in the institution will automatically insure conformity in the community. In the past, institutional conformity has been based on coercion. Reformers

substitute more humane forms of insuring conformity for existing forms of control. The test of the effectiveness of the change is the climate of the institution. If oppression and suppression are replaced by self rule or benevolent guidance producing an increase in morale of employees and inmates, the program is deemed to be a success. The measure of success then becomes how pleasant the atmosphere of the institution becomes rather than the successful survival of the ex-inmate in the world to which he must return.

The assumption of correspondence between institutional conformity to expectations and non-institutional conformity to those same expectations is not necessarily valid. A number of the authors we have reviewed have indicated that individuals are exposed to conflicting role expectations by various membership groups. It is reasonable to expect that on his release the institutionalized youth will find himself in intimate contact with groups whose expectations are directly opposed to the expectations advocated by rehabilitation programs. This can be illustrated by an experience encountered by the author during a group counseling session based on reality assessment. Vance,* a dominant youth in the camp setting, was saying, "Yea, I know what you mean. When I first hit the streets I have

*Vance is a fictitious label for a real person. He was relatively secure in that at age 15 he was a three time loser and knew the institutional game very well.

problems even in my crib. I remember my sister saying to me, 'Hey, man, where are you coming from with that yes ma'am jive. You don't rap like the Vance I used to know.' It takes me a week or two to get rid of my bad habits so I can make it on the streets."

The newest approach to the rehabilitation of delinquent youth, guided group interaction, is a general description for a number of recent programs such as the Positive Peer Culture program in Missouri and Florida, the Kentucky program, two programs at Pere Marquette in Illinois and a number of others. While these programs differ in many respects, they share the assumption that changes in the expectational framework implemented by the primary group of which the client is a member will be real and enduring changes (or at least more enduring and real than changes implemented by other programs).

A number of authors cited have indicated that inmates tend to adopt those roles and expectations required for survival in the institution (Johnson, 1961; Clinard, 1965; Ohlin, 1956). It is possible that guided group interaction is just one more game which inmates learn to play. If, in fact, guided group interaction type programs are to be successful, then those youth who are the legitimate leaders of the informal inmate social system must hold prosocial expectations. Unless the nature of the institution is manipulated, those who will tend to become dominant

will advocate antisocial expectations. This contention was examined in this study.

The nature of the juvenile correctional institution is such that the services of the informal group (as described by Gross [1958]), which become the dominant services, are protection and control with satisfaction of needs and information contributing relatively little to the determination of dominant lines of influence.

While it is suggested that general sociological propositions can be appropriately applied in investigations of correctional institutions, the unique nature of the total institution must be taken into account in the application. The evaluation of sound sociological propositions in the correctional setting is not an easy one. Correctional institutions are not noted for their open acceptance of the social researcher. One could speculate as to the originating and generating mechanisms underlying this reluctance. Rather than enter into a protracted moral and philosophical discussion of the possible explanations, let me simply list three reasons most frequently given by practitioners and administrators in the correctional field for their reluctance to embrace the social researcher.

1. The social scientist doesn't realize what effect his actions are causing in the prison environment thus he creates innumerable problems for the institution while collecting his data.

2. The social scientist doesn't understand the pressures under which the institution operates. He will report relatively limited negative findings without consideration for the influence of these pressures or the resulting damage to the institutional image.

3. The social scientist doesn't do much for the institution. He comes in, disrupts the program, gets his data and leaves. Nothing beneficial to the institution is generated by his presence or subsequent work.

We will accept these at face value for the present for there are unquestionably researchers and types of research which legitimize these allegations. There are a few systems which are relatively open to researchers who pursue legitimate topics. One of these is the newly developed Illinois Department of Corrections which includes both juvenile and adult sections. The Youth Division (the juvenile branch of the Department of Corrections) is ideal for our purpose in that I acquired considerable familiarity with almost all of the institutions in this system during my three years of employment as a counselor, teacher, and guard in the Division of Forestry Camps.

TYPE OF STUDY

This study is basically a sociometric investigation of patterns of influence in the informal peer groups found in institutions for delinquent boys supplemented by an evaluation of these boys' expectations. Patterns of influence have been predicted for two functions of the informal group (as presented by Gross [1958]) based on material in the case records at the time of the youth's appearance at the institution. The nature of the expectational framework endorsed by these youth have been correlated with gang membership. The basic research tools were the sociogram, the typology, and the phenominal report.

SETTING

In addition to the brief description of the institutions involved presented in this section, a lengthy description of the Department of Corrections can be found in Appendix A. The institutions involved are described here only to the extent required for an understanding of the findings. The reader who desires a more comprehensive view of the organization from which this data was drawn can refer to Appendix A or to primary sources prepared by the institutions and the Department of Corrections.

THE INSTITUTIONS*

An earlier study (Sigler, 1969) indicated that gang members tend to dominate for aggressive services provided by the informal group. These results were questionable because virtually all gang members were recidivists. Forestry school camps provided the subjects in this earlier study. Two questions were generated. First, why in this 13 to 16 year age group were the vast majority of gang members recidivists? Secondly, which variable in fact accounted for or predicted dominance in the camp setting--gang membership or recidivism? The first question was left for future efforts. The present effort sought to clarify the second question. With this in mind, an attempt was made to select institutions with populations that would by their nature control for recidivism.

The present procedure for obtaining access to Department of Corrections facilities requires that the aspirant researcher initiate efforts through the relatively new Illinois Division of Research and Long Range Planning. Three institutions were selected which were believed to have limited numbers of returnees. First, the DuPage School for Boys deals with younger boys usually ranging in age from

*Personal observations were supplemented by four documents provided by various sections of the Department of Corrections. Each facility provided a program statement which is prepared for informational purposes. In addition to the three program statements, the 1971 Annual Report of the Department of Corrections was used.

10 to 14. As these were younger boys, it was expected that the population would contain fewer recidivists. The two other institutions, Giant City Youth Development Center and Mississippi Palisades Youth Development Center, contained youth at the other end of the age scale. These two camps emphasize occupational preparations and receive young men aged sixteen to eighteen years of age who are perceived as potentially benefiting from job preparation. As such, the milder youth are chosen, resulting in fewer recidivists in the population. All three of these institutions were receptive to the present study. Thus three institutions containing youth of varying ages with low recidivism rates were obtained.

A bonus for this study was the considerable variation in treatment approaches utilized by these three institutions. The wide range of programs, administrative structures, treatment approaches and age ranges permitted a more effective test of our hypotheses.

Mississippi Palisades is located in the northwest section of Illinois approximately five miles north of Savanna and one hundred sixty miles west of Chicago. The statement of purpose emphasizes modification of attitudes and motivation coupled with the skills necessary to make a successful productive adjustment to society. This facility is basically a prevocational and vocational facility. While the camp personnel do not control the assignment of boys to the camp, a set of criteria has been

established which is generally considered in the assignment of youth to various facilities. The criteria stresses the minimum security nature of the facility specifying mild youth, between the ages 16 to 18, who would be appropriate candidates for prevocational and vocational training. Present programs include general educational development, work-away and job adjustment stations (a form of work release), and a landscaping and grounds maintenance vocational program. This last program is a legitimate vocational training program and not a label for the park details utilized by forestry camps in the past. A highly capable staff of two professional landscapers has been hired to operate the program to provide meaningful training. Job placement is reported as very effective with the majority of the placements being with firms in the suburban Chicago-Cook County area.

The academic program at this facility is geared toward building the basic skills needed for successful vocational training. Stress is placed on remedial reading, general education development (targeted toward obtaining a GED certificate) and driver's education (a driver's license facilitates employment prospects). The counseling program has recently been expanded to include group counseling. The major counseling approach in the past has been problem oriented individual counseling. This program has been retained, and group counseling with staff participation encouraged has been added.

The Giant City facility is located in Southern Illinois, fourteen miles south of Carbondale and approximately 350 miles south of Chicago. Like Mississippi Palisades, Giant City is a minimum security institution emphasizing vocational preparation. Giant City has benefited from extensive participation of other agencies in the development and implementation of their program. Southern Illinois University, the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, and the Division of Vocational Technical Education have participated in the development of various aspects of the camp program. Within minimum security institution limitations, the camp specifically states that all committed youth are acceptable. The minimum security nature of the institution restricts to some degree the nature of wards committed to that facility. Giant City enjoys a wide range of vocational programs due to the availability of manpower training programs of the Department of Labor at Ordell, involvement with the Carbondale High School and John A. Logan Junior College, and access to Division of Vocational Rehabilitation programs. The educational program is oriented toward providing the basic skills required for vocational training, acquiring a GED certificate, and driver's training. Remedial reading and tutoring are available through Title I and DVR.

The treatment program is unique in that it is the only program of which I am aware that separates maintaining institutional conformity from counseling. Camp behavior

and release are tied together by the positive progress program. This program is a specially tailored, modified behavior modification program. In addition to immediate cost-benefit behavioral reinforcement, there is a contract provision for short and long term goals. It is interesting to note that the first question asked the researcher by the group was, "How many points do we get?" While counselors and other "treatment" people can make contracts with the youth for points, the counseling is, to a large extent, separated from the positive progress program. Each youth is assigned a counselor who is responsible for adequately recording the youth's progress in the camp program. In addition, these counselors form the group of counselors who operate the team counseling program in which two counselors meet with a single client on a regular basis. These sessions continue to focus on camp adjustment while establishing links between camp behavior and the consequences of that type of behavior in the ward's home environment. In addition, there are two group oriented experiences. The first, the Our Group program, is oriented toward camp maintenance. In these groups the wards are assigned in groups of three to seven youths to an appropriate line supervisor. These groups meet once a week and are given the task of evaluating camp programs and problems. These groups also serve as a positive reinforcer for the Positive Progress Program in that the supervisor can take "his" boys on recreational trips if he is satisfied with

their overall adjustment. The second major group program is a voluntary problem oriented series of groups. No one particular group approach is advocated, but these groups are confrontation type groups. Cooperation with Southern Illinois University provides student counselors satisfying their practicum requirements and student interns from various academic departments. This permits intensive professional counseling for wards with special needs and the development of special programs. All in all, Giant City enjoys a well rounded, intensive array of treatment services to compliment their vocational training emphasis.

DuPage School for Boys is located approximately two miles northeast of Naperville and thirty miles west of Chicago. This institution provided the younger boys for this study. Younger boys and less severe delinquents are assigned to this institution. While boys as old as fifteen can be assigned to DuPage, it is rare to find youth over the age of fourteen at the time of transfer assigned to Dupage. DuPage has a strong academic orientation and through the years has maintained a strong reputation as an excellent remedial education institution. In the past emphasis has been placed on achieving grade level as a basis for release. Two changes expected in the near future exert some influence on camp operations. First, a major industrial concern indicated a desire to purchase the land on which the camp is located. Arrangements were made to trade this land for a larger piece of land. In addition,

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the industrial concern agreed to construct a completely new elaborate physical plant for the new DuPage facility. The new facility is nearing completion and plans are being made to effect a transfer in approximately two months. The second change was effected by the Illinois state legislature. The Department of Corrections is no longer permitted to accept jurisdiction over children under the age of eleven. Thus plans are being made to transfer all wards under the age of eleven to family services. This information had been "leaked" to the population reducing the degree of program participation for these youth. The camp program was disrupted by two additional factors. First, in the preceding month there had been approximately a 20 percent turnover in inmate population with five of the newest boys having been on the scene for less than two weeks. This produced some disruption in the treatment programs as the group culture must be rebuilt to include the relatively large number of new arrivals. There had also been considerable staff turnover in the past nine months. Those leaving appear to have been those most committed to the treatment program. The most recent loss, occurring three weeks before data gathering, was the central person in the treatment program. One or two members of the staff appeared depressed and dissatisfied, a perspective which would be expected to affect the functioning of the camp program.

In the last year a new treatment program has been initiated. By its very nature and design this program dominates all aspects of camp life. The treatment, Positive Peer Culture, dominates the total institutional program, requiring total staff and inmate involvement. Positive Peer Culture is the particular brand of guided group interaction developed by Harry Vorrath at the University of Minnesota and marketed by a semi-private consulting business he operates. Groups usually vary in size from nine to eleven, occasionally being permitted to drop as low as six members. Groups once formed tend to be relatively stable with a member by member replacement maintaining the group over time as the actual membership changes. The thrust of approaches of this general type is to assign to the group the task of dealing with all problems encountered or experienced by the members. There is a dual emphasis in that in one sense the individual problems become group problems while at the same time the group is concentrating on the solution of the problems of the individual members. Over a period of time a group culture is created which includes rituals, symbolic language, problem approaching techniques, a group orientation and identity. Boys are selected for this institution on the basis of their suitability for the Positive Peer Culture treatment approach. The group is identified as a unit and moves together through all daily activities.

They eat, sleep, shower, attend classes, recreate and loaf together. No individual youth is permitted at any time to be without his group. It is this aspect of the program which accounts for the spectacular and news making group runs. If a boy runs, his group will often pursue him to return him safely to the camp.

If a problem arises, all activity stops until the problem is worked out. At times, this involves leaving the dinner table or classroom to work on an immediate problem. The groups meet nightly to deal with problems. First, the group problems that have occurred that day are considered. After the daily problems have been resolved, any individual can ask for the use of the remainder of the group's time to deal with his personal problems. The staff is continuously guiding the group, but not dominating it, by pointing out problems, directing the group's attention, and facilitating interaction.

Only the group has the power to grant release (subject to staff approval). Thus, the first step in obtaining release is to get the group to deal with personal problems. This is followed by resolution of the problems, recommendation for parole by the group and the subsequent acceptance of that recommendation by the staff. Once the ward is accepted for parole, he is transferred to the pre-parole group and waits for the necessary paperwork, a period of from two to six weeks. The staff meets once weekly to staff youth and plan programs. There are

two of these groups, one identified with each of the two cottages. There are five groups and the pre-parole group. The three groups containing the younger, milder youth are housed in one barracks while the other barracks contains the remaining two groups and the pre-parole group. With the exception of remedial reading, classrooms and teachers are located in the barracks and have primary responsibility for the youth in that barracks.

This then is the nature of the institutions which provided the subjects for this study. The manner in which the various institutional settings affected the data collecting process will be discussed after we examine the nature of the population and sample.

THE POPULATION

When dealing with correctional institutions, it is difficult to speak meaningfully of a population to which the results can be generalized beyond the confines of the particular institutions sampled. Indeed there are without a doubt many more points of differentiation between various institutions and systems than there are points of similarity. Frequently, the only real points of similarity are the facts that the inmates have been committed by the judicial system, and that they are confined in an institution of one type or another. Even the simple differences in physical plant become significant when one realizes that we are speaking of a total

institution. When one adds the considerable differences in treatment programs, staff training, the quality of the staff, the nature of the inmate population and resources available to the various institutions, the inter-institution variability becomes extreme. With such conditions existing, it is foolhardy to assume that findings in one institution can be generalized to all institutions or even to a select type of institution. For this reason, the population for this study will be defined as the wards committed to these three institutions of the Department of Corrections at the time of the study.

THE SAMPLE

An attempt was made to obtain a total sample by collecting data from each of the inmates at each institution. With a few exceptions, this task was accomplished. It would be best to describe the sample by institution so that a clear picture of the nature of the basic components of the sample is presented.

The first stop was Mississippi Palisades Youth Development Center. Data were successfully gathered from all of the youth in camp at that time. The population was relatively stable. Four youth had been paroled within the preceding two weeks. One of these four had been on an extended authorized absence and had not been in the camp for several months. These four youth are not included in our population although their relatively recent involvement

might have had some lingering effect on the informal peer group structure. Two other youth were absent from the camp on authorized absences and were not scheduled to return until after the researcher's departure. These two youth would be considered a part of the population as their authorized absences were relatively short (four to five days). In addition, one youth failed to complete the questionnaire properly. On the sociogram this youth answered each question by placing in the blanks, "me", "myself", or "no one" instead of the names of other youth. It is interesting to note that this youth received fourteen first choices for protection and seven first choices for control (over half of the possible first choices in this case). Thus, of a population of 36, full data was collected from 33 and partial data was collected from one. Table I presents descriptive data for the sample from all three camps. It is noted that Mississippi Palisades has a far greater proportion of whites and non-Cook County youth than is usually found in Youth Division institutions. Youth Division institutions usually have large representations of inner city black youth. The disproportionately large white non-urban population may have been arranged to facilitate intensive efforts by the Youth Division and the camp's director to reverse a negative image of the camp held by the local community.

The second institution was the DuPage School for Boys. Data was collected from all of the youth in camp

TABLE I
DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Institution	Residence				Race			
	Chicago	Cook	Other	Total	Black	White	Other	Total
Mississippi Palisades	17	5	14	36	16	18	2	35
Giant City	21	0	6	27	21	5	1	27
Dupage	37	2	4	43	35	7	1	43
Total	75	7	24	106	72	30	4	106

Institution	Recidivism			Gang Membership			Physical Characteristics		
	Recidivist	Non Recidivist	Total	Gang	Non Gang	Total	Mean Height	Mean Weight	Total
Mississippi Palisades	7	29	36	5	31	36	68	147	36
Giant City	3	24	27	11	16	27	68	142	27
Dupage	4	39	43	8	35	43	61	102	43
Total	14	92	106	24	82	106			106

with questionable success. The population had not been too stable as quite a few boys had gone home and had been replaced by new boys. In the preceding three week period there had been ten new arrivals and three administrative transfers out of camp, in addition to the parole releases. Thus a 20 to 25% turnover in inmate population had occurred in this institution. There were no youth on authorized absence at the time, so data were collected from all 43 youth who comprised our defined population. The quality of these data will be considered at length in a later section.

The third institution was the Giant City Youth Development Center. Partial data was collected from all of the young men in camp with the exception of a single youth who refused to attempt the questionnaire. On the day the questionnaire was being administered, two youth walked away from the hospital in Carbondale where they had been taken for treatment. They were subsequently arrested by the Carbondale City Police for shoplifting and taken to the county jail. The sheriff of Jackson County permitted access to the two youth while they were incarcerated at the county jail. One of the two youth refused to attempt the questionnaire. Three additional youth left the room before completing the questionnaire. In addition, two youth did not respond correctly to the sociometric portion of the questionnaire. The blanks contained "no one", "me", "myself" and nonsense scribbles instead of names. As in the case with the similar subjects in Mississippi Palisades,

both of these youth were gang members with a high number of choices for protection and control. Complete data were collected from 21 subjects, partial data were collected from five subjects, and one subject refused to participate at all. Two youth from this camp were on authorized absences at the time the questionnaires were administered. One of these was an extended furlough, and one was a three day furlough. Two young men had been paroled and two had been returned to the Reception and Diagnostic Center in the two weeks preceding the collection of data. Five young men who had just been received in camp were excluded from the population.

This then is our sample of 106 subjects. Reference to Table I indicates that Giant City and DuPage have populations characteristic of Youth Division institutions. The vast majority of the wards are black, inner-city youth.

THE INSTRUMENTS*

Nine variables have been measured in this study. Five of these are measured by sociometric items (protection,

*The primary source for the general information for typologies and sociometric techniques is the Encyclopedia Britannica, 22:449-50 (Chicago: William Benton, Publisher, 1971); and also the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 16:177-185, David L. Sill, ed. (Chicago: Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968).

control, satisfaction of needs, information and friendship), one by use of a Likert type scale (prosocial orientation) and two by statements in case records (recidivism and physical prowess).

Influence in the informal inmate peer group has been operationalized by measuring the number of choices per subject received on sociometric items dealing with four group services and friendship. The sociogram has a place in social science research as an effective analytic tool. Sociometry is the study of groups based on stated preferences for others. While Moreno is usually credited with the origin of the basic approach in his analysis of interpersonal relations in Who Shall Survive, he was preceded by Coste, a Frenchman who devised a sociometric approach to demography. The sociometric questionnaire can vary in its form but almost always references subject preferences for other subject persons. The sociometric questionnaire is relatively simple to devise, administer and analyze. The range of types of choice patterns available to researchers includes positive, neutral, and negative choices; a specific number of choices, unlimited choices, limited ordered choices and ordered rankings of the entire group. While some researchers permit an unlimited number of choices, analysis in this effort will focus on first, second and third choices. The questionnaire used here utilized a series of ordered choices.

The sociogram is the graphic representation of the expressed choices of the subjects and is just one method of presentation of the data. Such sociograms indicate patterns of influence, isolates, leaders and key persons in a structure composed of interrelated groups. Sociograms have not been utilized in this study as the relative size of the groups and number of services would require a complex array of 20 sociograms. The hypotheses assessed can be effectively tested using patterns of summation of choices per subject which can be easily presented in tabular form. The Jennings study (1950) which has been cited extensively was basically a sociometric investigation. Leader, over chosen, popular leader, and sociometric star are terms which have been used to describe the person who is chosen more frequently than his peers. While Jennings has differentiated between choices in the task area and the social area, little or no attention has been directed toward sociometric differences for various informal group services.

Recent efforts in sociometry have tended to follow trends in sociology to increase the sophistication of mathematical analysis of data. Sociometry is highly amenable to matrix approaches. The matrix purports to replace the cumbersome sociogram. However, for large groups such as those studied here, the matrix becomes cumbersome (a 50 x 50 matrix). Thus the methods for matrix manipulation developed by Forsyth and Katz and by

Beum and Brundage are inappropriate. Other researchers developed graph theory approaches, factor analysis and cluster analysis approaches to sociometric data. Again the size of the groups in this study made such approaches unwieldy.

The ideal approach for assessment of influence would utilize direct formal observational techniques to assess influence. In addition to the problems involved in the utilization of formal observational techniques in a natural setting, the nature of the juvenile correctional institution is such that influence among inmates is officially prohibited. This prohibition is stringently enforced by employees. For this reason care is taken by inmates to conceal influence. The instrument was a one-page sociometric questionnaire asking for first, second and additional selections for six areas: friendship, information, protection, control, satisfaction of needs and an additional category asking the subjects to indicate who in camp had made life easier during their stay. A copy of this instrument can be found in Appendix B.

The subjects' orientation toward society was measured by a twenty-four item Likert type scale. This assessed the expectations held by the youth regarding home, authority, law enforcement, the law, self concept and orientation toward others. Items were taken from Weeks' report of the Highfields project (Weeks, 1963).

All of the attitude questionnaire items used in the Highfields study, as reported in Appendix C of Weeks' book, were used. The instrument is titled Questionnaire and can be found in Appendix B. Items 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38 are the items from the Highfields study. A number of additional items were included in the questionnaire to provide a blind for the scale items. These items were taken from Vinter's (1966) report of a comparative study of juvenile institutions with additional items requesting inmate sociometric selections of employees for the basic functions of informal groups. The order of presentation of items in the questionnaire was determined by use of a table of random numbers. Interquartile t 's and distribution of items by institution can be found in Appendix B. Twenty-four items from the original 30 items were selected for use.

The remaining variables were measured by interpretation of information available in the case records at the time of the youth's arrival at the institution. These data were collected by use of a set of data sheets for recording information in the case records concerning family background, offense history, peer associates, involvement with social agencies, stated gang involvement and personal descriptive information. A copy of this instrument can be found in Appendix B.

Gang membership has been assessed by the application of a typology of delinquents. Typologies are the oldest of the tools available to the social scientist. While typologies have a long and varied history, the basic characteristics and methods of construction have remained relatively consistent over time.

A typology is a system of groupings usually called types which aid demonstration or inquiry by establishing a limited relationship among phenomenon. The identity of the members of each type is stated in terms of selected characteristics which are theoretically exclusive and exhaustive. A type may represent one kind of attribute or a combination of characteristics of the phenomenon that are significant for the study in which they are used.

The development of the social sciences in the last century has frequently demonstrated the effectiveness of typological research. It would be inappropriate to do other than consider Max Weber, as if not a starting point, surely as a consolidating point for the development and use of typologies in the social sciences. Weber advocated the use of ideal types for the analysis of social action. Ideal types were abstracted from reality so that extraneous variables could be eliminated. In this way the researcher could concentrate on the variables or factors of interest (Abel, 1970).

In a typology the types are derived inductively rather than deduced a priori. They are assumed to be

natural groupings. While the type is the usual focal point, at times attention may be given to categories within the type or subtypes. The use of typologies assumes that all members of the population can be classified into one and only one of the major types, the dimensions which determine the type can be explicitly stated, and the dimensions reflect the variables which are the targets for research (Sjoberg and Neth, 1968).

Methodologically types serve two purposes--codification and prediction. A typology extends beyond simple description by creating distinct groupings which can potentially create order out of otherwise incomprehensible sets of information. By codifying phenomena the researcher is able to discover and predict relationships between phenomena, especially when those relationships are not obvious.

Major typologies have been suggested by Cohen and Short (1958), Quay et al. (1960) and Gibbons (1956). Cohen and Short attempt to deal with delinquency as a subculture phenomenon. They present five types of subculture: (1) parent-role subcultures (2) conflict-oriented subcultures (3) the drug addict subculture (4) the semi-professional theft subculture and (5) middle class delinquents. Quay postulates three basic types based on predominant personality types: (1) inadequate-immature (2) neurotic-disturbed (3) unsocialized-psychopathic.

Gibbons' typology utilizes a social cohesion approach which includes the factors suggested by Cohen and by Short and Quay.

Gibbons (1956) has constructed a typology of juvenile offenders which was applied to an analysis of the nature of patterns of influence in juvenile institutions. If treatment is to be effective, youth with strong delinquent attitudes must be kept from gaining positions of influence. A basic requirement for such a course of action would be the detection of potential leaders at an early date. It is proposed that the use of the Gibbons typology will provide a basis for detecting potential leaders at the time of their arrival at a facility. Gang members are defined as those youth who are classified as predatory gang members or conflict gang members. By definition the conflict gang delinquent and the predatory gang delinquent will have antisocial expectations.

The Gibbons typology was dealt with extensively in an earlier section. The Gibbons typology was chosen primarily because it is more extensive than the Cohen and Short typology and utilizes a social psychological approach as compared with Quay's personality based typology. The items critical for placement with the Gibbons typology were found in the probation officers' reports, the Youth Division field services social history, description of offenses, listings of other youth involved and the Reception and Diagnostic Center report.

The remaining two variables were measured by direct adoption of facts stated in the case records. Recidivists for this study were youth who had been returned to an institution following a period of parole. If the chronological history of the youth indicated placement in an institution and a period of parole, he was classified as a recidivist.

Physical prowess is a difficult variable to measure. For this study height and weight were taken as indicating relative physical prowess. The recorded height and weight of the youth as recorded at his time of arrival at the institution were accepted as a valid measure.

An attempt was made to collect additional data by use of an employee questionnaire. A copy of the employee questionnaire can be found in Appendix B. Attempts were made to collect three types of data from the employees. In the first, the employees were asked to supply the names of the youth who dominated in each area under consideration. The second type of data would have assessed the staff-boy orientation of the incarcerated youth as perceived by the employees. The third type was sociometric in that employees were asked to select other employees who were particularly capable in terms of control and perceptions of patterns of interaction in the inmate social system. Matching responses were requested on the boys' questionnaire. Due primarily to delayed response rate and the author's inability to collect

the data personally, results from this instrument have not been analyzed.

COLLECTION OF DATA

The questionnaires were administered to the boys in groups ranging in size from four to eleven subjects. As the subjects are frequently poor readers, the questionnaire was read to the subjects item by item. The subjects were asked to wait until each item was read before responding. In the older boys' camps the boys were paid one pack of cigarettes for completing the questionnaires. The DuPage program is such that rewarding youths for participating in any program is not permitted. Access to various groups was designed to fit as closely as possible with the normal camp schedule. At Giant City and Mississippi Palisades the staff made groups of boys available as they completed their assigned tasks or returned from work and trips to town. Some of these groups were the natural work details for that day while other groups were composed of loose individuals gathered together for testing as they became available. In the Dupage setting emphasis is placed on the peer group. The population is administratively arranged into groups. These groups spend all of their time together undertaking all activities as a group. An attempt was made to test each of these groups during a normal class period. Some difficulty was encountered resulting in considerable disruption in the camp schedule.

Access to employees is not as easily accomplished as access to incarcerated youth. As employees have on-going responsibilities, they are not available for testing during the working day. The method of application varied from institution to institution. At DuPage the questionnaires were handed personally to those employees who were available with a request for their return when completed. A questionnaire was placed in the mailbox of the employees who were not present. The staff agreed to mention the questionnaires at the weekly staff meetings as a reminder to those who had not completed the questionnaire. At Mississippi Palisades arrangements were made to have the questionnaires administered during a regular staff meeting. Scheduling difficulties were encountered, however, and the questionnaires were distributed by the camp director. The camp director at Giant City also assumed the task of distributing and collecting the employee questionnaires.

Unrestricted access to case records and a comfortable work area was provided at each of the institutions. Familiarity with the general form of the case records facilitated data collection although several notable changes had been made. Fifteen to thirty minutes per case record was required to complete the schedules.

Staff at all levels were pleasant and cooperative. Everything was done to facilitate access to both the wards and case records, frequently to the inconvenience of the staff.

THE DATA COLLECTING EXPERIENCE

As with the sample, the data collecting experience will be described by institution after a few introductory comments which apply to all of the institutions. An introductory speech was prepared to be read to each of the groups prior to the collection of data. Basically it identified the researcher, provided background information, described the use to be made of the data, explained that questions as to the exact nature of the research could not be answered until the data had been collected, and that the researcher would make himself available after the data had been collected to answer any questions that might arise.

Arrangements were made to arrive at Mississippi Palisades, the first institution, the night before the data was to be gathered. This permitted an initial introduction to all of the youth at one time. The introductory statement was delivered and questions were requested. The wards asked a number of questions directed toward gaining an understanding of the goals of the researcher, benefits to be derived, possible impact on the wards and the camp. Questions as to the exact nature of the study and the content of the instrument were deferred until after the data had been gathered. The researcher returned the next day. The first group was composed of some of the area boys (camp clean-up assignments) and the work-away boys who had afternoon and evening jobs. Two tables in the dining room

were provided. Pencils and questionnaires were distributed. A short statement indicating that each question would be read and asking for the youth to work quietly with the reader rather than ahead was presented. The subjects were also instructed to write only the names of youth then in the camp in the blanks. Two questions arose: (1) "Can I write my own name here?" Response, "No." (2) "Do I have to write a name in this blank? There's no one here that is my friend," etc. Response for the first blank in each series was "Yes, put the most likely person's name in the blank." For subsequent blanks in a series the subjects were permitted to omit names. Thus first choices were obtained for each subject, but second, third and subsequent names were voluntary. Completing page 1 (sociometric section) was accomplished with little difficulty. In the afternoon the landscaping teachers made their classes available, one at a time, for testing. In the evening the young men who held day jobs were tested. Following the testing, the researcher made himself available to answer questions.

Attempts to collect valid data at DuPage can be best described as frustrating. The early stages went very smoothly as the staff was highly cooperative. To gain admittance of the population, the permission of the staff had to be obtained. The researcher met with the staff, explained the research to be conducted and answered staff questions. The staff readily complied with the request

for access to the institution with several offering assistance if needed. Arrangements were made with the remedial reading teacher for the use of his classroom so that each group could be tested in the time regularly scheduled for remedial reading. The first group arrived and was asked to assist the researcher. The nature of the Positive Peer Culture approach coupled with the general instability of the groups made data collection a frustrating experience. The program removes all suggestion of coercion and does not permit reward for compliance. An attempt was made to secure compliance by the use of an altruistic appeal. While this secured agreement to complete the questionnaire, I was not effective in securing complete compliance. It was noted and later verified to some extent that the inmates have inculcated a play dumb perspective. They are highly effective at this and can produce a convincing performance in testing situations. By continually asking for questions to be repeated and for clarification, they managed in each case to extend the administration time from 20 minutes to two hours in all groups but one (tested just before lunch). This disrupted the scheduled testing arrangement. The staff rearranged much of their own schedules to make the groups available when needed. It is interesting to note the written comments some of these wards made to the open ended questions:

"I really don't understand this page."

"I'll quit playing games, go back to school, and stop running away."

"I would want them to make shure that you are committed for something you did wrong and not for something someone said."

and my favorites:

"In my opinion, most of the questions you've asked us are reliviant to do a thorough study of the Illinois Youth Commission (Dupage Boys Home)."

and

"I would make it manditory that workers have some kind of training (social or child care), also more staff, better conditions, and grievance reports (students not liking or understanding something would fill out a grievance report)."

While it is true that the majority of the subjects chose not to answer the open ended questions, these unretouched responses are hardly the statements of the uncomprehending innocents portrayed by all of the youth during the administration of the questionnaire. I have noted this orientation in the past at other institutions. The youth feel that it is best not to over achieve for two basic reasons: (1) The more that the staff feel you can do, the more they will expect you to do. (2) If you hold back, you can show improvement when you have a chance to catch plans (get paroled).

After DuPage, Giant City was a relief. The employees were equally cooperative and all of the groups but one went smoothly. A group counseling room was made

available. The employees delivered those youth who were available for each session. The young men came in, filled out the questionnaires, quietly took their cigarettes and left. The one troublesome group was near the end of the day. Seven youth who had not been tested were gathered up and sent over. As the expectational section was initiated, one youth began making comments regarding the questions. He was asked to work quietly. He flipped through the questionnaire and said, "All of this ain't worth a box of squares", got up and left. When he left, two others got up and went with him. The rest of the group remained and completed the questionnaire.

QUALITY OF THE DATA

All data collected from the youth at DuPage must be considered questionable. It is possible that legitimate answers were given in spite of the general agenda of incomprehension. However, little confidence can be placed in the validity of data collected under these circumstances.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Placement in the Gibbons Typology

Placement in the Gibbons typology was based on material in the case records. Gibbons' types are based on five underlying factors: offense behavior, interactional setting, self concept, attitudes and role career. Each type varies from the other types for one or more of these

factors. The youth were initially placed into one of the seven classifications utilized by this study based on the critical items for each type.

Classification of the population in accordance with the Gibbons typology was based on the material which was found in the case record upon the boys' arrival in the institution. The information used was the record of past offenses, other youth involved, field services report and official description of offenses.

Placement in one of the gang categories was based on recorded gang affiliation or the presence of a majority of theft offenses committed with the same three or more youth. If identified as a gang member, the subject was then classified as a predatory or conflict gang delinquent on the basis of the type of involvement. The casual gang delinquent was determined on the basis of involvement and associations. If the youth was involved in multiple offenses with no companion or with one companion and had occasional offenses which involved three or more companions, he was considered to be a casual gang delinquent. In every case but one, when a subject was placed in one of the two major gang categories, it was also noted in the case record that the youth was a gang member.

The casual delinquent was chosen on the basis of offenses and stated peer relationships. If the number of criminal offenses was low and a number of non-criminal offenses were recorded, the youth was designated a casual

delinquent. A contributing factor considered was peer relationship. If it was noted in the record that the youth associated with non-delinquents or participated in several organized socially approved clubs, the youth was considered a casual delinquent.

The automobile thief, joy rider, was chosen on the basis of his offense record. If his offenses consisted primarily of automobile thefts and rider in stolen car offenses, he was classified as an automobile thief, joy rider.

The delinquent non-gang member was selected on the basis of his offense behavior and peer associations. If his offense record indicated a high number of predatory offenses committed alone or consistently with the same single companion, he would be classified strong delinquent non-gang member if his peer relationships did not indicate associations with delinquent groups. His peer associations would be minimal with little or no association with peer groups or cliques.

The drug user category was selected on the basis of a history of use of drugs regardless of the presence of other offense patterns. While there were ten youth classified as drug users, none of these could have been classified as a gang member. In most cases, the drug users were loners or associated with one single companion.

Both the predatory gang delinquent and the conflict gang delinquent have very negative views of society.

Neither sees himself as being able to find a place for himself in a conventional society. They are hostile to social institutions, the police and occupational roles. The structure of their group perpetuates antisocial attitudes.

Each of the other categories has more positive views of society. The casual gang delinquent tends to have some degree of hostility toward policemen, but tends to have positive attitudes toward other aspects of society. The strong non-gang delinquent will have some hostility toward the police but projects himself into an occupational role which is socially acceptable, usually one which carries high status and monetary reward. The casual delinquent and the auto thief, joy rider, delinquents generally have pro-social attitudes and consider the police inefficient and stupid. Thus, it is to be assumed that of the seven classifications used, the predatory gang delinquent and conflict gang delinquent will perpetuate delinquent attitudes and values.

The initial seven category selection of types were collapsed into two categories: (1) central or core gang members and (2) peripheral or non gang members.

Recidivism

A similar procedure is followed in the case of recidivism. The number of prior commitments was also noted on the background information form. Prior commitments

ranged from 0 to 3. These four categories were collapsed into two: recidivists and non recidivists.

Height and Weight

Height and weight are also found on the background information form. Height and weight are ratio type variables. In all usages of these variables they are treated as interval type variables. Height is consistently expressed in inches while weight is expressed in pounds.

Sociometric Data

The sociometric data has been treated as interval data. Choices are expressed in sums of the total number of choices received by a subject or group of subjects for each service, friendship or the total number of choices. There is no reason to expect that any one choice is more important than any other choice. Thus the interval between choices when summed should be equal. The one possible exception could be between first choices, second choices and third choices. Examination of the raw data indicates that no one subject received a disproportionate number of any one type of choice. The classification of choosing as interval data is thus appropriate.

Prosocial Orientation

Prosocial orientation scores were determined by analysis of thirty items taken from the Highfields study. Standard procedures of weighing responses 0 to 4 for

positive statements and 4 to 0 for negative statements were followed. From these thirty items, 24 were selected after two calculations of interquartile t's by hand. After first assessment of interquartile t's, 12 items were discarded for failing to obtain t value of 1.75 or greater. Five of these items with values above 1.40 were retained for the second assessment. When subject scores were recomputed, the upper and lower quartiles shifted. When interquartile t's were calculated for the revised quartiles, all items but one obtained t's beyond 1.75. In addition to the five questionable items, a sixth item previously rejected obtained a value above 1.75. Subjects' scores were computed for the revised 24 item scale. The change in scores were negligible with upper and lower quartiles remaining unchanged. For each subject a total score was obtained by summing his score for these twenty-four scores for the individual items.

Reliability and Validity

The reliability and validity of the measures of recidivism, height and weight were not assessed systematically. If the data appeared questionable, the facts were verified by interview of the subject. In no instances were the case records found to be in error.

The reliability of the Gibbons typology has not been assessed. The validity was assessed by explicit verification in the case records. All subjects but one

classified as gang members were identified as gang members in the case records. No subject classified in one of the additional categories was identified as a gang member in the case record.

Reliability of the prosocial orientation score was assessed by use of the split half technique. Data from Giant City and Mississippi Palisades were assessed together while data from DuPage were assessed separately. The respective reliability coefficients were 0.97 and 0.94. Validity of this instrument is based on its extensive prior use in the Highfields study.

Reliability of the sociometric questionnaire has not been assessed. I have confidence in the validity of sociometric data. With the sociometric questionnaire the intent of the researcher is relatively obvious. There is no reason for the subject to distort reality, as they are being asked to list preferences for persons rather than to state what they think, believe or feel.

ANALYSIS OF RELATIONSHIPS

Preliminary comparison of gang members with non gang members for height, weight, choosing and prosocial orientation were computed by hand with the aid of an Olivetti 101. Independent t's were computed, and $\hat{\omega}^2$'s were computed from the t values to provide an estimation of degrees of association. The same procedure was followed in assessing recidivism with prosocial orientation scores.

The Olivetti 101 was also used to compute correlations between the interval variables prosocial orientation and choosing and a correlation matrix for all categories of choosing.

An IBM computer and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences were used in the later analysis of the data for a comparison of the relationships between all dependent and independent variables by mean difference and correlation analysis. Tables presenting correlations computed by this process do not present t scores as this information was not provided on SPSS printouts. The significance level is indicated by asterisks. This same procedure was followed in the final assessment of the relationship between prosocial orientation and choosing with gang membership held constant.

INDEPENDENCE OF TYPES OF CHOOSING

The primary dependent variable for this study is composed of five subareas: protection, control, information, friendship, and satisfaction of needs. It has been suggested that protection and control will be highly related and that information, satisfaction of needs and friendship will be highly related. If this is the case, the correlation between categories within these two groups will be high while comparisons between categories of different groups will be low. Table II presents the appropriate correlation matrices for each institution.

TABLE II
 CORRELATIONS AMONG SOCIONETRIC RATINGS FOR RESPONDENTS
 FROM EACH INSTITUTION

	Friendship	Satisfaction of Needs	Information	Protection	Control
Giant City					
Friendship		.87***	.73***	.68***	.52**
Satisfaction of Needs			.74***	.65***	.49**
Information				.80***	.64***
Protection					.92***
Control					
Mississippi Palisades					
Friendship		.63***	.60***	.37*	.29
Satisfaction of Needs			.13	-.05	-.13
Information				.69***	.76***
Protection					.90***
Control					
DuPage					
Friendship		.55***	.62***	.60***	.71***
Satisfaction of Needs			.71***	.68***	.70***
Information				.53	.71***
Protection					.63***
Control					

*.01 < p < .05

** .001 < p < .01

*** p < .001

The DuPage data failed to support this contention. All comparisons are highly correlated with control being central with high correlations with all other categories. Some support is generated by data from the remaining two institutions. In both cases the expected high correlation between protection and control and between friendship and satisfaction of needs is observed. However, information is also highly correlated with all categories for Giant City and with all but satisfaction of needs for Mississippi Palisades. It would appear then that there are either three clusters (protection and control, information, satisfaction of needs and friendship) or two clusters with a linking category (friendship and satisfaction linked by information with protection and control). In either case information does not conform to the predicted pattern. It has been held that information serves to advise the members as to the nature of forces outside the group while control specifies the maintenance of internal consistency in the group. It is probable that the term information references both of these for the youth in this study. Thus those who are influential in the institutional setting will determine and communicate the appropriate standards for successful adjustment in the camp setting, thus becoming sources of information for these purposes.

The five categories of this dependent variable are not independent. In most cases correlations between any two categories are significant. These two factors (protection,

control, information and satisfaction of needs, friendship and information) conform, with some modification, to the predicted patterns.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS

The data for this study were analyzed using comparisons of mean differences and correlations. As the sample included virtually all of the members of the defined population, this was basically a population study in which the results are held to be such that generalization to other populations is not warranted; it is sufficient to simply compare the relative sizes of the two r^2 's or means and note the magnitude of the differences (Blalock, 1972). While measures of statistical significance are offered for the convenience of those who are accustomed to their use, measures of association will provide the basis for assessment of the hypotheses presented.

Measures of association were computed from the t 's by applying the formula utilized in the computer retrieval system for journal articles developed at the University of Missouri (Biddle et al., 1972) $\hat{\omega}^2 = \frac{t^2 - 1}{t^2 + (N_1 + N_2 - 1)}$.

They are included in all tables comparing mean differences. $\hat{\omega}^2$ is equivalent to and is interpreted in the same manner that r^2 is interpreted.

It has been argued that the informal group services of protection and control will tend to be emphasized in the juvenile correctional institution and tend to be dominated

by core gang members. Information and satisfaction of needs, however, are presented as de-emphasized in this social setting and will follow friendship cliques.

It has also been suggested that gang members receive more choices than non gang members for protection and control. Table III presents the mean number of choices for gang members and non gang members, mean differences, ω^2 's and t's for each service and friendship for each institution. Hypothesis 1 states:

- 1a. Gang members will be over chosen for protection.
- 1b. Gang members will be over chosen for control.
- 1c. Gang members will not be over chosen for friendship.
- 1d. Gang members will not be over chosen for satisfaction of needs.
- 1e. Gang members will not be over chosen for information.

The theoretical argument that gang members will be over chosen for protection and control but not for information is challenged to some extent in that in every case but one gang members receive a higher mean number of choices than non members. Again there is considerable variation from institution to institution with DuPage providing the weakest support with the lowest correlations. Some support can be found for the theoretical argument in a comparison of the ω^2 's. For Dupage the correlations for protection and control are the highest with information and satisfaction

TABLE III

MEAN NUMBER OF CHOICES PER SUBJECT FOR GANG MEMBERS OR NON GANG MEMBERS

	Protection	Control	Information	Satisfaction of Needs	Friendship	Number of Subjects
Giant City						
Gang	4.45	4.91	3.55	2.72	3.09	11
Non Gang	.75	0.44	1.19	1.56	1.56	16
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2$	3.70	4.47	2.36	1.16	1.53	
t	3.75***	3.64***	3.21**	2.06*	1.98*	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.36	0.35	0.29	0.14	0.14	
Mississippi Palisades						
Gang	9.80	9.20	6.00	2.20	3.60	5
Non Gang	1.54	.93	2.11	2.64	2.14	28
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2$	8.26	8.27	3.89	-0.44	1.46	
t	9.66***	6.40***	3.85***	-0.50	1.88	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.76	0.56	0.32	0.08	0.10	
DuPage						
Gang	4.88	4.38	3.75	4.50	4.25	8
Non Gang	2.66	1.92	2.73	3.00	2.39	36
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2$	2.22	2.46	1.01	1.50	1.86	
t	2.40*	2.91**	0.84	1.81*	2.20*	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.12	0.17	0.02	0.07	0.10	

*.01 < p < .05

** .001 < p < .01

*** p < .001

of needs being the lowest. The correlation for friendship is higher than satisfaction of needs and information but gang membership accounts for only 9% of the variation in choosing. The variation accounted for at DuPage is low for all categories reaching a maximum of 16% for control. Thus at DuPage gang membership accounts for relatively little variation in choosing for any category as would be expected from the low correlation between total number of choices and gang membership found in Table II ($r^2 = .33$). The interdependence of each of these variables can be observed in the similarity of mean differences for all comparisons for the DuPage data.

For Mississippi Palisades the correlations for protection and control are higher than the correlations for friendship and satisfaction of needs with information falling in between these two groups. Gang membership accounts for 75% of the variation in choosing for protection, 56% of the variation in control, and 32% of the variation in information. For Giant City a similar pattern is observed with 36% of the variation explained for protection and control and 29% explained for information.

Gang members tend to be chosen more than non gang members for all services, but the differences in the means and $\hat{\omega}^2$'s are greatest for protection and control with information being greater than friendship and satisfaction of needs. While all categories tend to be interdependent,

these results follow the predicted pattern by the size of the correlations presented in Table II. Gang members tend to exert more influence for the protection, control and information factor than for the friendship, satisfaction of needs and information factor.

If choosing is taken as indicating popularity and to some extent influence, then it would appear that gang members tend to hold central positions in juvenile institutions. As with those in other social institutions, practitioners in juvenile correctional institutions have developed a system of beliefs which explain the particular nature of their institutions. In addition to gang membership, two other variables are suggested by many practitioners as determining influence. One of these is recidivism. The other, and more widely supported belief, is that physical prowess is the primary determinant of influence in the juvenile correctional institution. In that it has been argued that recidivism or physical prowess accounts for dominance in the juvenile correctional institution, these relationships will be assessed before considering the impact of dominant gang members in the institution.

Table IV presents the mean number of choices, mean differences, r^2 's and t 's for various group services and friendship for recidivists and non recidivists. Hypothesis 2 states:

- 2a. Recidivists will be over chosen for protection.

TABLE IV

MEAN NUMBER OF CHOICES PER SUBJECT FOR RECIDIVISTS AND NON RECIDIVISTS

	Protection	Control	Information	Satisfaction of Needs	Friendship	Number of Subjects
Giant City						
Recidivist	0.00	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	3
Non Recidivist	2.54	2.50	2.00	1.45	1.75	24
$\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2$	(-)2.54	(-)2.17	(-)1.67	(-)1.12	(-)1.42	
t^1	(-)1.35	(-)0.87	(-)1.57	(-)2.32**	(-)1.70	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.07	0.03	0.09	0.17	0.10	
Mississippi Palisades						
Recidivist	3.67	2.83	3.17	2.17	2.50	6
Non Recidivist	2.59	2.03	2.25	2.70	2.41	27
$\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2$	1.08	0.80	0.92	(-)0.53	0.09	
t^1	0.05	0.33	0.33	(-)0.45	0.05	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.0001	0.004	0.004	0.006	0.0001	
DuPage						
Recidivist	2.67	3.67	4.67	4.67	2.00	3
Non Recidivist	3.05	2.27	2.92	3.12	2.80	41
$\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2$	(-)0.38	1.40	1.75	1.55	(-)0.80	
t^1	(-)0.25	1.00	1.18	(-)1.11	(-)0.58	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.002	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.01	

**.001 < p < .01

- 2b. Recidivists will be over chosen for control.
- 2c. Recidivists will not be over chosen for friendship.
- 2d. Recidivists will not be over chosen for satisfaction of needs.
- 2e. Recidivists will not be over chosen for information.

These data clearly fail to support Hypotheses 2a and 2b and tend to support Hypotheses 2c, 2d, and 2e with almost all correlations approaching 0 and having negative values indicating that non recidivists received a greater number of choices than recidivists. The larger correlations found in Giant City indicate that recidivism explains a maximum of 16% of the variation in over choosing and in those cases the correlations are negative. Thus it appears that there is no linear relationship between recidivism and choosing for any informal group service.

Tables V and VI present the mean heights, mean weights, mean number of choices per group service and friendship and r^2 's and t's for choosing by service and friendship compared with height and weight. Again, it can be seen that no linear relationship exists between height and weight and choosing. Hypotheses 3 and 4 state:

- 3a. Height will vary with number of choices received for protection.
- 3b. Height will vary with number of choices received for control.
- 3c. Height will not vary with number of choices received for friendship.

TABLE V

CORRELATION OF HEIGHT AND CHOOSING BY GROUP SERVICES

	Protection	Control	Information	Satisfaction of Needs	Friendship	Number of Subjects
Giant City						
\bar{x} Height	68.50	68.50	68.50	68.50	68.50	26
\bar{x} Choices	2.19 ^a	2.04 ^a	2.15 ^a	2.30	2.26 ^a	27
r^2	0.002 ^a	0.002 ^a	0.004 ^a	0.012 ^a	0.0001 ^a	
Mississippi Palisades						
\bar{x} Height	68.26	68.26	68.26	68.26	68.26	34
\bar{x} Choices	2.36	2.58	2.70	2.79	2.18	34
r^2	0.06 ^a	0.16 ^a	0.004 ^a	0.044	0.01	
DuPage						
\bar{x} Height	61.84	61.84	61.84	61.84	61.84	44
\bar{x} Choices	2.75	3.23	3.05	3.02	2.36	44
r^2	0.02	0.01	0.48	0.02	0.04	

^a
r was negative

*p<.05

TABLE VI

CORRELATION OF WEIGHT AND CHOOSING BY GROUP SERVICES

	Protection	Control	Information	Satisfaction of Needs	Friendship	Number of Subjects
Giant City						
\bar{x} Weight	142	142	142	142	142	26
\bar{x} Choices	2.19	2.04	2.15	2.30	2.26	27
t	0.53	1.76*	0.14	(-)0.39	(-)0.34	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.12	0.10	0.001	0.006	0.005	
Mississippi Palisades						
\bar{x} Weight	142.76	142.76	142.76	142.76	142.76	34
\bar{x} Choices	2.36	2.58	2.70	2.79	2.18	34
t	(-)1.47	(-)1.81*	(-)0.16	0.11	0.66	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.07	0.09	0.001	0.0004	0.01	
DuPage						
\bar{x} Weight	102.11	102.11	102.11	102.11	102.11	44
\bar{x} Choices	2.75	3.23	3.05	3.02	2.36	44
t	(-)0.71	0.00	(-)0.32	1.32	1.05	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.12	0.00	0.003	0.04	0.03	

*.01 < p < .05

- 3d. Height will not vary with number of choices received for satisfaction of needs.
- 3e. Height will not vary with number of choices received for information.

- 4a. Weight will vary with number of choices received for protection.
- 4b. Weight will vary with number of choices received for control.
- 4c. Weight will not vary with number of choices received for friendship.
- 4d. Weight will not vary with number of choices received for satisfaction of needs.
- 4e. Weight will not vary with number of choices received for information.

These data fail to support a or b for these hypotheses and tend to support c, d and e. The two largest correlations produce explanations of less than 16% of the variation in choosing. These correlations are marginally significant using a two-tailed estimation of t; a result not unexpected when 30 tests have been made.

The remaining analysis concentrates on the relationship between three variables: choosing, prosocial orientation, and gang membership. It has been suggested that gang members will demonstrate a lower prosocial orientation in addition to their being chosen more frequently for protection and control.

The relationship between gang membership and prosocial orientation will be assessed first. Table VII presents an assessment of the mean differences for gang members and non gang members in terms of prosocial

TABLE VII
 MEAN PROSOCIAL ORIENTATION SCORE PER SUBJECT FOR
 GANG MEMBERS AND NON GANG MEMBERS

	Giant City	Mississippi Palisades	DuPage
\bar{X} Gang	42.50	39.40	39.00
\bar{X} Non Gang	52.77	50.37	48.28
$\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2$	-10.27	-10.97	- 9.28
t	- 3.28**	5.00***	- 3.24**
σ^2	0.30	0.43	0.18

*.01<p<.05

**0.001<p<.01

***p<.001

orientation. Examination of the $\hat{\omega}^2$'s indicates some degree of association between these variables. The lowest variance in prosocial orientation explained by gang membership is 18% for the DuPage data. For Giant City, 30% of the variance is explained, with 43% explained for Mississippi Palisades. Hypothesis 5 states:

5. Gang members will have lower prosocial orientation scores than non gang members.

These data support the hypothesis. However, it should be noted that statements regarding gang members in general cannot be made, as this is a select sampling of gang members. Only gang members who have been processed and incarcerated by the juvenile justice system are included in this population. Thus statements must be limited to such youth. However, it can be seen that gang members in this population obtain lower prosocial orientation scores than non gang members.

When comparisons are made between prosocial orientation scores and height and weight, it can be seen that height and weight are not correlated with prosocial orientation. Table VIII presents means and r^2 's for comparisons between weight and prosocial orientation and between height and prosocial orientation.

Hypotheses 7 and 8 state:

7. Height will vary with prosocial orientation.
8. Weight will vary with prosocial orientation.

TABLE VIII
CORRELATION OF PROSOCIAL ORIENTATION WITH HEIGHT AND WEIGHT

	Giant City	Mississippi Palisades	Dupage
\bar{x} Height	65.74	66.82	60.45
\bar{x} Prosocial	39.81	43.53	47.75
r^2	0.05	0.12	0.35
\bar{x} Weight	142.74	159.38	113.52
\bar{x} Prosocial	39.81	43.53	45.75
r^2	0.003	0.007	0.001

^a r was negative
* $p < .05$

Virtually none of the variance in prosocial orientation is accounted for by height or weight.

In the case of recidivism, however, a slightly different pattern is found. Hypothesis 6 states:

6. Recidivists will have lower prosocial orientation scores than non recidivists.

Table IX presents the mean prosocial orientation scores for recidivists and non recidivists for all institutions.

Measures of association for Giant City and DuPage remain low. However, approximately twenty percent of the variance in choosing can be explained by recidivism in DuPage with subsequent influence on the explained variation for the total population. This is particularly interesting when it is noted that DuPage is the institution which demonstrated the lowest association between gang membership and prosocial orientation. It should also be noted that non recidivists have higher prosocial orientation scores than recidivists. It is a fact that recidivists at DuPage tend to have been incarcerated at DuPage during their first stay. They should be prepared to demonstrate the proper orientation. DuPage emphasizes the group solution of the individual's problems as a condition for release. These youth may be demonstrating improper behavior so that they can be cured.

To this point the findings show that gang members tend to be over chosen for all group services and friendship with the choices tending to be greater for protection, control and information with all sociometric

TABLE IX
 MEAN PROSOCIAL ORIENTATION SCORES PER SUBJECT
 FOR RECIDIVISTS AND NON RECIDIVISTS

	Giant City	Mississippi Palisades	DuPage
\bar{x} Recidivists	19.33	44.67	34.92
\bar{x} Non Recidivists	41.57	43.28	49.81
$x_1 - x_2$	-22.24	1.39	-14.89
t	- 1.80	0.32	- 3.62***
$\hat{\sigma}^2$	0.079	0.035	.216

***p<.001

items being interdependent. Gang members also tend to have lower prosocial orientation scores. The question that arises is: Is it possible that the over choosing is a result of prosocial orientation rather than gang membership? If this is in fact the case, then prosocial orientation should be correlated highly with choosing when gang membership is held constant. Two additional hypotheses are suggested for evaluation. Hypotheses 9 and 10 suggest that protection and control are the dominant services for this relationship.

9. With gang membership held constant, prosocial orientation will vary inversely with number of choices received for protection and control.

10. With gang membership held constant, prosocial orientation will not vary with number of choices for friendship, information and satisfaction of needs.

Table X presents means for the number of choices for each service and friendship and for prosocial orientation and the r^2 's for correlations between choosing and prosocial orientation. Support for Hypotheses 9 and 10 is found in the figures for Giant City and Mississippi Palisades but not in those for DuPage. For Mississippi Palisades and Giant City the correlations for protection and control are both significant and higher than those for friendship, satisfaction of needs and information with from 16% to 36% of the variations in choosing explained by prosocial orientation. Tables XI and XII present the same information for the two sub-populations, gang members and

TABLE X

CORRELATION OF PROSOCIAL ORIENTATION AND CHOOSING

	Protection	Control	Information	Satisfaction of Needs	Friendship	Number of Subjects
Giant City						
\bar{x} Prosocial****	48.48	48.48	48.48	48.48	48.48	23
\bar{x} Number Choices	2.30	2.26	2.15	2.04	2.19	27
t	(-)3.17***	(-)2.57**	(-)0.60	(-)1.33	(-)1.23	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.36	0.25	0.02	0.08	0.08	
Mississippi Palisades						
\bar{x} Prosocial****	48.66	48.66	48.66	48.66	48.66	32
\bar{x} Number Choices	2.79	2.18	2.70	2.58	2.36	34
t	(-)2.46**	(-)2.10*	(-)1.91	0.54	(-)0.71	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.16	0.13	0.10	0.001	0.02	
DuPage						
\bar{x} Prosocial****	46.74	46.74	46.74	46.74	46.74	43
\bar{x} Number Choices	3.02	2.36	3.05	3.23	2.75	44
t	(-)1.43	(-)1.29	(-)0.69	(-)1.81	0.05	
$\hat{\omega}^2$	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.80	0.006	

*.01<p<.05

**.001<p<.01

***p<.001

****Prosocial Orientation Score

TABLE XI

CORRELATION OF CHOOSING AND PROSOCIAL ORIENTATION FOR NON GANG MEMBERS

	Protection	Control	Information	Satisfaction of Needs	Friendship	Number of Subjects
Giant City						
\bar{x} Prosocial ^a	43.19	43.19	43.19	43.19	43.19	16
\bar{x} Number Choices	0.75	0.75	1.19	1.56	1.56	
r^2	0.012	0.004	0.006	0.001	0.040	
Mississippi Palisades						
\bar{x} Prosocial ^a	44.24	44.24	44.24	44.24	44.24	29
\bar{x} Number Choices	1.66	0.90	2.07	2.52	2.14	
r^2	0.02	0.09	0.07	0.06	0.01	
DuPage						
\bar{x} Prosocial ^a	49.50	49.50	49.50	49.50	49.50	36
\bar{x} Number Choices	4.14	1.86	3.00	2.94	2.42	
r^2	0.002	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.0001	

^aProsocial Orientation Score

* $p < .05$

TABLE XII

CORRELATION OF CHOOSING AND PROSOCIAL ORIENTATION FOR GANG MEMBERS

	Protection	Control	Information	Satisfaction of Needs	Friendship	Number of Subjects
Giant City						
\bar{x} Prosocial ^a	34.91	34.91	34.91	34.91	34.91	11
\bar{x} Number Choices	4.55	4.91	3.55	2.73	3.09	
r^2	0.09	0.14	0.03	0.07	0.04	
Mississippi Palisades						
\bar{x} Prosocial ^a	39.40	39.40	39.40	39.40	39.40	
\bar{x} Number Choices	9.80 _b	9.20 _b	6.00 _b	2.20	3.60	
r^2	0.30 _b	0.52 _b	0.83 _b	0.27	0.01	
DuPage						
\bar{x} Prosocial ^a	28.89	28.89	28.89	28.89	28.89	
\bar{x} Number Choices	6.13	4.38	3.75	4.50	4.25	
r^2	0.29	0.10	0.04	0.0004	0.18	

^a Prosocial Orientation Score

^b r was negative

*p<.05

non gang members. These figures indicate that correlations for choosing and prosocial orientation tend to be a product of the correlation between gang membership and prosocial orientation. Table XI presents the data for non gang members. For non gang members the correlation between choosing and prosocial orientation virtually disappears with no correlation explaining more than 9% of the variation. Table XII presents the data for gang members. An interesting pattern appears. First for Giant City, DuPage and the total sub-population of gang members the correlations are positive indicating that those with higher prosocial orientations received a greater number of choices than those with lower prosocial orientations, or gang members with more positive orientation toward society received more choices (low correlations) than gang members with less positive orientations toward society. Mississippi Palisades, the exception, shows prosocial orientation to be highly negatively correlated with choosing for all group services but not for friendship with from 27% to 83% of the variation in choosing explained by prosocial orientation. Reference to the subject data charts in Appendix C indicates that two of the five gang members have received an excessively high number of choices and the lowest prosocial orientation scores. Thus the performance of these two subjects accounts for the high correlations. The results then are to some extent unreliable with the high correlations potentially misleading in this case.

Evaluating these data on the whole, then the relationship between prosocial orientation and choosing tends to disappear when gang membership is controlled.

As a basis for classification in the Gibbons typology, data were collected for eleven variables in addition to choosing prosocial orientation, gang membership, height, weight and recidivism. The additional variables were race, size of home city, father's occupation, mother's occupation, family income in dollars, age in years, number of brothers, number of sisters, birth order, number of past offences, religion and nonverbal intelligence scores. Youth Division populations tend to be relatively homogeneous with the majority of the youth being black, inner city, poor youth from large families who have low IQ scores. The nature of the Mississippi Palisades population resulted in a greater proportion of non Cook County youth than normally found in Youth Division facilities. An exploratory examination was made of the relationships between all seventeen variables. While there were scattered significant relationships, there were only four patterns of relationships. An obvious relationship between being an ADC recipient and family size was consistently noted. In addition, there was a slight positive relationship between city size and choosing. Closer examination indicates that this relationship is determined by gang membership. Almost all of the gang members came from Chicago. There is also a slight tendency for gang members in all institutions to have longer prior arrest records

TABLE XIII

CORRELATION OF AGE AND CHOOSING FOR ALL INSTITUTIONS AND SERVICES

	Protection	Control	Information	Satisfaction of Needs	Friendship	Number of Subjects
Giant City						
\bar{x} Age in Months	186.60	186.60	186.60	186.60	186.60	27
\bar{x} Number Choices	1.50	2.30	2.15	2.04	2.19	
r^2	0.14 ^a	0.12 ^a	0.05 ^a	0.03 ^a	0.06 ^a	
Mississippi Palisades						
\bar{x} Age in Months	196.50	196.50	196.50	196.50	196.50	34
\bar{x} Number Choices	2.85	2.12	2.65	2.47*	2.35	
r^2	0.22 ^a	0.41 ^{a***}	0.05 ^a	0.05*	0.02	
DuPage						
\bar{x} Age in Months	113.50	113.50	113.50	113.50	113.50	44
\bar{x} Number Choices	4.50	2.32*	3.14*	3.23*	2.75 ^{***}	
r^2	0.0004 ^{a***}	0.13	0.11	0.08	0.24	

^a r was negative

*.01 > p > .05

** .001 > p > .01

*** p < .001

than non gang members. The final relationship, that between age and choosing, demonstrates that age potentially affects choosing at DuPage. At the time of this study, age at DuPage ranged from 128 months to 178 months. Table XIII presents correlations between age and choosing for all institutions. While Giant City and Mississippi Palisades demonstrate minimal or negative correlations, DuPage demonstrates high positive correlations for control, friendship and total number of choices. It appears that at DuPage older youth are chosen more frequently than younger youth for some services.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

These data have provided some support for the argument underlying this study. Considerable differences have been found between institutions. While Giant City and Mississippi Palisades tend to conform to the expected pattern, DuPage tends to demonstrate lack of conformity across all comparisons. It has been noted that the treatment program at DuPage is unique in that a consistent effort is made to control negative leaders. It is also noted that to some extent the validity of the DuPage data must be questioned. For the latter reason, the DuPage data are presented, but explanations in terms of differences in inmate management are not offered.

Gang members have tended to receive more choices for all categories than non gang members. While the categories of choosing tend to be interdependent, the difference in choices for gang members and non gang members have tended to

be greater for protection and control than for information, and the differences for information tend to be greater than those for friendship and satisfaction. The differences between categories are minimal in the DuPage data. The data tended to indicate virtually no support for the contentions that physical size or recidivism will influence choosing in juvenile correctional institutions.

Gang members were also found to obtain lower prosocial orientation scores than non gang members. Physical size and recidivism were not found to be correlated with choosing.

Gang members then tend to be over chosen and to have lower prosocial orientation scores than non gang members. An attempt to assess the relationship between these three variables indicated that correlations which appear to exist between prosocial orientation and choosing are created by the relationship between gang membership and choosing. When prosocial orientation and choosing were compared holding gang membership constant, the correlation between choosing and prosocial orientation disappeared except for gang members at Mississippi Palisades. References to the subject data charts indicated that the Mississippi Palisades results were accounted for by the scores of two subjects.

An exploratory study of data collected as a basis for assignment in the Gibbons typology indicated four minor patterns of association and a relationship between age and choosing for DuPage subjects. At DuPage older boys tend to be overchosen for control and friendship.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

An attempt has been made to clarify the nature of leadership in juvenile correctional institutions. A population of three institutions from the Illinois Department of Corrections was chosen so as to control for the possible confounding effects of recidivism. The data support three major contentions.

The first argument developed suggests that leaders tend to have a history which involves core gang membership. The argument suggests that core gang members acquire an orientation or set of expectations conducive to acquisition of the ability to dominate others. These skills and the experience of close interpersonal closed group interaction characteristic of the gang enhances their ability to exert influence in the juvenile institution. The contention that leaders tend to be gang members has been strongly supported by this study.

The question then arises: What is the import of this for the social climate of the juvenile correctional institution? A number of observational studies have supported the findings that gang members endorse antisocial expectations. An equally large number of observational studies and a few empirical studies have indicated that

incarcerated youth demonstrate a negative expectational orientation. The argument developed here suggests that gang members with negative expectations acquired in the community as a part of their role performance assume positions of influence in a correctional institution which emphasizes characteristics of group interaction amenable to those with gang experience. Thus gang members with negative orientations dominate the camp scene and to some extent impose their negative orientation on the group. The data support the contention that leaders do in fact demonstrate a less positive orientation toward society than non leaders. It would be inappropriate to speak of characteristics of gang members, as we have a clearly biased sample of gang members (those gang members who have been incarcerated).

With the present popularity of the group task approach to counseling, the question arises: Is this order of things the only possible ordering in the informal inmate social system? The study of leadership has resulted in a number of alternative theoretical frames. Some suggest that leadership is a dominating phenomena either due to leadership characteristics of the person or skills possessed by the person central to task performance. Others have suggested separations of leadership either into dichotomies such as that of Bales (1950) or as a group property with influencing ability shifting from person to person as the task changes. It is suggested here that a

reconciliation between the divergent alternative theoretical frames can be accomplished by viewing group interaction as based in a number of services which the group provides for its members coupled with the characteristic roles performed by the individual members. In the specific situation investigated here it has been argued that leaders who are gang members in a correctional institution will tend to dominate the services of protection and control. For the services of information and satisfaction of needs, influence tends to be diffuse with no central person or persons dominating the institutional setting, although leaders tend to demonstrate disproportionate influence for information. The data support this contention with information tending to develop patterns to a greater extent than satisfaction of needs, suggesting that if different services could be emphasized in the institutional setting, the patterns of influence would change.

WEAKNESS OF THE STUDY

By far the major weakness was the poor design of the expectational questionnaire. The questionnaire could have been reduced by half without reducing its effectiveness. The length of the questionnaire pushed the collection of data beyond the attention span of many of these subjects. Only a few made an attempt to respond to the open-ended questions. The second major weakness deals

with the inability of the researcher to secure the full cooperation of the DuPage subjects. Several suggestions can be made to improve prospects for future researchers. First, such data can not be gathered in such a program on a one-shot basis. The best method of implementing this line of study would be to build it into the program with staff as well as youth listing the informal peer group structure. Secondly, the youth should be given a meaningful opportunity to refuse prior to the collection of data. While coercion was not used, the youth were not really given an opportunity to refuse to cooperate. Third, if the research can be considered sufficiently valuable by the staff to justify a program compromise, the presence of a small reward appears to enhance compliance. The collection of data in the field is a difficult matter at best. When the subjects are delinquent youth in a correctional institution, the problems and difficulties are multiplied. However, the type of data and insight that can be acquired from such a field survey plays an important part in the development of a firm body of knowledge both about incarcerated youth and the operation of small groups.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

We have noted that gang members tend to dominate or exercise disproportionate influence in the institutional setting. The ability to exercise this influence indicative

of a central position may be directly related to patterns of behavior and expectations learned in the gang setting. Gang members in these juvenile correctional institutions endorse prosocial statements to a lesser degree than non gang members. Thus those youth who tend to be overchosen and are assumed to be influential tend to be those youth who have less positive orientation toward societal standards.

The implications of these suggestions for correctional practice are clear. First the data tend to support the basic contention that the leaders, if over chosen youth can be taken as leaders, of informal inmate groups in institutions tend to be delinquently or criminally oriented. It has traditionally been held that prisons and juvenile institutions exert an adverse influence on the inmate due to the criminal nature of the other inmates. As gang youth are chosen for the dominant functions of protection, information, and control, it is to be expected that a delinquent ideology is supported by the leaders of the informal peer groups.

The peer groups play an important part in institutional life and affect the potential for attainment of institutional goals. A familiar theme in studies of prison life is that inmate peer groups in custodial institutions tend to take a negative stance toward the goals of the institution. If in fact gang members do perpetuate a delinquent ideology, then it is to be expected that they

will take a negative stance toward attempts to change the expectations of the other inmates.

If the goals of correctional institutions are to be involved with changing inmates so that they may function acceptably in society, efforts to suppress inmate peer groups are not necessarily an effective strategy. Suppression would not eliminate the commitment of the group to a delinquent ideology if delinquently oriented youth continued to hold positions of leadership in the suppressed informal system. It is apparent that the inmate social system will influence the degree to which personal wishes are to be satisfied. Desires which require the cooperation of others are dependent upon those others. To receive the cooperation of others, the individual must conform to the expectations and roles which the others expect. This process is power to peer groups. Youth with strong delinquent expectations or who endorse antisocial expectations should not be allowed to employ positions of influence to control the group if treatment attempts are to be successful.

In treatment processes the staff attempts to alter the inmate expectations and perceived patterns of role behavior. In this way they are opposing delinquent or criminal expectations and role patterns. The informal rules which reflect the prison's subculture generally exert a greater effect on the prisoner's actual behavior than the system of formal rules. Inmate groups place a

strong emphasis on in-group loyalty. The prison culture provides a pattern of expected behavior which the inmate must adopt. To the extent the peer and official groups are in conflict, the influence exerted by delinquent or criminally oriented inmate social systems impedes treatment.

The main goal or purpose of treatment is to re-orient or change the individual so that he can adjust to society. Although the methods vary widely, the purpose remains the same. An attempt is made to instill prosocial expectations and to delete antisocial expectations. The individual's social environment is an important factor in the change process. The most potent aspect of the treatment environment is the group involved in the treatment. Even though the individual is the target, his reactions are influenced by the characteristics of his basic membership groups. It can be seen then, that the informal groups of an institution affect to some degree the success of the institution's attempts to "treat" the inmate. To some extent the nature of those youth who hold positions of influence is indicative of the nature of the informal group.

It has been suggested that the functions of control and protection lend themselves best to the ideology of the delinquent subculture. Those youth who have been actively involved in delinquent gangs have been strongly oriented to the delinquent subculture and have had the opportunity to gain some experience in group processes. Thus, they

are best equipped to operate in these spheres. If as we have found, these youth are indeed leaders and do endorse a negative orientation toward society, then it is to be expected that the informal inmate peer group will oppose the goals of the correctional institution.

We raise the issue that informal groupings of inmates need not necessarily be an obstacle to treatment objectives of the correctional institution. Primary focus is placed upon the role of the leader of the informal inmate peer group. Thus, the question arises whether other than delinquent orientations exist in inmate informal groupings. If so, can leadership patterns become a means of moving these groups toward at least partial support of therapeutic objectives of the correctional institution?

It has been suggested that leadership is a function of the situation, the culture, context, and customs of a group or organization, quite as much as it is a function of personal attributes and group requirements. The leader undoubtedly has some special traits or characteristics which distinguish him from other members of the group regardless of the task or the structure of the group. Similarly, the task in which the group is engaged certainly affects the type of leader chosen or selected and the behavior of that leader. Further, it is both reasonable and consistent with experience to claim that more than one person may perform leadership functions in the sense that many in the group may contribute to goal achievement

and that leadership is, to this extent, a "group property".

If the staff could manipulate the qualities of leaders selected for placement in an institution, the effects of particular types of inmates could be mitigated. If all gang members were eliminated from the camp population, one source of expected opposition to treatment goals would be eliminated. This would necessitate the placement of gang leaders in a separate camp. A condition would thus be created in which one would expect minimum resistance to treatment goals. Thus, separating the inmates would benefit one group at the expense of the other. However, such a situation would permit the development of innovative techniques designed specifically to deal with each group.

Youth in correctional institutions are not necessarily task oriented. Youth are oriented to personal goals and achievement rather than group goals. One method of manipulating leadership structure could involve an actively, officially recognized and established task orientation of the inmate population toward accomplishing treatment goals. The youth could be oriented toward active participation in the treatment task and be made to perceive it as a group goal. If the youth were actively committed to the task, leaders would be selected who had qualities appropriate for the task.

The guided group interaction programs tend to utilize to some extent this position. If, however, there is a failure to control in some way the emergence of leaders with negative expectational frames, then the process could in fact be reinforcing negative expectations and behavior rather than positive expectations and behavior. It has been noted that inmates become experts at playing the treatment game. They can demonstrate "symptoms" and "cures" fairly effectively. If in fact negative leaders continue to influence the informal peer group, then the treatment process will become just one more game playing situation. Thus leaders must be identified and controlled if the program is to be successful.

If the data from Dupage were acceptable, some support would be generated for the contention that such efforts could be successful. The Positive Peer Culture program emphasizes the identification and control of negative leaders. To some extent they appear to have been successful. While gang members still tend to be over selected, they do not dominate the informal inmate social system to the extent that is prevalent in other institutions. The influence of these negative leaders can be reduced by indicating their techniques and attempts to control the youth as has been done at DuPage. It may also be possible to reduce the effectiveness of this type of youth by changing the nature of the institutional

environment such that protection and control are de-emphasized and satisfaction of needs is enhanced.

Several lines of research are suggested. It has been suggested that basic social psychological and sociological principles can be effectively utilized in the criminal justice setting and contribute to the development or verification of sociological and social psychological theory. This study has suggested that the particular nature of the social setting influences patterns of influence in informal groups. The social setting can be such that differing emphasis is placed on various services provided by the informal group for its members. Those who are capable of manipulating those services emphasized in that social setting will be more influential. This study has provided some support for this position in one social setting. In the juvenile correctional institution the services of protection and control are emphasized while the services of information and satisfaction of needs are de-emphasized. In such a social setting gang members have the skills necessary to acquire influence.

An attempt should be made to provide additional support for the findings of observational studies which suggest that gang members have a negative orientation toward society, an assumption which though widely held has not been adequately verified. In addition, the orientation of informal inmate leaders to society and the prevalence of gang membership among leaders should be investigated in as wide a range of institutions as possible to provide a broader base for the

application of these findings. Third, there would be some utility in a comparative study of various institutions utilizing guided group interaction programs. Many of these programs have not been successful. Such an investigation would be particularly interested in the presence or absence and nature of attempts to control negative leaders in the group. If justified, then a manipulative field experiment could follow establishing the relationship between controlling leaders and successful treatment. At the same time or in a separate study, an attempt could be made to assess the impact on leadership patterns produced by manipulations of the importance of various group services. It might also be profitable to initiate a series of laboratory experiments to pursue the relationship between group services and leadership in a variety of contrived social situations. Of particular interest here would be an attempt to create social situations which would create influence hierarchies for each of the various services or combinations of services.

At this point the field of criminology all too often bases its orientations and suggestions on assumptions that have not been adequately verified. Further efforts to evaluate effectively those things which everyone knows will add substantial strength to the development of firm criminological theory.

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APPENDIX A

THE YOUTH DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS
OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

THE YOUTH DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS
OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

The Department of Corrections is a relatively new entity which was created by amalgamation of existing offender maintenance programs during 1968 and 1969. In addition to the major components (the Department of Public Safety [now adult division], the Illinois Youth Commission [Youth Division], and IYC field services and adult parole [Parole and Pardon Board]), two new divisions were created-- The Division of Research and Long Range Planning and the Division of Professional Services (staff training). Altogether there are seventeen major state level divisions, offices and bureaus for the Department of Corrections. We are particularly interested in the Youth Division and will direct our attention towards this division.

While the Parole and Pardon Board has responsibility for both juveniles and adults, each division has its own field services. Field services include traditional casework, foster homes, special programs and an employment officer whose primary responsibility is the location of jobs for ex-inmates. In Illinois, probation is the responsibility of the counties while parole services are maintained by the Department of Corrections. Over the past ten years there have been two shifts of emphasis which have affected the institutions of interest to our study. From 1963 to 1970 there was a gradual shift from

caretaking facilities such as forestry camps to intensive educational preparation. The forestry camps gradually acquired sophisticated educational programs while one of the special education institutions was phased out. In 1969 a shift in emphasis was made to community based services. As institutional populations were reduced, many of the forestry camps were phased out. Coupled with this was the emergence of an emphasis on sound vocational training for older youth. Two forestry camps which had not been converted to school camps began acquiring sophisticated vocational training programs. These two camps were included in the population for this study. During this period a number of new facilities of the school camp design was planned and either opened on a limited basis for a short time or abandoned before completion. New construction was not involved in these institutions. Older facilities were obtained from federal, private and industrial sources.

Illinois has a long record of reform. Illinois was the first state to provide for separating youthful offenders from adult offenders. In 1899 the Family Court Act provided for separate detention facilities at all levels for the youthful offender. Juvenile cases were heard by the judge in his private chambers. The intent was to avoid exposing a young child to the rigors of the criminal justice system.

Over the years, the facilities for handling youthful offenders increased in scope adding institutions and an expanding field services to its list of functions. In 1953 the various institutions were combined into the formal Illinois Youth Commission. In 1954 the Illinois Youth Commission expanded by establishing the Division of Forestry Camps. It was felt that exposing delinquent youth in small groups to a warm, accepting staff in an open rural setting would provide an experience which would alter the youth's self concept and perception of his environment.

In 1966 Illinois took another progressive step by passage of the Juvenile Court Act. Basically this act revised the Family Court Act by extending the legal protections of due process to youthful offenders. While the Family Court Act provided for indefinite sentences, the Juvenile Court Act permits a youth to request a trial in criminal court resulting in a definite sentence. However, most Illinois Youth Commission wards are tried under the Juvenile Court provision and receive indefinite sentences.

The Illinois Youth Commission provides four basic types of commitment facilities: Reception and Diagnostic Center, institutions, special education schools and forestry camps. The field services division provides for parole supervision and preventive programs.

The Reception and Diagnostic Center for boys is located in Joliet, Illinois. Its function is to receive youth directly from court and youth who have been returned for parole violation. The staff evaluates each youth and recommends placement in a particular setting such as Sheridan, Forestry Camps, and on occasion, Field Services.

In the past, special education schools received the younger male youth committed to the Illinois Youth Commission. The upper age limit for youth transferred to one of the three special educational schools was usually 14. Special education schools operate a full-day elementary school program. A major goal is to raise the academic grade levels of the youth to the point where it corresponds with the community grade placement appropriate to his age. One special education school was moved to a new forestry school camp type setting at Hanna City. In the past two years the distinction between special education schools and forestry school camps has faded. DuPage still retains to some extent an identification with its past status as a special education school. It is presently classified as one of five institutions maintained by the Youth Division.

The Youth Division maintains five major institutions. The Illinois Training School for Girls at Geneva, Illinois serves as both the Reception and Diagnostic Center and the single state commitment facility for girls in Illinois. The Illinois Industrial School for Boys at Sheridan, Illinois is the maximum security commitment

facility for boys in the state of Illinois. Housing ranges from traditional cell blocks similar to those found in adult prisons to open dormitories within the double fence. Sheridan maintains a school program and various training programs. However, its main function is housing youth incapable of adjusting to a more open institution. Since 1970, the population at Sheridan has been reduced from 359 to 150 with only the most extreme delinquents being placed in this facility.

The third and largest institution is the Illinois State Training School for Boys at St. Charles, Illinois. St. Charles operates a full-day elementary and high school program for youth who are usually 13 and older. In reality the majority of the youth are enrolled in remedial classes at the fourth through eighth grade level. St. Charles also operates an extensive farm program as well as several training programs. Youth considered educable material have traditionally been sent to St. Charles. St. Charles is presently utilizing the Quay behavioral categories to match type of youth with types of staff for effective treatment.

Valley View School for boys was established in 1966 at a facility purchased from the Catholic Church. It is a minimum security institution for boys 14 to 18 years of age. Valley View features individual rooms for the youth. Valley View features a full time academic program which is well staffed and equipped. The treatment

CONTINUED

2 OF 3

program is based on social learning. A token economy is utilized but is not the central feature of the treatment program. Youth are taught appropriate roles and expectations for successful adjustment to the institutional social system. Valley View also houses the training center for Youth Division employees.

The Division of Forestry Camps has shrunk from a high of 12 to a present total of 6 small minimum security facilities for boys. School camps provide a half-day or full day school, or half-day work program for boys 13-16 years of age. Traditionally, forestry school camps have received those youth less suited to an educational program but who are below the mandatory school age. The recent trend toward specialized educational programs has changed this to some degree. Some forestry camps have become the Youth Development Centers used in this study.

The Field Services Division's primary function is to provide parole service for Illinois Youth Commission youth. It also operates various community programs aimed at preventing delinquency. Field Services does not provide probation services.

A young offender progresses through various stages in his commitment to the Illinois Youth Commission. If he has received probationary services prior to his initial commitment, he has been under the direct supervision of the County Court. The Illinois Youth Commission has no jurisdiction over the youth prior to his formal commitment

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by the court. At the time of his formal commitment, he is transferred to the Reception and Diagnostic Center at Joliet. At this time he is also placed on the case load of a parole officer who prepares a social history. The average stay at the Reception and Diagnostic Center is two to four weeks. During this time the newly committed youth is exposed to full-scale testing and evaluation by a multi-disciplinary team. On the basis of the profile thus constructed, the team recommends placement at one of the institutional facilities, return to the community or placement with the Division of Forestry Camps. The recommendation is implemented by a placement officer.

On arrival in camp the boy's "time" begins. That is, he begins working toward a tentative release date. Usually the youth receives a ten-day furlough at the end of three months. Two months after furlough he will receive his "plans." "Plans" is the term applied to the paperwork which must be issued for the ward's release to field services as a parolee. One month after that he will usually go home. If his behavior is not acceptable, he may be denied a furlough and/or his plans may be delayed. The time involved varies from facility to facility, but the procedure is fairly uniform.

In most cases furlough and plans are given at the discretion of the staff. The plans are constructed by the caseworker or treatment team and include a review of the youth's history, his adjustment in the commitment

facility, and a proposed plan of action for a successful adjustment in the community. The plans are mailed to the parole officer who investigates the home and school or work recommendations. The parole officer writes a report which is returned to the camp. If necessary, the case-worker adjusts the plans in accordance with the parole officer's findings. The plans and the case records are sent to Springfield for review. If the parole plans are approved, the youth goes home. If the plan is rejected, specific recommendations or conditions are established as required action for release.

At this time the youth is on parole. Parole can be revoked at any time at the discretion of the parole officer. The youth is returned to the Reception and Diagnostic Center on the basis of the original complaint. Recommitment by the judicial system is not required. A returnee repeats the entire process. However, his stay at the Reception and Diagnostic Center is usually shortened one to two weeks as many of the tests and evaluations are not repeated.

In the Division of Forestry Camps and at DuPage the individual camp directors are given considerable latitude in the operations of their facilities. The Youth Division issues policy statements which are usually broadly interpreted by the Superintendent of Forestry Camps or by the institution. The camp directors or the superintendents regulate their institutions within the

limits thus established. Each camp director is permitted to develop his program in his own unique manner. The camps selected for this study most clearly indicate the variations permitted in such a situation. While the camps follow general directives, each is unique and in some ways very different from the other camps.

Three institutions were chosen for this study. Two Youth Development Centers, Mississippi Palisades Youth Development Center and Giant City Youth Development Center, and one special education school, DuPage School for Boys.

Mississippi Palisades is located in the northwest section of Illinois approximately five miles north of Savanna and one hundred sixty miles west of Chicago. The camp sets on five acres of land on the north edge of the Mississippi Palisades State Park. The camp was developed from a set of barracks built by the National Youth Administration in 1940. There is a new dormitory and workroom. The other buildings are presently being rebuilt. A private corporation, Botanical Consultants, Inc., has built a large steel structure adjacent to the camp property. This is used for storage of equipment for the landscaping program. It also contains classrooms which are used for technical classes and training. Plans are underway for the construction of a greenhouse.

The statement of purpose emphasizes modification of attitudes and motivation coupled with the skills

necessary to make a successful productive adjustment to society. This facility is basically a prevocational and vocational facility. While the camp personnel do not control the assignment of boys to the camp, a set of criteria has been established which is generally considered in the assignment of youth to various facilities. The criteria stresses the minimum security nature of the facility requesting mild youth amenable to supervision, between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, who would be appropriate candidates for prevocational and vocational training. Present programs include general educational development, work-away and job adjustment stations (a form of work release), and a landscaping and grounds maintenance vocational program. It should be pointed out that this last program is a legitimate vocational training program and not a label for the park details utilized by forestry camps in the past. A highly capable staff of two professional landscapers has been hired to operate the program to provide meaningful training. The landscaping and maintenance program is operated through Botanical Consultants, Inc. and funded by the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. The program includes classroom instruction, shop work and field work or on the job training. The program is fairly sophisticated with the most modern equipment and audio-visual learning aids. The four and one-half month program is operated as a licensed vocational school. Job placement is reported as very effective with

the majority of the placements being with firms in the suburban Chicago-Cook County area.

In addition to the landscaping and grounds maintenance program which includes small engine repair there is a work-away and job adjustment program. This is a two-phase program. In the first phase or work-away, the youth take full-time community jobs as kitchen workers, street workers, etc. The emphasis here is not on the creation of vocational skills, but the development of positive work habits and experience. Students graduate from the work-away positions to job adjustment stations. This program is operated in cooperation with D.V.R. The youth are placed on skilled jobs such as body repair and are trained while they work. Release is timed to coincide with the completion of training for the specialized skill. In addition, there is a basic photography program. While this program is ambitious in design, it is presently underequipped. The provision of sophisticated equipment will enhance this program.

The academic program at this facility is geared toward building the basic skills needed for successful vocational training. Stress is placed on remedial reading, general education development (targeted toward obtaining a GED certificate) and driver's education (a driver's license facilitates employment prospects). The counseling program has just recently been expanded to include group counseling. The major counseling approach in the past has

been problem oriented individual counseling. This program has been retained. Group counseling with staff participation encouraged has been added.

The recreation program is dependent to some extent on the facilities provided by the surrounding community. Team sports, small groups, athletic programs, community movies, skating and camping are the central components. During the winter, access to the Savanna Army Depot facilities permits basketball. The camp has undertaken an intensive program designed to improve community relations. The camp has extended invitations and services to a number of local organizations. The camp director is a hometown boy who relates well with the citizens of this relatively isolated northern Illinois sportsman's paradise town.

The Giant City facility is located in Southern Illinois, fourteen miles south of Carbondale and approximately 350 miles south of Chicago. Like Mississippi Palisades, Giant City is a minimum security institution emphasizing vocational preparation. This Youth Development Center is located in the Giant City State Park on park grounds. The camp is housed in barracks originally built by the National Youth Authority in the 1930's. About eight years ago an extensive program of remodeling and rebuilding was initiated. The present physical facility is attractive and serviceable in spite of its age.

Giant City has benefited from extensive participation of other agencies in the development and

implementation of their program. Southern Illinois University, the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, and the Division of Vocational Technical Education have participated in the development of various aspects of the camp program. Within minimum security institution limitations, the camp specifically states that all committed youth are acceptable. The minimum security nature of the institution restricts to some degree the nature of wards committed to that facility. Giant City enjoys a wide range of vocational programs due to the availability of manpower training programs of the Department of Labor at Ordell, involvement with the Carbondale High School and John A. Logan Junior College and access to Divisions of Vocational Rehabilitation programs. The educational program is oriented toward providing the basic skills required for vocational training, acquiring a GED certificate, and driver's training. Remedial reading and tutoring are available through Title I and DVR.

The treatment program is unique in that it is the only program of which I am aware that separates maintaining institutional conformity from counseling. Camp behavior and release are tied together by the Positive Progress Program. This program is a specifically tailored modified behavior modification program. In addition to immediate cost-benefit behavioral reinforcement, there is a contract provision for short and long term goals. It is interesting to note that the first question asked

the researcher by the group was "How many points do we get?" While counselors and other "treatment" people can make contracts with the youth for points, the counseling is to a large extent separated from the Positive Peer Progress program. Each youth is assigned a counselor who is responsible for adequately recording the youth's progress in the camp program. In addition, these counselors form the group of counselors who operate the team counseling program in which two counselors meet with a single client on a regular basis. These sessions continue to focus on camp adjustment while establishing links between camp behavior and the consequences of that type of behavior in the ward's home environment. In addition, there are two group oriented experiences. The first, the Our Group program, is oriented toward camp maintenance. In these groups the wards are assigned in groups of three to seven youths to an appropriate line supervisor. These groups meet once a week and are given the task of evaluating camp programs and problems. These groups also serve as a positive reinforcer for the Positive Peer Progress program in that the supervisor can take "his" boys on recreational trips if he is satisfied with their overall adjustment. The second major group program is a voluntary program oriented series of groups. No one particular group approach is advocated but these groups are confrontational type groups. Cooperation with Southern Illinois University provides

student counselors satisfying their practical requirements and student interns from various departments.

This permits intensive professional counseling for wards with special needs and the development of special programs. All in all, Giant City enjoys a well rounded intensive array of treatment services to complement their vocational training emphasis.

The educational vocational program also has considerable variety. Qualified students attend Carbonale Community High School full time. If high school has been completed, a student can enroll in junior college. For non-academically inclined students, a variety of vocational programs are available. Giant City has the same work-away job station program offered at Mississippi Palisades. In addition, youth can receive training in basic electricity and electronics, major appliance repair, air-conditioning and refrigeration, welding, automotive tune-up and apparel processing. These programs are offered through DVR, the Carbondale Vocational Center, and the Division of Vocational Technical Education and Manpower Training Program at Ordill.

DuPage School for Boys is located approximately two miles northeast of Naperville and thirty miles west of Chicago. It is located on approximately fifteen acres surrounded by a short non security fence. The main buildings are of the converted barracks type. There is a fairly new, well equipped gymnasium on the grounds. In this

institution all staff are actively involved in the treatment process with the exception of two grounds men and the secretaries who have minimal contact with the population. This institution provided the younger boys for this study. Younger boys and less severe delinquents are assigned to this institution. While boys as old as fifteen can be assigned to DuPage, it is rare to find youth over the age of fourteen at the time of transfer assigned to DuPage. DuPage has a strong academic orientation and through the years has maintained a strong reputation as an excellent remedial education institution. The program includes remedial instruction and transferable credits for grades 1-6. The remedial reading laboratory is well equipped with the latest, most sophisticated equipment. The regular classes are small, rarely containing more than eleven students. The summer program is enriched by the addition of two teacher aids who are advanced college level education majors. In the past, emphasis has been placed on achieving grade level as a basis for release. In the recent past a new treatment program has been initiated which by its very nature and design dominates all aspects of camp life. Two changes expected in the near future exert some influence on camp operations. First, a major industrial concern indicated a desire to purchase the land on which the camp is located. Arrangements were made to trade this land for a larger piece of land. In addition, the industrial concern agreed to construct a

completely new elaborate physical plant for the new DuPage facility. The new facility is nearing completion and plans are being made to effect a transfer in approximately two months. The second change was effected by the Illinois State Legislature. The Department of Corrections is no longer permitted to accept jurisdiction over children under the age of eleven. Thus plans are being made to transfer all wards under the age of eleven to family services. This information had been "leaked" to the population reducing the degree of program participation for these youth. The camp program was disrupted by two additional factors. First, in the preceding month there had been an approximately 20 percent turnover in inmate population with five of the newest boys having been on the scene for less than two weeks. This produced some disruption in the treatment program as the group culture is rebuilt to include the relatively large number of new arrivals. There had also been considerable staff turnover in the past nine months. Those leaving appear to have been those most committed to the treatment program. The most recent loss, occurring approximately three weeks before data gathering, was the central person in the treatment program. One or two members of the staff appeared depressed and dissatisfied, a perspective which would be expected to affect the functioning of the camp program.

The treatment program, Positive Peer Culture, dominates the total institutional program requiring total

staff and inmate involvement. Positive Peer Culture is the particular brand of guided group interaction developed by Harry Vorrath at the University of Minnesota and marketed by a semi-private consulting business he operates. Groups usually vary in size from 9 to 11 members, occasionally being permitted to drop as low as six members. Groups once formed tend to be relatively stable with a member by member replacement maintaining the group over time as the actual membership changes. The thrust of approaches of this general type is to assign to the group the task of dealing with all problems encountered or experienced by the members. There is a dual emphasis in that in one sense the individual problems become group problems while at the same time the group is concentrating on the solution of the problems of the individual members. Over a period of time a group culture is created which includes rituals, symbolic language, problem approaching techniques and a group orientation and identity. The culture is designed such that its boys become involved in the lives of others. Each youth becomes familiar with the problems and genesis of behavior of all of the other youth. Seeing themselves through the others' eyes is held to be conducive to the development of a positive self concept through modification of expectational roles. Boys are selected for this institution on the basis of their suitability for the Positive Peer Culture treatment

approach. The group is identified as a unit and moves together through all daily activities. They eat, sleep, shower, attend classes, recreate and loaf together. No individual youth is permitted at any time to be without his group. It is this aspect of the program which accounts for the spectacular and news making group runs. If a boy runs, his group will often pursue him to return him safely to the camp.

If a problem arises, all activity stops until the problem is worked out. At times this involves leaving the dinner table or classroom to work on an immediate problem. The groups meet nightly to deal with problems. First the group problems that have occurred that day are considered. After the daily problems have been resolved, any individual can ask for the use of the remainder of the group's time to deal with his personal problems. The staff is continuously guiding the group, but not dominating it, by pointing out problems, directing the group's attention, and facilitating interaction.

Only the group has the power to grant release subject to staff approval. Thus the first step in obtaining release is to get the group to deal with personal problems. This is followed by resolution of the problems, recommendations for parole by the group and the subsequent acceptance of that recommendation by the staff. Once the ward is accepted for parole, he is transferred to the pre-parole group and waits for the necessary paperwork, a

period of from two to six weeks. The staff meets once weekly to staff youth and plan programs. The staff meets in treatment teams which include a group leader, a teacher, dormitory staff members and an administrator. There are two of these groups, one identified with each of the two cottages. There are five groups and the pre-parole group. The three groups containing the younger, milder youth are housed in one barracks while the other barracks contains the remaining two groups and the pre-parole group. With the exception of remedial reading, classrooms and teachers are located in the barracks and have primary responsibility for the youth in that barracks.

The Illinois Department of Corrections is a sophisticated progressive institution. As is noted in the preceding description, the variety of programming is great. The Youth Division has followed the policy of implementing experimental programs. These programs are evaluated on the basis of the return rates. If programs are incapable of reducing the number of youth who can not adjust successfully in their home community, they are discontinued. Thus over the past ten years, a wide variety of programs have been evaluated. This is the setting in which our population is found.

APPENDIX B

INSTRUMENTS

No. _____

1. What is your name? _____
2. Are you known to the young men in camp by another other names? If so, please list them here.

1. _____

2. _____

No. _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Of all the young men in camp who do you consider to be your best friend? _____
2. Who is your second best friend? _____
3. Do you have any other special friends? If so, who?

4. Camp life can be tough if you don't know what's happening and how to get what you want. If you wanted to get the straight information on what's happening, which of the young men would you ask? _____
5. If he is not around, who is the next fellow you would ask?

6. Are there any other young men you would ask? _____

7. If someone were out to get you, which of the other young men would you want on your side? _____
8. If he wasn't around, who would you want? _____
9. Are there any other young men you would want on your side?

10. If someone were to get out of line in terms of what the other young men think is the right way for a young man to act in camp, which of the other young men is most likely to make him act right? _____
11. If he were not around, who would be the next most likely to do this? _____
12. Who else might do this? _____
13. If you had to get some help (borrow an envelope, get a pencil, help with school work or on the job) to which young man would you turn? _____
14. If he is not around, who is the next fellow you would ask?

15. What other young men would you ask? _____

16. Of all the young men in camp, who has done the most to make life in camp easier to stand? _____
17. Who has done the second most? _____
18. Has anyone else made life easy? _____

Read each of the questions and check the answer or write in the name that is closest to the truth.

1. Children are too often expected to do what their parents say.
 Strongly agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
2. There is little chance of getting ahead unless a man has pull.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
3. Policemen are just as crooked as the people they arrest.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
4. Members of a family always meddle in a fellow's private affairs.
 Not at All
 Very Little
 Some
 Frequently
 Most of the Time
5. Do you think you can make good?
 Very sure I can make good.
 I'm really not sure.
 I think I can make good.
 Very sure I can't make good.
6. How much does it bother you when you are ordered to do something you don't see a reason for doing?
 A Lot
 Quite a Bit
 Some
 Very Little
 Not at All
7. It's nice to have your family take care of you when you're sick.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree

8. A man should always obey the law no matter how much it gets in his way.
 Almost Always
 Usually
 Some of the Time
 Seldom
 Almost Never
9. It's all right to keep things you find if they are covered by insurance.
 Almost Always
 Usually
 Some of the Time
 Seldom
 Almost Never
10. Most people can be trusted.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
11. How often does it make you sore to have people tell you what to do?
 Almost Always
 Usually
 Some of the Time
 Seldom
 Almost Never
12. Suppose a group of the young men from your unit started stealing food from the kitchen and eating it themselves. When the staff found that food was being stolen, they said that until they found out which ones were taking the food, the whole unit would be restricted. Suppose you knew who was in the group that was stealing the food. If you got the chance to tell the staff without anyone else knowing, would you do so?
 Almost Always
 Usually
 Some of the Time
 Seldom
 Almost Never
13. Parents expect too much from their children.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
14. It is no use doing things for others; they only stab you in the back.
 Almost Always

- Usually
 Some of the Time
 Seldom
 Almost Never
15. Parents are too strict about the kind of friends one has.
- Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
16. It is all right for a person to break the law; it is getting caught that is bad.
- Almost Always
 Usually
 Some of the Time
 Seldom
 Almost Never
17. What do your family and friends back home think of this place?
Do they think is (check one)
- A place that helps young men in trouble.
 A place to send young men who get in trouble.
 A place to send young men for something they did wrong.
18. It's all right to take things which are covered by insurance.
- Almost Always
 Usually
 Some of the Time
 Seldom
 Almost Never
19. Do you think this is true or not? Young men dislike being here so much that they don't want to cooperate with the staff here any more than they have to.
- True for all young men.
 True for most young men.
 True for some young men.
 True for a few young men.
 Not true at all.
20. It's good for children to work to help support their families.
- Strongly Agree.
 Agree.
 Not Certain.
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree

21. Suppose a young man you knew fairly well was planning to run away tonight, or not come back from a home visit.
 (a) Would you try to talk him out of it? Yes No
 (b) Do you think a young man should ever tell the staff here that another young man is planning to run? Yes No
22. A person has to be dishonest to get rich.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Agree
23. Which of the employees is best able to make the young men obey the rules? _____ (name of person)
24. Judges are honest most of the time.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
25. Which one of the adults here has the most say about what happens to you while you're here? _____ (name of person)
26. Suppose a group of young men took a dislike for a young man you know, and decided to rough him up for no particular reason. If a friend of the young man learned about their plan, what should he do?
 (a) Should he warn a staff person? Yes No
 (b) Should he try to talk the group out of it? Yes No
27. Home is the pleasantest place in the world.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
28. Almost anything can be fixed in the courts if you have enough money or know the right person.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
29. Suppose a group of young men are planning to get even with a night man here that no one likes by beating him up. Should a young man warn some staff member about it? Yes No

30. When you get something to do that is very important, do you worry about whether you will do all right or not?
- Almost Always
 - Usually
 - Some of the Time
 - Seldom
 - Almost Never
31. Only suckers work.
- Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Not Certain
 - Don't Agree
 - Strongly Disagree
32. A fellow's family is always trying to run his life for him.
- Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Not Certain
 - Don't Agree
 - Strongly Disagree
33. Do you find that you often have to tell people to mind their own business?
- Almost Always
 - Usually
 - Some of the Time
 - Seldom
 - Almost Never
34. Do you often say things you later wish you hadn't said?
- Almost Always
 - Usually
 - Some of the Time
 - Seldom
 - Almost Never
35. It doesn't hurt a fellow to take a day off from school once in a while.
- Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Not Certain
 - Don't Agree
 - Strongly Disagree
36. A fellow must always be on the lookout for those who want to do him dirt.
- Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Not Certain
 - Don't Agree
 - Strongly Disagree

37. How would you say the people you know feel about you?
 Almost all of them like me.
 Most of them like me.
 It's about half and half.
 Most of them dislike me.
 Almost all of them dislike me.
38. People think a lot of you if you can get around the law and not get caught.
 Strongly Agree
 Agree
 Not Certain
 Don't Agree
 Strongly Disagree
39. Think about yourself now--what do you think about this place?
(Check one)
 A place that helps young men in trouble.
 A place to send young men who get into trouble.
 A place to punish young men for something they did wrong.
40. Which one of the staff here has the most to say about when you get out of here? _____ (name)
41. Which of the staff is best able to understand what's really happening? _____ (name)

42. Things have not worked very well for many of the young men committed to IYC. If you could make any change in the way we live that would make things easier for you and everyone else, what change would you make?

43. Some of the things you mentioned above might have been changes in the town or neighborhood in which you live. Please tell me about changes you would make in the town or neighborhood in which you live that would make things better for you and the other people who live there.

44. Some of the things you mentioned in Question 42 might have been changes in the IYC. Please tell me about changes which you would make in the Illinois Youth Commission which would make things better for you and the other people who stay or work here.

45. I am trying to find out what things have been important in your life both on the streets and in the IYC. What other things should I be asking about?

46. I have asked you about a lot of things so far. Are some of the things I have asked about really not important at all? If so, which ones? Why are they unimportant?

EMPLOYEE QUESTIONNAIRE

This study is investigating the nature of leadership among the boys. Some boys may be leaders for one field and not another. This study is concerned with four areas: protection, control, information and satisfaction of needs. Will you please indicate who you feel is a leader in these functions by filling in the spaces below.

_____ is a boy who the others turn to for information. His three closest companions are _____, _____ and _____.

_____ is a boy who can control the other boys. His three closest companions are _____, _____ and _____.

_____ is a boy who can protect one boy or group of boys from other boys. His three closest companions are _____, _____ and _____.

_____ is a boy who satisfies basic needs of other boys (such as pencils, help with school work, the loan of an envelope, etc.). His three closest friends are _____, _____ and _____.

There are four ways in which a boy can adjust. They are:

- A. Staff
- B. Mainly Staff
- C. Mainly Boys
- D. Boys

- (A) The boys who adjust to staff always try to please the staff members even if it gets them into trouble with the other boys.
- (B) The boys who adjust mainly to the staff try to please the staff but try to get along with other boys.
- (C) The boys who adjust mainly to the boys try to please the boys but try to look good to the staff if they can.
- (D) The boys who adjust to the boys always try to please the boys even if it gets them into trouble with the staff.

I would like for you to take this list of boys and place them into one of these types of adjustment. Place a check in the box next to the boys name which best describes his type of adjustment. If you wish to make comments, make them in the place provided or on the extra sheet of paper at the end of the questionnaire.

If you don't know the boy well enough to rate him, place a check in (E) column.

Some employees seem to have a special knack of knowing what the boys are doing or what they are going to do. Please list three such employees, placing the person with the most skill first.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Some employees seem to find it easier to control boys than others. Please list three such employees, listing the person with the most skill first.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

When on the job which one of the other employees makes your job easier to do?

1. _____

After this person, who is another person who makes your job easier to do?

1. _____

Can you think of a third person?

1. _____

What is your job title? _____

What shift do you work? _____

What are your days off? _____

APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTIVE DATA

FREQUENCY OF SELECTION AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBJECTS
MISSISSIPPI PALISADES FORESTRY CAMP

Sub- ject	Classi- fication	Friend- ship	Infor- mation	Satis- faction of Needs	Makes Life Easier	Protec- tion	Control	Race	Returns	Height (in.)	Weight	Prosocial Orienta- tion Score
GANG MEMBERS												
11	PG	4	1	4	2	6	0	B		66	132	45
12	CG	5	11	1	3	12	13	B		68	154	36
26	CG	1	6	0	2	13	17	B		70	170	39
31	PG	4	5	4	3	6	6	W	1	69	156	38
34	PG	4	7	2	5	12	10	W	1	70	142	39
Total		<u>18</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>46</u>			<u>343/5</u> = 69	<u>754/5</u> = 151	

NON GANG MEMBERS												
1	DU	5	5	6	2	3	2	W		67	125	47
2	A	3	4	3	0	2	0	W	1	68	140	49
3	SD	4	2	3	4	3	2	W		68	162	46
4	SD	0	0	1	1	1	0	B		66	122	38
5	CD	3	0	2	1	2	0	B		69	136	47
6	CD	0	2	1	0	0	1	W		71	157	51
7	DF	1	1	1	1	1	0	B		66	161	44
8	SD	2	2	3	1	0	0	B		68	173	38
9	SD	5	4	7	3	2	4	W		69	130	63
10	SD	1	2	0	0	1	1	B	1	72	140	44
13	CD	0	1	2	0	1	0	W		67	135	57
14	CD	5	7	4	5	4	4	B		63	104	41
15	SD	2	0	5	2	4	0	B		67	158	49
16	SD	2	2	3	0	2	1	B		66	132	54
17	A	3	1	3	2	1	0	W	3	64	165	48
18	DU	2	2	1	1	1	0	W		69	120	67

Sub- ject	Classi- fication	Friend- ship	Infor- mation	Satis- faction of Needs	Makes Life Easier	Protec- tion	Control	Race	Returns	Height (in.)	Weight	Prosocial Orienta- tion Score
NON GANG MEMBERS (Continued)												
19	DU	3	2	2	1	1	0	Indian		71	161	59
20	SD	1	0	1	0	1	0	B		66	140	
21	DU	3	4	6	2	3	2	W		71	145	59
22	CD	3	1	4	2	0	1	W		67	130	57
23	CD	3	5	3	4	1	1	W		67	155	41
24	SD	0	0	1	0	0	0	B	2	74	162	50
25	CD	0	1	3	0	3	2	B		69	151	39
27	CD	2	2	2	2	1	1	W		70	140	57
28	CD	3	3	4	2	0	0	W		67	120	47
29	SD	2	2	2	1	0	0	W		71	152	
30	A	2	2	1	1	5	4	W		71	174	63
32	SD	0	2	0	0	0	0	W		70	210	61
33	DU	2	1	1	0	0	0	W		64	125	44
Total		<u>60</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>26</u>			<u>1978/29</u> = 68	<u>4100/29</u> = 141	

FREQUENCY OF SELECTION AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBJECTS
GIANT CITY FORESTRY CAMP

Sub- ject	Classi- fication	Friend- ship	Infor- mation	Satis- faction of Needs	Makes Life Easier	Protec- tion	Control	Race	Returns	Height (in.)	Weight	Prosocial Orienta- tion Score
GANG MEMBERS												
35	PG	7	8	5	7	13	14	B		66	129	37
36	PG	3	8	4	6	7	6	B		69	142	47
41	PG	4	4	3	5	8	13	B		70	145	41
50	PG	3	1	3	4	4	6	B		70	145	38
56	CG	1	1	2	1	5	6	B		70	155	38
51	CG	7	5	4	4	6	3	B		71	140	42
Total										<u>69</u>	<u>143</u>	
42	CG	2	4	2	1	4	3	B		66	126	41
43	CG	1	2	2	1	1	0	B		74	160	41
46	CG	0	1	0	0	0	0	B		67	130	41
48	CG	3	3	2	0	1	0	B		64	105	
58	CG	3	2	3	2	1	3	Mex.		67	145	59
Total		<u>34</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>54</u>			<u>345/5</u>	<u>666/5</u>	
										= 69	= 133.2	
NON GANG MEMBERS												
37	CD	1	1	2	0	1	0	B		65	104	55
38	SD	3	3	2	3	2	2	B		67	125	51
39	SD	0	0	0	0	0	1	B		64	135	55
40	CD	1	1	1	0	1	1	B		66	150	46
44		1	0	1	0	0	0					61
45	SD	6	2	4	1	2	0	B		68	130	
47	CD	0	0	0	0	0	0	W	1	67	120	
49	CD	3	3	3	1	0	0	W		69	175	62

Sub- ject	Classi- fication	Friend- ship	Infor- mation	Satis- faction of Needs	Makes Life Easier	Protec- tion	Control	Race	Returns	Height (in.)	Weight	Prosocial Orienta- tion Score
NON GANG MEMBERS (Continued)												
52	SD	2	1	2	1	2	1	B		69	143	54
53	CD	0	1	0	0	0	0	W		71	140	47
54	SD	1	1	2	2	2	1	B		67	120	42
55	SD	1	1	0	0	0	1	B	2	75	147	
57	SD	4	3	5	2	1	0	B		69	252	42
59	SD	0	0	1	0	0	0	W		71	145	47
60	DU	2	2	2	1	1	0	W		69	133	70
61	CD	0	0	0	0	0	0	B	1	70	152	58
Total		<u>25</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>			<u>1027/15</u> = 68	<u>2171/15</u> = 145	

FREQUENCY OF SELECTION AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBJECTS
DUPAGE STATE SCHOOL FOR BOYS

Sub- ject	Classi- fication	Friend- ship	Infor- mation	Satis- faction of Needs	Makes Life Easier	Protec- tion	Control	Race	Returns	Height (in.)	Weight	Prosocial Orienta- tion Score
GANG MEMBERS												
62	PG	7	6	8	3	6	6	B		53	73	34
71	PG	6	3	3	3	2	7	B		61	103	46
72	PG	6	4	4	2	6	5	B		71	100	40
73	CG	1	3	4	2	6	4	B		63	146	
78	CG	3	5	5	2	7	5	B		63	100	28
80	CG	7	9	7	5	5	8	B		61	75	39
										<u>372/6</u>	<u>597/6</u>	
										= 62	= 99.5	
67	PG	3	0	3	0	5	0	B		50	101	
95	PG	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	B		<u>68</u>	<u>130</u>	49
		34	30	36	17	39	35			<u>118/2</u>	<u>231/2</u>	
										= 59	= .116	
NON GANG MEMBERS												
81	SD	6	5	3	3	8	6	B		59	95	49
91	DU	8	10	7	6	9	7	W		64	110	37
63	SD	3	3	2	0	2	1	W		64	102	55
64	SC	1	1	0	1	3	0	B		60	120	53
65	CD	6	3	3	4	4	5	W		58	75	57
66	CD	0	1	2	0	0	0	B		60	120	37
68	SD	1	1	1	0	1	0	B		53	77	34
69	CD	4	8	8	3	3	5	W	1	62	115	50
70	CD	5	5	1	2	3	0	B		57	80	46
74	SD	2	2	0	2	3	0	B		62	100	47
75	SD	0	2	2	0	1	1	B		60	85	40

Sub- ject	Classi- fication	Friend- ship	Infor- mation	Satis- faction of Needs	Makes Life Easier	Protec- tion	Control	Race	Returns	Height (in.)	Weight	Prosocial Orienta- tion Score
NON GANG MEMBER (Continued)												
76	SD	0	0	1	1	0	0	W		53	70	45
77	CD	1	3	4	3	3	2	B		56	110	43
79	CD	4	3	6	2	3	4	B		56	80	42
82	SD	3	6	6	2	5	3	B		63	101	51
83	CD	1	2	2	1	0	0	B		60	117	49
84	CD	2	1	4	3	3	1	B		56	84	51
85	CD	0	4	5	4	1	1	B		53	75	43
86	SD	2	2	3	0	1	1	B		59	90	61
87	BD	1	1	2	1	0	0	W		56	80	48
88	SD	0	4	2	1	1	1	B		60	86	44
89	CD	1	2	2	2	1	2	B		60	70	54
90	CD	2	1	1	0	5	2	B		49	85	49
92	SD	2	3	3	2	5	2	B		65	120	53
93	SD	5	3	4	3	1	1	B		62	95	55
94	SD	5	1	5	3	4	4	W		68	140	54
96	CD	1	1	1	0	5	0	B		66	199	43
97	SD	2	3	2	0	2	2	B		64	103	55
98	SD	0	0	1	1	1	1	P. Rican	1	59	84	48
99	CD	2	0	3	0	3	1	B		61	95	40
100	SD	2	6	5	3	4	5	B	1	65	122	53
101	CD	3	2	5	2	1	2	W		63	126	38
102	SD	3	3	3	2	1	3	B		64	114	45
103	A	1	4	3	2	2	1	B		69	130	48
104	DU	5	7	4	6	4	3	B		63	115	53
105	SD	3	1	0	5	1	2	B		61	95	50
Total		<u>87</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>69</u>			<u>2234/36</u> = 62	<u>3665/36</u> = 102	

STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECT SCORES FROM 23 LIKERT ITEMS

	MISSISSIPPI PALISADES			DUPAGE		
	Gang	Non Gang	Total	Gang	Non Gang	Total
N	5	27	32	7	35	42
\bar{x}	39.40	50.37	48.66	39	48.29	46.74
S	3.01	8.16	8.57	6.55	6.09	7.07
$\hat{\sigma}$	3.36	8.32	8.71	7.07	6.18	7.16
$\hat{\sigma} \bar{x}$	1.50	1.60	1.54	2.67	1.04	1.10

	GIANT CITY			TOTAL		
	Gang	Non Gang	Total	Gang	Non Gang	Total
N	10	13	23	22	75	97
\bar{x}	42.50	52.77	48.49	40.68	49.80	47.76
S	6.10	8.23	8.84	5.95	7.42	8.09
$\hat{\sigma}$	6.43	8.56	9.04	6.09	1.30	8.13
$\hat{\sigma} \bar{x}$	2.03	2.38	1.88	7.47	0.86	.825

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES FOR 23 LIKERT ITEMS FOR GANG MEMBERS,
LEADERS, NON GANG MEMBERS, AND NON LEADERS

	MISSISSIPPI PALISADES		DUPAGE		GIANT CITY		TOTAL	
	G	NG	G	NG	G	NG	G	NG
28			1				1	
29								
30								
31								
32								
33								
34			1	1			1	1
35								
36	1						1	
37			1	1	1		2	1
38	1	2		1	2		3	3
39	2	1	1				3	1
40			1	2			1	2
41		2			4		4	2
42				1	1	2	1	3
43				3				3
44		3						3
45	1			2			1	2
46		1	1	1		1	1	3
47		3		1	1	2	1	6
48		1		3				4
49		2	1	4			1	6
50		1		2				3
51		1		2		1		4
52							1	1
53				3				3
54		1	2					3
55				4		2		6
56								
57		3		1				4
58						1		1
59		2			1		1	2
60								
61				1		1		3
62						1		1
63		2						2
64								
65								
66								
67		1						1
68								
69								
70						1		1
TOTAL								
N	5	27	7	35	10	13	22	75

INTERQUARTILE t's FOR FIVE POINT LIKERT ITEMS
IN THE INMATE QUESTIONNAIRES

INITIAL 30 ITEMS		REVISED 24 ITEMS	
		Total	Mississippi Palisades and Giant City
1.	2.08	2.69	3.01
2.	4.24	2.34	4.98
3.	.775		
4.	.183		
5.	1.58	1.946	1.85
6.	4.427	3.114	4.51
7.	.42		
8.	1.29	2.69	3.86
9.	1.82	2.70	3.87
10.	1.93	3.62	4.84
11.	.436		
13.	5.29	5.87	2.97
14.	3.54	3.80	1.87
15.	1.78	4.73	2.10
16.	3.797	11.86	5.10
18.	5.18	5.73	3.83
20.	1.78	3.656	.856
22.	2.19	3.16	11.55
24.	2.025	2.556	2.06
27.	2.42	3.31	3.0
28.	2.395	3.10	2.84
30.	-.941		
31.	4.147	3.71	2.48
32.	2.69	3.85	3.30
33.	1.69	4.36	3.07
34.	1.73	4.79	3.125
36.	3.02	2.54	2.15
37.	1.108	.372	1.10
38.	1.44	3.68	2.275
39.	1.46	2.5	3.57

VITA

Robert T. Sigler was born in Union County, New Jersey on September 13, 1941, the son of Robert H. Sigler and Rubye (Collins) Sigler. His family moved to Joliet, Illinois in 1953 and to Ohio in 1954. He graduated in 1959 from Piketon High School in Piketon, Ohio. He attended Paducah Junior College for two years. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology from Southern Illinois University in 1964. At that time he took a position with the Illinois Youth Commission. During the course of that employment, he worked as a counselor, teacher and cottage parent. In 1957 he returned to Southern Illinois University and was a graduate research assistant at the Center for the Study of Crime, Delinquency and Corrections. He received a Master of Arts degree in Sociology from Southern Illinois University in 1969. From 1969 to 1971 he was an assistant professor of sociology at Central Missouri State College.

He is married to Beverly (Curry) Sigler and has three children, Bryan David, Jill Anne and Robert Mills.

END